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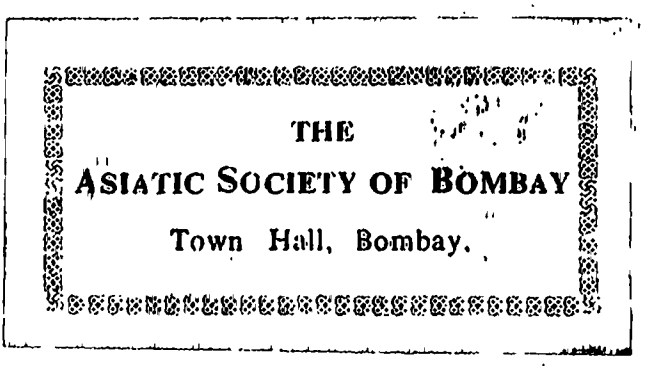


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# SINAI AND PALESTINE

IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR HISTORY.

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BY ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M.A.

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

WHAT is personal in this book may be briefly told. In the winter of 1852, and in the spring of 1853, in the company of three friends,* to whose kindness I shall always feel grateful for having enabled me to fulfil this long-cherished design, I visited the well-known scenes of Sacred History in Egypt, Arabia, and Syria. Any detailed description of this journey has been long since rendered superfluous by the ample illustrations of innumerable travellers. But its interest and instruction are so manifold, that, even after all which has been seen and said of it, there still remain points of view unexhausted.

Much has been written, and still remains to be written, both on the History and the Geography of the Chosen People. But there have been comparatively few attempts to illustrate the relation in which each stands to the other. To bring the recollections of my own journey to bear on this question,—to point out how much or how little the Bible gains by being seen, so to speak, through the eyes of the country, or the country by being seen through the eyes of the Bible,—to exhibit the effect of the 'Holy

* I trust that I may be permitted to name Mr. Walrond, Mr. Fremantle, and Mr. Findlay.

Land' on the course of 'the Holy History,'—seemed to be a task not hitherto fully accomplished. To point out the limits of this connection will be the object of the following Preface.

As a general rule, it has been my endeavour, on the one hand, to omit no geographical feature which throws any direct light on the history or the poetry of the sacred volume; and, on the other hand, to insert no descriptions except those which have such a purpose, and to dwell on no passages of Scripture except those which are capable of such an illustration. The form of narrative has thus been merged in that of dissertation, following the course of historical and geographical divisions. Whenever I have given extracts from journals or letters, it has been when it seemed necessary to retain the impression not merely of the scene, but of the moment. Only in a few instances, chiefly confined to notes, the main course of the argument has been interrupted in order to describe in greater detail particular spots, which have not been noticed in previous accounts. I have, as much as possible, avoided the controverted points of sacred topography, both because they mostly relate to spots which throw no direct light on the history, and also because they depend for their solution on data which are not yet fully before us.

The Maps have been framed with the intention of giving not merely the physical features, but the actual colouring offered to the eye of the traveller at the present time. In the use of the geographical terms of the Old and New Testament, I have aimed at a greater precision than has been reached or perhaps attempted in the Authorised Version; and have thrown into an Appendix a catalogue of such words as a help to a not unimportant field of

philological and geographical study. For the arrangement of this Appendix, as well as for the general verification of references and correction of the press I am indebted to the careful revision of my friend, Mr. Grove, of Sydenham. Throughout the work I have freely used all materials within my reach to fill up the deficiencies necessarily left by the hasty and imperfect character of my personal observation. It is unnecessary to describe more particularly the nature of these sources; they are mostly given in the long catalogues of writers affixed to Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' and Ritter's volumes on Sinai, Palestine, and Syria; and I may perhaps be allowed to refer for a general estimate of their relative value to an Essay on 'Sacred Geography' in the Quarterly Review for March, 1854.

Finally, I have to express my deep sense of all that I owe to my friend and fellow-traveller Mr. Theodore Walrond, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Without him the journey, to which I shall always look back as one of the most instructive periods of my life, would in all probability never have been accomplished: on his accurate observation and sound judgment I have constantly relied, both on the spot and since; and, though I have touched too slightly on Egypt to avail myself of his knowledge and study of the subject where it would have been most valuable, I feel that his kind supervision of the rest of the volume gives a strong guarantee for the faithful representation of the scenes which we explored together, and of the conclusions to be derived from them.

# PREFACE.

THE CONNECTION OF SACRED HISTORY AND SACRED GEOGRAPHY.

THE historical interest of Sacred Geography, though belonging in various degrees to Mesopotamia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, is, like the Sacred History itself, concentrated on the Peninsula of Sinai and on Palestine. Even in its natural aspect the topography of these two countries has features which would of themselves rivet our attention; and on these, as the basis of all further inquiry, and as compared with similar features of other parts of the world, I have dwelt at some length.[1] But to this singular conformation we have to add the fact that it has been the scene of the most important events in the history of mankind; and not only so, but that the very fact of this local connection has occasioned a reflux of interest, another stage of history, which intermingles itself with the scenes of the older events, thus producing a tissue of local associations unrivalled in its length and complexity. Greece and Italy have geographical charms of a high order. But they have never provoked a Crusade; and, however bitter may

[1] See Chapters I. II. VII. and XII.

have been the disputes of antiquaries about the Acropolis of Athens or the Forum of Rome, they have never, as at Bethlehem and Jerusalem, become matters of religious controversy—grounds for interpreting old prophecies or producing new ones—cases for missions of diplomatists, or for the war of civilised nations.

This interest in Sacred Geography, though in some respects repelled, yet in some respects is invited by the Scriptures themselves. From Genesis to the Apocalypse there are—even when not intending, nay, even when deprecating, any stress on the local associations of the events recorded—constant local allusions, such as are the natural result of a faithful, and, as is often the case in the Biblical narrative, of a contemporary history. There is one document in the Hebrew Scriptures to which probably no parallel exists in the topographical records of any other ancient nation. In the Book of Joshua we have what may without offence be termed the Domesday Book of the conquest of Canaan. Ten chapters of that book are devoted to a description of the country, in which not only are its general features and boundaries carefully laid down, but the names and situations of its towns and villages enumerated with a precision of geographical terms which invites and almost compels a minute investigation. The numerous allusions in the Prophetical writings supply what in other countries would be furnished by the illustrations of poets and orators. The topographical indications of the New Testament, it is true, are exceedingly slight; and if it were not for the occurrence of the same names in the Old Testament or Josephus, it would often be impossible to identify them. But what the New Testament loses

by the rarity of its allusions, it gains in their vividness; and, moreover, its general history is connected with the geography of the scenes on which it was enacted, by a link arising directly from the nature of the Christian religion itself. That activity and practical energy, which is its chief outward characteristic, turns its earliest records into a perpetual narrative of journeyings to and fro, by lake and mountain, over sea and land, that belongs to the history of no other creed.

It is easy in all countries to exaggerate the points of connection between history and geography; and in the case of Palestine especially, instances of this exaggeration have sometimes led to an undue depreciation of any such auxiliaries to the study of the Sacred History. But there are several landmarks which can be clearly defined.

Influence on the national character.

I. The most important results of an insight into the geographical features of any country are those which elucidate in any degree the general character of the nation to which it has furnished a home. If there be anything in the course of human affairs which brings us near to the 'divinity which shapes men's ends, rough-hew them as they will,' which indicates something of the prescience of their future course even at its very commencement, it is the sight of that framework in which the national character is enclosed, by which it is modified, beyond which it cannot develop itself. Such a forecast, as every one knows, can be seen in the early growth of the Roman commonwealth, and in the peculiar conformation and climate of Greece.[1] The question which the geographer of the Holy Land, which the historian of the Chosen People

[1] For the sake of convenience I may here refer to an essay on "The Topography of Greece," in the first number of the Classical Museum.

has to propose to himself is, 'Can such a connection be traced between the scenery, the features, the boundaries, the situation of Sinai and of Palestine, on the one hand, and the history of the Israelites on the other?' It may be that there is much in one part of their history, and little in another; least of all in its close, more in the middle part, most of all in its early beginnings. But whatever be the true answer, it cannot be indifferent to any one who wishes—whether from the divine or the human, from the theological or the historical point of view—to form a complete estimate of the character of the most remarkable nation which has appeared on the earth. If the grandeur and solitude of Sinai was a fitting preparation for the reception of the Decalogue and for the second birth of an infant nation; if Palestine, by its central situation, by its separation from the great civilised powers of the Eastern world, and by its contrast of scenery and resources both with the Desert and with the Egyptian and Mesopotamian empires, presents a natural home for the chosen people; if its local features are such, as in any way constitute it the cradle of a faith that was intended to be universal; its geography is not without interest, in this its most general aspect, both for the philosopher and theologian.[1]

Influence on forms of expression.

II. Next to the importance of illustrating the general character of a nation from its geographical situation is the importance of ascertaining how far the forms and expressions of its poetry, its philosophy, and its worship, have been affected by it. In Greece this was eminently the case. Was it so in Palestine? It is not enough to answer that the religion of the Jewish people came direct from God, and that the poetry of the Jewish prophets and

[1] See Chapters I. and II.

psalmists was the immediate inspiration of God's Spirit. In the highest sense, indeed, of the words this is most true. But it must be remembered, that as every one acknowledges that this religion and this inspiration came through a human medium to men living in those particular 'times' of civilisation, and in those particular 'bounds of habitation,' which God had 'before appointed' and 'determined' for them, we cannot safely dispense with this or with any other means of knowing by what local influences the Divine message was of necessity coloured in its entrance into the world.[1] Again, as there are some who would exaggerate this local influence to the highest, and others who would depreciate it to the lowest degree possible, it is important to ascertain the real facts, whatever they may be, which may determine our judgment in arriving at the proper mean. And lastly, as there was in the later developments of the history of Palestine, in the rabbinical times of the Jewish history, in the monastic and crusading times of the Christian history, an abundant literature and mythology of purely human growth, it becomes a matter of at least a secondary interest to know how far the traditions and the institutions of those times have been fostered by local considerations.[2]

Explanations of particular events.

III. In the two points just noticed the connection between history and geography, if real, is essential. But this connection must always be more or less matter of opinion, and, for that very reason, is more open to fanciful speculation on the one side, and entire rejection on the other. There is however a connection less important but more generally accessible and appreciable, that, namely, which, without actually causing or influencing, explains

[1] See Chapters II. and XIII. [2] See Chapters I. II. and XIV.

the events that have occurred in any particular locality. The most obvious example of this kind of concatenation between place and event is that between a battle and a battle-field, a campaign and the seat of war. No one can thoroughly understand the one without having seen or investigated the other. In some respects this mutual relation of action and locality is less remarkable in the simple warfare of ancient times than in the complicated tactics of modern times. But the course of armies, the use of cavalry and chariots, or of infantry, the sudden panics and successes of battle, are more easily affected by the natural features of a country in earlier than in later ages, and accordingly the conquest of Palestine by Joshua and the numerous battles in the plain of Esdraelon [1] must be as indisputably illustrated by a view of the localities as the fights of Marathon or Thrasymenus. So again [2] the boundaries of the different tribes, and the selection of the various capitals, must either receive considerable light from a consideration of their geographical circumstances, or, if not, a further question must arise why in each case such exceptions should occur to what is else the well-known and general rule which determines such events. It is to the middle history of Palestine and of Israel, the times of the monarchy, where historical incidents of this kind are related in such detail as to present us with their various adjuncts, that this interest especially applies. But perhaps there is no incident of any magnitude, either of the New or Old Testament, to which it is not more or less

[1] See Chapters IV. VII. IX. and XI. In these portions of the work I have ventured on a more continuous narrative than would elsewhere have been admissible. Where history and geography were so closely blended, it seemed most natural not to attempt a separation.

[2] See Chapters III. IV. V. VI. VIII. and X.

applicable. Even in those periods and those events which are least associated with any special localities, namely the ministrations and journeys described in the Gospels and in the Acts, it is at least important to know the course of the ancient roads, the situation of the towns and villages, which must have determined the movements there described in one direction or another.[1]

Evidences of the truth of the History.

IV. Those who visit or who describe the scenes of Sacred history expressly for the sake of finding confirmations of Scripture, are often tempted to mislead themselves and others by involuntary exaggeration or invention. But this danger ought not to prevent us from thankfully welcoming any such evidences as can truly be found to the faithfulness of the Sacred records.

One such aid is sometimes sought in the supposed fulfilment of the ancient prophecies by the appearance which some of the sites of Syrian or Arabian cities present to the modern traveller. But as a general rule these attempts are only mischievous to the cause which they intend to uphold. The present aspect of these sites may rather, for the most part, be hailed as a convincing proof that the Spirit of prophecy is not so to be bound down. The continuous existence of Damascus and Sidon, the existing ruins of Ascalon, Petra, and Tyre, showing the revival of those cities long after the extinction of the powers which they once represented, are standing monuments of a most important truth, namely that the warnings delivered by 'holy men of old' were aimed not against stocks and stones, but then, as always, against living souls and sins, whether of men or of nations.[2]

[1] See Chapters VI. and XIII.

[2] See Chapters VI. and X.

But there is a more satisfactory 'evidence' to be derived from a view of the sacred localities, which has hardly been enough regarded by those who have written on the subject. Facts, it is said, are stubborn, and geographical facts happily the most stubborn of all. We cannot wrest them to meet our views; but neither can we refuse the conclusions they force upon us. It is by more than a figure of speech that natural scenes are said to have 'witnessed' the events which occurred in their presence. They are 'witnesses' which remain when the testimony of men and books has perished. They can be cross-examined with the alleged facts and narratives. If they cannot tell the whole truth, at any rate, so far as they have any voice at all, they tell nothing but the truth. If a partial advocate like Volney on one side, or Keith on the other, has extorted from them a reluctant or partial testimony, they still remain to be examined again and again by each succeeding traveller; correcting, elucidating, developing the successive depositions which they have made from age to age.

It is impossible not to be struck by the constant agreement between the recorded history and the natural geography both of the Old and New Testament. To find a marked correspondence between the scenes of the Sinaitic mountains and the events of the Israelite wanderings is not much perhaps, but it is certainly something towards a proof of the truth of the whole narrative.[1] To meet in the Gospels allusions, transient but yet precise, to the localities of Palestine, inevitably suggests the conclusion of their early origin, while Palestine was still familiar and accessible, while the events themselves were still

[1] See Chapter I.

recent in the minds of the writers.[1] The detailed harmony between the life of Joshua and the various scenes of his battles,[2] is a slight but true indication that we are dealing not with shadows, but with realities of flesh and blood. Such coincidences are not usually found in fables, least of all in fables of Eastern origin.

If it is important to find that the poetical imagery of the prophetical books is not to be measured by the rules of prose, it is not less important to find that the historical books do not require the latitude of poetry. Here and there, hyperbolical expressions may appear; but, as a general rule, their sobriety is evidenced by the actual scenes of Palestine, as clearly as that of Thucydides by the topography of Greece and Sicily. That the writers of the Old and New Testament should have been preserved from the extravagant statements made on these subjects by their Rabbinical countrymen,[3] or even by Josephus, is, at least, a proof of the comparative calmness and elevation of spirit in which the Sacred books were composed. The copyists who, according to Origen, changed the name of "Bethabara" into "Bethania," or "Gergesa" into "Gadara," because they thought only of the names[4] most familiar to their ears, without remembering the actual position of the places, committed (if so be) the error into which the Evangelists were almost sure to have been betrayed had they composed their narratives in the second century, in some city of Asia Minor or Egypt. The impossible situations in

[1] See Chapters III. V. X.

[2] See Chapters IV. VII. XI.

[3] It is said, for example, by Rabbinical authors, that Hebron could be seen from Jerusalem; that the music of the Temple could be heard at Jericho (Joma iii. 2, Tamid iii. 2); that the superficial area of Palestine is 1,440,000 English square miles. (Schwarze, p. 30.) In Josephus may be instanced the exaggerated descriptions of the precipices round Jerusalem. (Ant. XV. ii. 5.)

[4] See Chapters VII. and X.

numerous instances selected by the inventors of so-called traditional sanctuaries or scenes, from the fourth century downwards—at Nazareth,[1] at Tabor,[2] on Olivet,[3] at the Jordan[4]—are so many testimonies to the authenticity of the Evangelical narratives, which have in every case avoided the natural snares into which their successors have fallen.

This kind of proof will have a different kind of value in the eyes of different persons. To some, the amount of testimony thus rendered will appear either superfluous or trivial; to others, the mere attempt to define sacred history by natural localities and phenomena will seem derogatory to their ideal or divine character. But it will, at least, be granted that this evidence is, so far as it goes, incontestable. Wherever a story, a character, an event, a book, is involved in the conditions of a spot or scene still in existence, there is an element of fact which no theory or interpretation can dissolve. "If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." This testimony may even be more important when it explains, than when it refuses to explain, the peculiar characteristics of the history. If, for example, the aspect of the ground should, in any case, indicate that some of the great wonders in the history of the Chosen People were wrought through means which, in modern language, would be called natural, we must remember that such a discovery is, in fact, an indirect proof of the general truth of the narrative. We cannot call from the contemporary world of man any witnesses to the passage of the Red Sea, or to the overthrow of the cities of the plain, or to the passage of the

[1] See Chapter X.
[2] See Chapter IX.
[3] See Chapters III. and XIV.
[4] See Chapter VII.

Jordan. So much the more welcome are any witnesses from the world of nature, to testify on the spot to the mode in which the events are described to have occurred; witnesses the more credible, because their very existence was unknown to those by whom the occurrences in question were described. Some change may thus be needful in our mode of conceiving the events. But we shall gain more than we shall lose. Their moral and spiritual lessons will remain unaltered: the framework of their outward form will receive the only confirmation of which the circumstances of the case can now admit.

Illustration of the scenes of events.

V. Even where there is no real connection, either by way of cause or explanation, between the localities and the events, there remains the charm of more vividly realising the scene; if only that we may be sure that we have left no stone unturned in our approach to what has passed away. Even when, as in the last period of the Sacred History, local associations can hardly be supposed to have exercised any influence over the minds of the actors, or the course of events, it is still an indescribable pleasure to know what was the outline of landscape, what the colour of the hills and fields, what the special objects, far or near, that met the eye of those of whom we read. There is, as one of the profoundest historical students of our day[1] well observes, a satisfaction in treading the soil and breathing the atmosphere of historical persons or events, like that which results from familiarity with their actual language and with their contemporary chronicles. And this pleasure is increased in proportion as the events in question occurred not within perishable or perished buildings, but on the unchanging scenes of nature; on the Sea of Galilee, and

[1] Palgrave's History of Normandy and England, i. 123.

Mount Olivet, and at the foot of Gerizim, rather than in the house of Pilate, or the inn of Bethlehem, or the garden of the Holy Sepulchre, even were the localities now shown as such ever so genuine.

This interest pervades every stage of the Sacred History, from the earliest to the latest times, the earliest, perhaps the most, because then the events more frequently occurred in connection with the free and open scenery of the country, which we still have before us. It is also a satisfaction which extends in some measure beyond the actual localities of events to those which are merely alleged to be such, a consideration not without importance in a country where so much is shown of doubtful authenticity, yet the objects of centuries of veneration. Such spots have become themselves the scenes of a history, though not of that history for which they claim attention; and to see and understand what it was that has for ages delighted the eyes and moved the souls of thousands of mankind is instructive, though in a different way from that intended by those who selected these sites.[1]

In one respect the sight and description of Eastern countries lends itself more than that of any other country to this use of historical geography. Doubtless there are many alterations, some of considerable importance, in the vegetation, the climate, the general aspect of these countries, since the days of the Old and New Testament.[2] But, on the other hand, it is one of the great charms of Eastern travelling, that the framework of life, of customs, of manners, even of dress and speech, is still substantially the same as it was ages ago. Something, of course, in representing the scenes of the New Testament, must be

[1] See Chapter XIV.

[2] See Chapters I. II. X.

sought from Roman and Grecian usages now extinct; but the Bedouin tents are still the faithful reproduction of the outward life of the patriarchs—the vineyards, the cornfields, the houses, the wells of Syria still retain the outward imagery of the teaching of Christ and the Apostles; and thus the traveller's mere passing glances at Oriental customs, much more the detailed accounts of Lane and of Burckhardt, contain a mine of Scriptural illustration which it is an unworthy superstition either to despise or to fear.[1]

Poetical and proverbial use of the geography.

VI. Finally, there is an interest attaching to sacred geography hard to be expressed in words, but which cannot be altogether overlooked, and is brought home with especial force to the Eastern traveller. It has been well observed[2] that the poetical events of the Sacred History, so far from being an argument against its Divine origin, are striking proofs of that universal Providence by which the religion of the Bible was adapted to suit, not one class of mind only, but many in every age of time. As with the history, so also is it with the geography. Not only has the long course of ages invested the prospects and scenes of the Holy Land with poetical and moral associations, but these scenes lend themselves to such parabolical adaptation with singular facility. Far more closely as in some respects the Greek and Italian geography intertwines itself with the

[1] Although the nature of the work has not permitted me to enlarge on this source of knowledge, I cannot refrain from acknowledging the great advantage I derived from the opportunities of constant intercourse with at least one genuine Oriental—in the person of our faithful and intelligent Arab servant, Mohamed of Ghizeh.

[2] Milman's History of Christianity, vol. i. p. 131. "This language of poetic incident, and, if I may so speak, of imagery . . . . was the vernacular tongue of Christianity, universally intelligible and responded to by the human heart throughout many centuries. . . . . The incidents were so ordered, that they should thus live in the thoughts of men; the revelation itself was so adjusted and arranged that it might insure its continued existence."

history and religion of the two countries; yet when we take the proverbs, the apologues, the types, furnished even by Parnassus and Helicon, the Capitol and the Rubicon, they bear no comparison with the appropriateness of the corresponding figures and phrases borrowed from Arabian and Syrian topography, even irrespectively of the wider diffusion given them by our greater familiarity with the Scriptures. The passage of the Red Sea—"the wilderness" of life—the "Rock of Ages"—Mount Sinai and its terrors—the view from Pisgah—the passage of the Jordan—the rock of Zion, and the fountain of Siloa—the lake of Gennesareth, with its storms, its waves, and its fishermen, are well-known instances in which the local features of the Holy Land have naturally become the household imagery of Christendom.

In fact, the whole journey, as it is usually taken by modern travellers, presents the course of the history in a living parable before us, to which no other journey or pilgrimage can present any parallel. In its successive scenes, as in a mirror, is faithfully reflected the dramatic unity and progress which so remarkably characterises the Sacred History. The primeval world of Egypt is with us, as with the Israelites, the starting-point—the contrast—of all that follows. With us, as with them, the Pyramids recede, and the Desert begins, and the wilderness melts into the hills of Palestine, and Jerusalem is the climax of the long ascent, and the consummation of the Gospel History presents itself locally, no less than historically, as the end of the Law and the Prophets. And with us, too, as the glory of Palestine fades away into the 'common day' of Asia Minor and the Bosphorus, gleams of the Eastern light still continue—first in the Apostolical

labours, then, fainter and dimmer, in the beginnings of ecclesiastical history,—Ephesus, Nicæa, Chalcedon, Constantinople; and the life of European scenery and of Western Christendom completes by its contrast what Egypt and the East had begun. In regular succession at "sundry" and "divers" places, no less than "in sundry times and divers manners" "God spake in times past to our fathers;" and the local, as well as the historical diversity, is necessary to the ideal richness and completeness of the whole.

These are the main points, which, in a greater or less degree, are brought out in the following pages. One observation must be made in conclusion. A work of this kind, in which the local description is severed from the history, must necessarily bear an incoherent and fragmentary aspect. It is the frame without the picture—the skeleton without the flesh—the stage without the drama. The materials of a knowledge of the East are worthily turned to their highest and most fitting use only when employed for a complete representation of the Sacred History as drawn out in its full proportions from the condensed and scattered records of the Scriptures. Without in the least degree overloading the narrative with illustrations which do not belong to it, there is hardly any limit to the legitimate advantage derived by the historical and theological student from even such a transient glimpse of Eastern life and scenery, as that which forms the basis of the present volume. It is not so much in express elucidation that this additional power is felt, as in the incidental turn of a sentence—in the appreciation of the contrast between the East and West, of the atmos-

phere, and the character of the people and the country—in the new knowledge of expressions, of images, of tones, and countenances, which in a merely abstract work like this can have no place. So to delineate the outward events of the Old and New Testament, as that they should come home with a new power to those who by long familiarity have almost ceased to regard them as historical truth at all—so to bring out their inward spirit that the more complete realisation of their outward form should not degrade but exalt the faith of which they are the vehicle,—this would indeed be an object worthy of all the labour which travellers and theologians have ever bestowed on the East.

The present work is but a humble contribution towards this great end. It is an attempt to leave on record, however imperfectly, and under necessary disadvantages, some at least of the impressions, whilst still fresh in the memory, which it seemed ungrateful to allow wholly to pass away. Its object will be accomplished, if it brings any one with fresh interest to the threshold of the Divine story; which has many approaches, as it has many mansions; which the more it is explored the more it gives out; which, even when seen in close connection with the local associations from which its spirit holds most aloof, is still capable of imparting to them, and of receiving from them a poetry, a life, an instruction, such as has fallen to the lot of no other history in the world.

# EGYPT.

Psalm cxiv. 1 :—Israel came out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from among the strange people.

## EGYPT IN RELATION TO SINAI AND PALESTINE.

1. First View of the Nile in the Delta.—2. View from the Citadel of Cairo.—3. Heliopolis (or On).—4. The Nile Valley.—5. The Tombs of Beni-Hassan.—6. The Tombs and the Hermits.—7. Thebes—Colossal Statues.—8. Thebes—Karnac and the Royal Tombs.—9. Nile at Silsilis.—10. At the first Cataract.—11. Philœ.—12. Nile in Nubia.—13. Ipsambul.—14. Nile at the second Cataract.—15. Dendera.—16. Memphis.—17. The Pyramids.

# INTRODUCTION.

## EGYPT IN ITS RELATION TO SINAI AND PALESTINE.

EGYPT, amongst its many other aspects of interest, has this special claim—that it is the background of the whole history of the Israelites; the land to which, next after Palestine, their thoughts either by way of contrast or association immediately turned. Even in the New Testament the connection is not wholly severed; and the Evangelist emphatically plants in the first page of the Gospel History the prophetical text which might well stand as the inscription over the entrance to the Old Dispensation—"Out of Egypt have I called my Son." Doubtless some light must be reflected on the national feelings of Israel by their Mesopotamian origin; and when in the second great exile from the Land of Promise they found themselves once more on the shores of the Euphrates, it is possible that their original descent from these regions quickened their interest in their new settlement, and confirmed that attachment to the Babylonian soil which made it in later times the chief seat of Jewish life external to the boundaries of Palestine. But these points of contact with the remote East were too distant from the most stirring and the most brilliant epochs of their history to produce any definite result. Not so Egypt. The first migration of Abraham from Chaldæa is one continued advance southward, till he reaches the valley of the Nile; and when he reaches it he finds there a kingdom, which must have been to the wandering tribes of Asia what the Roman empire was to the Celtic and Gothic races when

they first crossed the Alps. Egypt is to them the land of plenty, whilst the neighbouring nations starve; its long strip of garden-land was the Oasis of the primitive world; through Abraham's eyes we first see the ancient Pharaoh, with palace and harem and princes, and long trains of slaves and beasts of burden, so familiar to the traveller in the sculptured processions and sacred images of Thebes and Ipsambul. What Abraham had begun, was yet further carried on by Jacob and Joseph. Whatever may have been the relations of this great Israelite migration to the dynasty of the Shepherd kings,—there can be no doubt that during the period of the settlement in Goshen, Egypt became "the Holy Land;" the Israelites to all outward appearance became Egyptians; Joseph in his robes of white and royal ring—son-in-law of the High Priest of On—was incorporated into the reigning caste, as truly as any of the figures whom we see in the Theban tombs. The sepulchres of Machpelah and Shechem received, in the remains of himself and his father, embalmed Egyptian mummies. The shepherds who wandered over the pastures of Goshen were as truly Egyptian Bedouins, as those who of old fed their flocks around the Pyramids, or who now, since the period of the Mussulman conquest, have spread through the whole country.

As from that long exile or bondage the Exodus was the great deliverance, so against the Egyptian worship and imagery the history of the Law in Sinai is a perpetual protest, though with occasional resemblances which set off the greater difference;—against the scenery of Egypt all the scenery of the Desert and of Palestine is put in continual contrast, though with occasional allusions which show that their ancient home was not forgotten. To that home, the heart of the people, as at first, so afterwards, was always "turning back." The reign of Solomon, the revival of the Egyptian animal-worship by Jeroboam, the leaning on 'the broken reed' of the Nile in the Egyptian alliances of Hezekiah and Jehoiakim, interweave in later times the fortunes of the two nations, which else had parted for ever on the shores of the Red Sea. And in the new Egypt of the Ptolemies arose the second settlement of

the Jews in the same land of Goshen, destined to exercise so important an influence on the last and greatest stage of their history by the Alexandrian translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, and by the Alexandrian forms first of Jewish and afterwards of Christian philosophy.

Egypt, therefore, is a fitting, it may almost be called a necessary, prelude to Sinai and Palestine. Even the outward features of those countries, in their historical connection, cannot be properly appreciated without some endeavour to conceive the aspect which the valley of the Nile, with its singular imagery and scenery, offered to the successive generations of Israel. To give such a picture in its full proportions would not be consistent with the object or limits of the present work. But, as no view of the Holy Land can for the reasons above stated be complete without a glance at what may be called its mother country, I have ventured to throw together a few extracts from many letters written on the spot. The fragmentary and prefatory form in which they are presented, will best explain their purpose, and excuse their superficial character. They contain no detailed discussions of Egyptian archæology or geography, but are almost entirely confined to such general views of the leading features of the country, in its river and its monuments,[1] as will render intelligible any subsequent allusions.

[1] For the points of contact between Egyptian and Israelite history, the reader is referred to Hengstenberg's "Egypt and the Books of Moses:" for the general impression of Egypt on Palestine, to the 18th and 19th chapters of Isaiah, and the 29th, 30th, and 31st of Ezekiel, with the usual commentaries. The only direct illustration of Jewish history contained in the monuments is the procession of Shishak and Ammon with the king of Judah amongst the prisoners, on one of the outer walls of Karnac. It may be worth while to mention, that this sculpture, which is incorrectly given by Champollion-Figeac and by Dr. Robinson, is accurately represented, from Rosellini, in Kenrick's Egypt, vol. ii. p. 349.

### 1. NILE IN THE DELTA.

The eastern sky was red with the early dawn; we were on the broad waters of the Nile—or rather, its Rosetta branch. The first thing which struck me was its size. Greater than the Rhine, Rhone, or Danube, one perceives what a sea-like stream it must have appeared to Greeks and Italians, who had seen nothing larger than the narrow and precarious torrents of their own mountains and valleys. As the light broke, its colour gradually revealed itself,—brown like the Tiber, only of a darker and richer hue—no strong current, only a slow, vast, volume of water, mild and beneficent as his statue in the Vatican, steadily flowing on between its two almost uniform banks, which rise above it much like the banks of a canal, though in some places with terraces or strips of earth, marking the successive stages of the flood.

These banks form the horizon on either side, and therefore you can have no notion of the country beyond; but they are varied by a succession of eastern scenes—villages of mud, like ant-hills, with human beings creeping about, like ants, except in numbers and activity—mostly, however, distinguished by the minaret of a well-built mosque, or the white oven-like dome of a sheykh's tomb; mostly, also, screened by a grove of palms, sometimes intermixed with feathery tamarisks, and the thick foliage of the carob-tree or the sycomore. Verdure, where it is visible, is light green, but the face of the bank is usually brown. Along the top of the banks move, like scenes in a magic lantern, and as if cut out against the sky, groups of Arabs, with their two or three asses, a camel, or a buffalo.

### 2. VIEW FROM THE CITADEL OF CAIRO.

The citadel, which stands on a low ridge of rocky hills on the east of the town, commands the whole.

The town is a vast expanse of brown, broken only by occasional interludes of palms and sycomores, and by the countless minarets. About half a dozen larger buildings, mosques or palaces, also emerge. On each side rise shapeless mounds,—those on the east covered with tents, and, dimly seen beyond, the browner line of the Desert; those on the west, the site of Old Cairo, the site of the Roman fortress of Babylon, and of Fostat, where Amrou first pitched his tent,—deserted since the time of Saladin. Beyond is the silver line of the Nile; and then rising in three successive groups, above the delicate green plain which sweeps along nearly to the foot of the African hills, the pyramids of Abusir, Sakarah, and Ghizeh, these last being "The

Pyramids," and the nearest. There is something very striking in their total disconnection with Cairo. They stand alone on the edge of that green vale, which is Egypt. There is no intermingling, as in ancient and modern Rome. It is as if you looked out on Stonehenge from London, or as if the Colosseum stood far away in the depths of the Campagna. Cairo is not "the ghost of the dead Egyptian Empire," nor anything like it. Cairo itself leaves a deep feeling that, whatever there was of greatness or wisdom in those remote ages and those gigantic monuments, is now the inheritance, not of the East, but of the West. The Nile, as it glides between the tombs of the Pharaohs and the city of the Caliphs, is indeed a boundary between two worlds.

### 3. HELIOPOLIS.

To-day was our first expedition into the real "Land of Egypt." Through two hours of green fields,—green with corn and clover,—avenues of tamarisk, fig-trees, and acacia; along causeways raised high above these fields,—that is, above the floods of the summer inundations,—we rode to Heliopolis. At every turn there was the grateful sound of little rills of living water, worked by water-wheels, and falling in gentle murmurs down into these little channels along the roadside, whence they fell off into the fields, or the canals. The sides of these canals were black with the deep soil of the land of Ham. Beyond was the green again, and, close upon that, like the sea breaking upon the shore, or (to compare, what is the most like it in England, though on a very small scale) the Cornish sand-hills overhanging the brook of Perranzabuloe, rose the yellow hills of the hazy desert.

At the very extremity of this cultivated ground are the ruins of On or Heliopolis. They consist simply of a wide enclosure of earthen mounds, partly planted with gardens. In these gardens are two vestiges of the great Temple of the Sun, the high-priest of which was father-in-law of Joseph, and, in later times, the teacher of Moses.

One is a pool, overhung with willows and aquatic vegetation,—the Spring of the Sun.

The other, now rising wild amidst garden shrubs, the solitary obelisk which stood in front of the temple, then in company with another, whose base alone now remains. This is the first obelisk I have seen standing in its proper place, and there it has stood for nearly four thousand years. It is the oldest known in Egypt, and therefore in the world,—the father of all that have arisen since. It was raised about a century before the coming of Joseph; it has looked down on his marriage with Asenath; it has seen the

growth of Moses; it is mentioned by Herodotus; Plato sate under its shadow: of all the obelisks which sprang up around it, it alone has kept its first position. One by one, it has seen its sons and brothers depart to great destinies elsewhere. From these gardens came the obelisks of the Lateran, of the Vatican, and of the Porta del Popolo; and this venerable pillar (for so it looks from a distance) is now almost the only landmark of the great seat of the wisdom of Egypt.

But I must not forget the view from the walls. Putting out of sight the minarets of Cairo in the distance, it was the same that Joseph and Moses had as they looked out towards Memphis,—the sandy desert; the green fields of Egypt; and, already in their time ancient, the Pyramids in the distance. This is the first day that has really given me an impression of their size. In this view, the two great pyramids stand so close together, that they form one bifurcated cone; and this cone does, indeed, look like a solitary peak rising over the plain,—like Etna from the sea. On the other side, in the yellow desert, seen through the very stems of the palm-trees, rise three rugged sand-hills, indicating the site of Leontopolis, the City of the Sacred Lions; where in after-times rose the second colony and temple of the Jews under Onias.

One more object I must mention, though of doubtful interest, and thus, unlike the certainties that I have just been describing. In a garden, immediately outside the walls, is an ancient fig-tree, its immense gnarled trunk covered with the names of travellers (in form not unlike the sacred Ash of the sources of the Danube), where Coptic belief and the tradition of the Apocryphal Gospels fix the refuge of Mary and Joseph on the flight into Egypt. There can, of course, be no proof, but it reminds us that, for the first time, our eyes may have seen the same outline that was seen by our Lord.

### 4. THE NILE VALLEY.

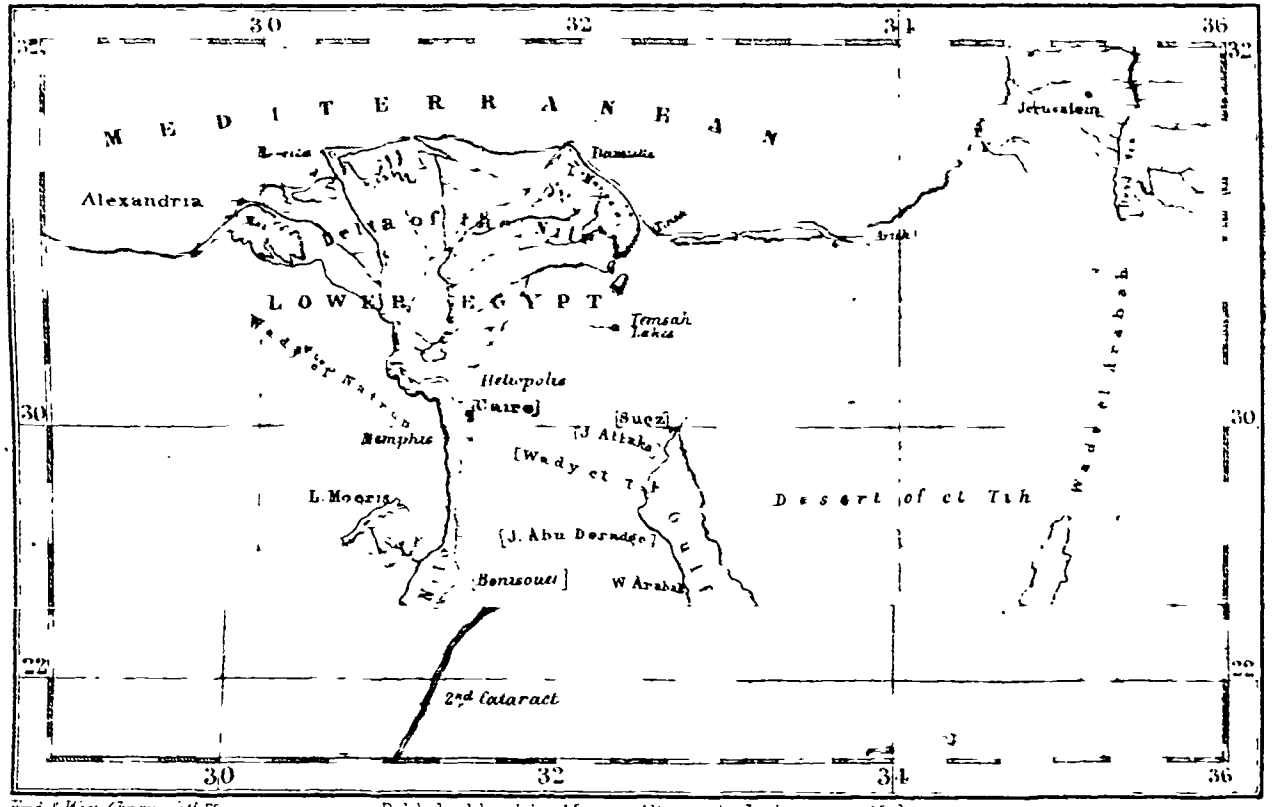
I am now confined within the valley of the Nile—I may say literally confined. Never in my life have I travelled continuously along a single valley with all the outer world so completely shut off. Between two limestone ranges, which form part of the table-land of the Arabian and African desert, flows the mighty river, which the Egyptians called Hapi-Mu, "the genius of the waters;" which the Hebrews called sometimes "Ior," from some unknown meaning,—sometimes "Sihor," 'the black.' Its brown colour, seen from the heights on either side and contrasted with the still browner and blacker colours of all around it, seems as blue and bright as the rivers of the North; hence, some say, the word "Nile," which is the form adopted by the Greeks, and by all the world since.

# EGYPT.

Published by John Murray, Albemarle St. January, 1856.

N.B. The colours in this map must be considered only as rough approximations to the truth, also the dark green, elsewhere used for forest is used for the whole verdure of the Nile valley.

# EGYPT.




Published by John Murray Albemarle Street January 1850

*N.B. The colours in this map must be considered only as rough approximations to the truth also the dark green, elsewhere used for forest, is used for the whole verdure of the Nile valley.*

The two limestone ranges press it at unequal intervals, sometimes leaving a space of a few miles, sometimes of a few yards, sometimes even a large plain. They are truly parts of a table-mountain. Hardly ever is their horizontal line varied; the only change in them is their nearer or less approach to the stream. In this respect the eastern range is a much greater offender than the western; and therefore the great line of Egyptian cities is on the western, not on the eastern shore; and hence Egypt has never, in its political divisions, followed the two shores, but the upper and lower course of the river. On the other hand, the western range, where it does approach, is more formidable, because it comes clothed with the sands of the African desert—sands and sand-drifts, which in purity, in brightness, in firmness, in destructiveness, are the snows and glaciers of the South. Immediately above the brown and blue waters of the broad, calm, lake-like river, rises a thick, black bank of clod or mud, mostly in terraces. Green—unutterably green—mostly at the top of these banks, though sometimes creeping down to the water's edge, lies the Land of Egypt. Green—unbroken, save by the mud villages which here and there lie in the midst of the verdure, like the marks of a soiled foot on a rich carpet; or by the dykes and channels which convey the life-giving waters through the thirsty land. This is the Land of Egypt, and this is the memorial of the yearly flood. Up those black terraces, over those green fields, the water rises and descends;

"Et *viridem* Ægyptum *nigrâ* fœcundat arenâ."

And not only when the flood is actually there, but throughout the whole year, is water continually ascending through innumerable wheels worked by naked figures, as the Israelites of old "in the service of the field," and then flowing on in gentle rills through the various allotments. To the seeds of these green fields, to the fishes of the wide river, is attached another natural phenomenon, which I never saw equalled:—the numbers numberless, of all manner of birds—vultures, and cormorants, and geese, flying like constellations through the blue heavens; pelicans standing in long array on the water side; hoopoos and ziczacs, and the (so-called) white ibis, the gentle symbol of the god Osiris in his robes of white, —ἐν ποσὶν εἰλύμενοι—walking under one's very feet.

## 5. THE TOMBS OF BENI-HASSAN.

High along the eastern shore—sometimes varied by a green strip of palms, sometimes a sheer slope of Desert-sand, broken only by the shadow of a solitary Arab—rises a white wall of limestone rock. In the face of this cliff are thirty holes—the famous tombs of Beni-

Hassan, that is, of the children of Hassan, the wild Arab-tribe once settled near the spot. These tombs of Beni-Hassan are amongst the oldest monuments of Egypt, during or before the time of Joseph, yet exhibiting, in the most lively manner, hunting, wrestling, and dancing—and curious as showing how gay and agile these ancient people could be, who in their architecture and graver sculptures appear so solemn and immoveable. Except a doubtful figure of Osiris in one, and a mummy on a barge in another, there is nothing of death or judgment or sorrow.

Every one looks here for the famous procession long supposed to be the presentation of Joseph's brethren to Pharaoh. Clearly it cannot be this. Besides the difference of numbers, and of gifts, and of name, there is no presentation to any one. The procession is in one of three compartments; the two lower show the ordinary droves of oxen and Egyptian servants, all equally relevant or irrelevant to the colossal figure of the owner of the tomb, who stands in the corner towering above the rest, with his dog by his side. Possibly, as the procession is of Asiatics—and yet not prisoners of war—they may, if the date will admit, be a deputation of Israelites after their settlement in Goshen.

### 6. THE TOMBS AND HERMITS.

The rocky wall still continues on the eastern side, still called by the names of successive Sheykhs or hermits who have lived or died on its desert heights—still perforated by the square holes which indicate ancient tombs. This eastern range is thus the long cemetery, the Appian Way, the Valley of Jehoshaphat of Egypt. It is, indeed, the Land of the Dead. Israel might well ask, "Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou brought us to die in the wilderness?" The present use of the tombs also brings before us how those deserted dwellings of the dead made Egypt the natural parent of anchorites and monks. . . . .

In one of these caves, close by the water's edge, lived for twelve years Sheykh Hassan, with his wife, two daughters, and his son—a hermit, though according to the Mahometan notions which permitted him still to have his family about him. Below was a little island, which he cultivated for lentiles. The two daughters at last married into the village on the opposite shore, which here, as usual, spreads out its green plain over against the white cliffs of the eastern bank, where the only mark of the fertilising inundation is in the brown discoloration which bears the trace of its rise immediately above the river—here alone unprofitable, or profitable only to such little portions of soil as the hermit had rescued. He still lived on with his wife and the little boy. One day the

child climbed down the rocks to play on the island—a crocodile came and carried him off. "This was four years ago;" and "from that time," said the Arabs, who related the story, "the Sheykh is gone—we have seen him no more—he took everything away; and as soon as he was gone, the river washed away the island," and now nothing is left but the empty cave.

## 7. COLOSSAL STATUES OF THEBES.

(FIRST VISIT.)

No written account has given me an adequate impression of the effect, past and present, of the colossal figures of the Kings. What spires are to a modern city,—what the towers of a cathedral are to its nave and choir,—that the statues of the Pharaohs were to the streets and temples of Thebes. The ground is strewed with their fragments: there were avenues of them towering high above plain and houses. Three of gigantic size still remain. One was the granite statue of Rameses himself, who sate on the right side of the entrance to his palace. By some extraordinary catastrophe, the statue has been thrown down, and the Arabs have scooped their millstones out of his face, but you can still see what he was,—the largest statue in the world. Far and wide that enormous head must have been seen, eyes, mouth, and ears. Far and wide you must have seen his vast hands resting on his elephantine knees. You sit on his breast and look at the Osiride statues which support the portico of the temple, and which anywhere else would put to shame even the statues of the cherubs in St. Peter's—and they seem pigmies before him. His arm is thicker than their whole bodies. The only part of the temple or palace at all in proportion to him must have been the gateway, which rose in pyramidal towers, now broken down, and rolling in a wild ruin down to the plain.

Nothing which now exists in the world can give any notion of what the effect must have been when he was erect. Nero towering above the Colosseum may have been something like it; but he was of bronze, and Rameses was of solid granite. Nero was standing without any object; Rameses was resting in awful majesty after the conquest of the whole of the then known world. No one who entered that building, whether it were temple or palace, could have thought of anything else but that stupendous being who thus had raised himself up above the whole world of gods and men.

And when from the statue you descend to the palace, the same impression is kept up. It is the earliest instance of the enshrinement in Art of the historical glories of a nation, such as Versailles. Everywhere the King is conquering, worshipping, ruling. The Palace

is the Temple—the King is Priest. But everywhere the same colossal proportions are preserved. He and his horses are ten times the size of the rest of the army. Alike in battle and in worship, he is of the same stature as the gods themselves. Most striking is the familiar gentleness with which—one on each side—they take him by each hand, as one of their own order, and then in the next compartment introduce him to Ammon and the lion-headed goddess. Every distinction, except of degree, between divinity and royalty, is entirely levelled, and the royal majesty is always represented by making the King, not like Saul or Agamemnon, from the head and shoulders, but from the foot and ankle upwards, higher than the rest of the people.

It carries one back to the days "when there were giants on the earth." It shows how the King, in that first monarchy, was the visible God upon earth. The only thing like it that has since been seen is the deification of the Roman emperors. No pure Monotheism could for a moment have been compatible with such an intense exaltation of the conquering King. "I am Pharaoh;" "By the life of Pharaoh;" "Say unto Pharoah, Whom art thou like in thy greatness?"[1]—all these expressions seem to acquire new life from the sight of this monster statue.

And now let us pass to the two others. They are the only statues remaining of an avenue of eighteen similar, or nearly similar, statues, some of whose remnants lie in the field behind them which led to the palace of Amenophis III., every one of the statues being Amenophis himself, thus giving in multiplication what Rameses gained in solitary elevation. He lived some reigns earlier than Rameses, and the statues are of ruder workmanship and coarser stone. To me they were much more striking close at hand when their human forms were distinctly visible, than at a distance, when they looked only like two towers or landmarks.

The sun was setting; the African range glowed red behind them; the green plain was dyed with a deeper green beneath them; and the shades of evening veiled the vast rents and fissures in their aged frames. They, too, sit, hands on knees, and they too are sixty feet high. As I looked back at them in the sunset, and they rose up in front of the background of the mountain, they seemed, indeed, as if they were part of it,—as if they belonged to some natural creation rather than to any work of art. And yet, as I have said, when anywhere in their neighbourhood, the human character is never lost. Their faces are dreadfully mutilated; indeed, the largest has no face at all, but is from the waist upwards a mass of stones or rocks piled together in the form of a human head and body. Still, especially in that dim light, and from their lofty thrones, they seem to have faces, only of hideous and grinning ugliness.

[1] Gen. xli. 44; xlii. 15, 16. Ezek. xxxi. 2.

And now, who was it that strewed the plain with their countless fragments? Who had power to throw down the Colossus of Rameses? Who broke the statue of Amenophis from the middle upwards? From the time of the Roman travellers, who have carved their names in verses innumerable on the foot of Amenophis, there has been but one answer,—Cambyses. He was, in the traditions of that time, the Cromwell of Egypt. It is possible that Rameses, it is probable that Amenophis, was shattered by earthquakes. But the recollection of Cambyses shows the feeling he had left while here, as the great Iconoclast. What an effort this implies of fanatical or religious zeal! What an impression it gives of that Persian hatred of idols, which is described in the Bible, only here carried to excess against these majestic kings: "Bel boweth down, and Nebo stoopeth."[1] Well might the idols of Babylon tremble before Cyrus, if such was the fate of the Egyptian Pharaohs before Cambyses.

## 8. THEBES, KARNAC, AND THE ROYAL TOMBS.

(SECOND VISIT.)

Alone of the cities of Egypt, the situation of Thebes is as beautiful by nature as by art. The monotony of the two mountain ranges, Libyan and Arabian, for the first time assumes a new and varied character. They each retire from the river, forming a circle round the wide green plain: the western rising into a bolder and more massive barrier, and closing in the plain at its northern extremity as by a natural bulwark; the eastern further withdrawn, but acting the same part to the view of Thebes as the Argolic mountains to the plain of Athens, or the Alban hills to Rome—a varied and bolder chain, rising and falling in almost Grecian outline, though cast in the conical form which marks the hills of Nubia further south, and which, perhaps, suggested the Pyramids. Within the circle of those two ranges, thus peculiarly its own, stretches the green plain on each side the river to an unusual extent; and on each side of the river, in this respect unlike Memphis, but like the great city of the further East on the Euphrates,—like the cities of northern Europe on their lesser streams—spread the city of Thebes, with the Nile for its mighty thoroughfare. "Art thou better than 'No-Amon'—that was situated by the 'rivers of the Nile'—that had the waters round about it—whose rampart was 'the sealike stream,' and whose wall was the 'sealike stream?'"[2]

"Thebes" proper, "Taba," the capital—No-Amon (the Hebrew name of Thebes) the sanctuary of Ammon—stood on the eastern plain. This sanctuary, as founded by Osirtasen in the time of Joseph, as restored by the son of Alexander the Great,—still exists, a small

[1] Isa. xlvi. 1. [2] Nahum iii. 8.

granite edifice, with the vestiges of the earliest temple round it. This is the centre of the vast collection of palaces or temples which, from the little Arab village hard by, is called Karnac.

Imagine a long vista of courts, and gateways, and halls—and gateways, and courts, and colonnades, and halls; here and there an obelisk shooting up out of the ruins, and interrupting the opening view of the forest of columns. Imagine yourself mounted on the top of one of these halls or gateways, and looking over the plain around. This mass of ruins, some rolled down in avalanches of stones, others perfect and painted, as when they were first built, is approached on every side by avenues of gateways, as grand as that on which you are yourself standing. East and west, and north and south, these vast approaches are found,—some are shattered, but in every approach some remain; and in some can be traced besides, the further avenues, still in part remaining, by hundreds together, avenues of ram-headed sphinxes.

Every Egyptian temple has, or ought to have, one of these great gateways formed of wo tsloping towers, with the high perpendicular front between. But what makes them remarkable at Thebes is their numbers, and their multiplied concentration on the one point of Karnac. This no doubt is the origin of Homer's expression "The City of the Hundred Gates;" and in ancient times, even from a distance, they must have been beautiful. For, instead of the brown mass of sandstone which they now present, the great sculptures of the gods and conquering kings which they uniformly present were painted within and without; and in the deep grooves which can still be seen, twofold or fourfold, on each side the portal, with enormous holes for the transverse beams of support, were placed immense red flagstaffs, with Isis-headed standards, red and blue streamers floating from them. Close before almost every gateway in this vast array, were the granite colossal figures usually of the great Rameses, sometimes in white or red marble, of Amenophis and of Thothmes, whose fragments still remain. And close by these were pairs of towering obelisks (for in Egypt they always stood in pairs), which can generally be traced by pedestals on either side, or by the solitary twin, mourning for its brother, either lying broken beside it, or far away in some northern region at Rome, at Paris, or at Petersburg.

I have spoken of the view from the top of the great gateway which overlooks the whole array of avenues. I must speak also of that which from the other end commands the whole series of ruins, each succeeding the other in unbroken succession. It is a view something of the kind of that up the Forum from the Colosseum to the Capitol. You stand in front of a stately gateway, built by the Ptolemies. Immediately in the foreground are two Osiride pillars—their placid faces fixed upon you—a strange and striking contrast to the crash of temple and tower behind. That crash, however, great as it is,

has not, like that of the fall of Rome, left mere empty spaces where only imagination can supply what once there was. No—there is not an inch of this Egyptian Forum, so to call it, which is not crowded with fragments, if not buildings, of the past. No Canina is wanted to figure the scene as it once was. You have only to set up again the fallen obelisks which lie at your feet; to conceive the columns as they are still seen in parts, overspreading the whole; to reproduce all the statues, like those which still remain in their august niches; to gaze on the painted walls and pillars of the immense hall, which even now can never be seen without a thrill of awe,—and you have ancient Thebes before you.

And what a series of history it is! In that long defile of ruins every age has borne its part, from Osirtasen I. to the latest Ptolemy, from the time of Joseph to the Christian era; through the whole period of Jewish history, and of the ancient world, the splendour of the earth kept pouring into that space for two thousand years.

This is the result of the eastern bank: on the western bank can be nothing more grand, but there is something more wonderful even than Karnak.

The western barrier of the Theban plain is a mass of high limestone cliffs, with two deep gorges: one running up behind the plain, and into the very heart of the hills, entirely shut in by them; the other running up from the plain, so as to be enclosed within the hills, but having its face open to the city. The former is the valley of the Tombs of the Kings, the Westminster Abbey of Thebes; the latter, of the Tombs of the Priests and Princes, its Canterbury Cathedral.

Ascend, therefore, the first of these two gorges. It is the very ideal of desolation. Bare rocks, without a particle of vegetation, overhanging and enclosing, in a still narrower and narrower embrace, a valley as rocky and bare as themselves, with no human habitation visible, the whole stir of the city wholly excluded; such is—such always must have been the awful resting-place of the Theban kings.

Nothing that has ever been said about them had prepared me for their extraordinary grandeur. You enter a sculptured portal in the face of these wild cliffs, and find yourself in a long and lofty gallery, opening or narrowing, as the case may be, into successive halls and chambers, all of which are covered with white stucco, and this white stucco brilliant with colours, fresh as they were thousands of years ago, but on a scale, and with a splendour, that I can only compare to the frescos of the Vatican Library.

Some, of course, are more magnificent than the others; but of the chief seven all are of this character. They are, in fact, gorgeous palaces; hewn out of the rock, and painted with all the decorations

that could have been seen in palaces. No modern galleries or halls could be more completely ornamented. But splendid as they would be even as palaces, their interest is enhanced tenfold by being what they are. There lie "all the Kings in glory; each one in his own house." (Isa. xiv. 18.) Every Egyptian potentate, but especially every Egyptian king, seems to have begun his reign by preparing his sepulchre. It was so in the case of the Pyramids, where each successive layer marked the successive years of the reign. It was so equally in these Theban tombs, where the longer or shorter reign can be traced by the extent of the chambers, or the completeness of their finish. In one or two instances, you pass at once from the most brilliant decorations to rough unhewn rock. The king had died, and the grave closed over his imperfect work. At the entrance of each tomb, he stands making offerings to the Sun, who, with his hawk's head, wishes him a long life to complete his labours.

Two ideas seem to reign through the various sculptures.

First, the endeavour to reproduce, as far as possible, the life of man, so that the mummy of the dead King, whether in his long sleep, or on his awakening, might still be encompassed by the old familiar objects. Egypt, with all its peculiarities, was to be perpetuated in the depths of the grave; and truly they have succeeded. This is what makes this Valley of Tombs like the galleries of a vast Museum. Not the collections of Pompeii at Naples give more knowledge of Greek or Roman life than these do of Egyptian. The kitchen, the dinners, the boating, the dancing, the trades, all are there—all fresh from the hands of the painters of the primeval world.

The other idea is that of conducting the King to the world of death.

The further you advance into the tomb, the deeper you become involved in endless processions of jackal-headed gods, and monstrous forms of genii, good and evil; and the Goddess of Justice, with her single ostrich feather; and barges, carrying mummies, raised aloft over the sacred lake, and mummies themselves; and, more than all, everlasting convolutions of serpents in every possible form and attitude; human-legged, human-headed, crowned, entwining mummies—enwreathing or embraced by processions,—extending down whole galleries, so that meeting the head of the serpent at the top of a staircase, you have to descend to its very end before you reach his tail. At last you arrive at the close of all—the vaulted hall, in the centre of which lies the immense granite sarcophagus, which ought to contain the body of the King. Here the processions above, below, and around, reach their highest pitch—meandering round and round—white and black, and red and blue—legs and arms and wings spreading in enormous forms over the ceiling; and below lies, as I have said, the coffin itself.

It seems certain that all this gorgeous decoration was, on the burial of the King, immediately closed, and meant to be closed for ever; so that what we now see was intended never to be seen by any mortal eyes except those of the King himself when he awoke from his slumbers. Not only was the entrance closed, but in some cases—chiefly in that of the great sepulchre of Osirei—the passages were cut in the most devious directions, the approaches to them so walled up as to give the appearance of a termination long before you arrived at the actual chamber, lest by any chance the body of the King might be disturbed. And yet in spite of all these precautions, when these gigantic fortresses have been broken through, in no instance has the mummy been discovered. . . . .

Amongst the inscriptions of early travellers is one of peculiar interest. It was the "torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries," who records that he visited these tombs "many years after the divine Plato"—thanks "to the gods and to the most pious Emperor Constantine who afforded him this favour." It is written in the vacant space under the figure of a wicked soul returning from the presence of Osiris in the form of a pig, which probably arrested the attention of the Athenian by reminding him of his own mysteries. Such a confluence of religions—of various religious associations—could hardly be elsewhere found; a Greek priest-philosopher recording his admiration of the Egyptian worship in the time of Constantine, on the eve of the abolition of both Greek and Egyptian religion by Christianity. . . . .

It was on the evening of our last day that we climbed the steep side of that grand and mysterious valley, and from the top of the ridge had the last view of the valley itself, as we looked back upon it, and of the glorious plain of Thebes as we looked forward over it.

No distant prospect of the ruins can ever do them justice; but it was a noble point from which to see once more the dim masses of stone rising here and there out of the rich green, and to know that *this* was Karnac with its gateways, and *that* Luxor with its long colonnade, and those nearer fragments the Ramaseum and Medinet-Habou; and further, the wide green depression in the soil, once the funereal lake.

Immediately below lay the Valley of Assasif, where in a deep recess under towering crags, like those of Delphi, lay the tombs of the priests and princes. The largest of these, in extent the largest of any, is that of Petumenap, Chief Priest in the reign of Pharaoh Neco. Its winding galleries are covered with hieroglyphics, as if hung with tapestry. The only figures which it contains are those which appear again and again in these priestly tombs, the touching effigies of himself and his wife—the best image that can be carried away of Joseph and Asenath—sitting side by side, their arms

affectionately and solemnly entwined round each other's necks. . . . To have seen the Tombs of Thebes is to have seen the Egyptians as they lived and moved before the eyes of Moses—is to have seen the utmost display of funereal grandeur which has ever possessed the human mind. To have seen the Royal Tombs is more than this—it is to have seen the whole religion of Egypt unfolded as it appeared to the greatest powers of Egypt, at the most solemn moments of their lives. And this can be explored only on the spot. Only a very small portion of the mythological pictures of the Tombs of the Kings has ever been represented in engravings. The mythology of Egypt, even now, strange to say, can be studied only in the caverns of the Valley of the Kings.

### 9. NILE AT SILSILIS.

At Silsilis, the seat of the ancient sandstone quarries—there was a scene which stood alone in the voyage. The two ranges, here of red sandstone, closed in upon the Nile, like the Drachenfels and Rolandseck; fantastic rockery, deep sand-drifts, tombs and temples hewn out of the stone, the cultivated land literally reduced to a few feet or patches of rush and grass. It was curious to reflect, that those patches of green were for the time the whole of the Land of Egypt,—we ourselves, as we swept by in our boat, the whole living population contained within its eastern and western boundaries. It soon opened again, wide plains appearing on each side.

### 10. NILE AT THE FIRST CATARACT.

And now the narrow limits of the sandstone range, which had succeeded to our old friends of limestone, and from which were dug the materials of almost all the temples of Egypt, are exchanged at Assouan—the old Syene—for the granite range; the Syenite granite, from which the Nile issues out of the mountains of Nubia.

For the first time a serrated mass of hills ran, not as heretofore along the banks, but across the southern horizon itself. The broad stream of the river, too, was broken up, not as heretofore by flat sandbanks, but by fantastic masses of black porphyry and granite, and by high rocky islands, towering high above the shores. Far and wide these fantastic rocks are strewn, far into the eastern Desert, far up the course of the Nile itself.

These are the rocks which make, and are made by, the Cataract. These, too, furnish the quarries from whence came the great colossal statues of Rameses, and all the obelisks. From this wild and distant region sprang all those familiar forms which we know so

well in the squares of Rome. In the quarries which are still visible in the white sands and black crags immediately east of Assouan, one obelisk still remains, hewn out, but never removed from his original birthplace; the latest, as that of Heliopolis is the earliest born of the race. And not only are these rocks the quarries of the statues, but it is hardly possible to look at their forms and not believe that they suggested the idea. Islands, quarries, crags along the river-side, all seem either like grotesque colossal figures, sitting with their grim features carved out against the sky, their vast limbs often smoothed by the inundations of successive ages; or else like the same statues broken to shivers, like that we saw at Thebes. One can quite imagine how, in the days when power was will and will was power, Rameses, returning from his Ethiopian conquests, should say, "Here is the stone, hard and glittering, from which my statue shall be hewn, and here is the model after which it shall be fashioned."

This is the utmost limit of the journey of Herodotus. He had been told a strange story, which he says he could not believe, by the Treasurer at Sais, that at this point of the river there were two mountains running up into sharp peaks, and called Crophi and Mophi, between which were the sources of the Nile, from which it ran down northwards, on one side, into Egypt, and southwards, on the other, into Ethiopia. He came, he says, to verify it, and observes (doubtless with truth), that by those deep, unfathomable sources which they described, they meant the violent eddies of the Cataracts. To an inhabitant of Lower Egypt, the sight or the report of such a convulsion as the rapids make in the face of their calm and majestic river, must have seemed like the very beginning of his existence, the struggling into life of what afterwards became so mild and beneficial. And if they heard that there was a river Nile further south, it was then natural for them to think that this could not be the same as their own. The granite range of Syene was to them their Alps—the water-shed of their world. If there was a stream on the other side, doubtless it flowed far away into the Ocean of the South. And these fantastic peaks, not two only, but hundreds, were simplified by them into Crophi and Mophi—the names exactly suit the wild mysterious character of the whole scenery which they represent.

And now it is immediately above the roar of these rapids—but still in the very centre of these colossal rockeries—that you emerge into sight of an island lying in the windings of the river—fringed with palms, and crowned with a long line of temples and colonnades. This is Philæ.

## 11. PHILÆ.

The name expresses its situation—it is said to be "Pilek," "the frontier" between Egypt and Ethiopia, and the name seems to have been applied to all the larger islands in this little archipelago. One of these (Biggeh) immediately overhangs Philæ, and is the most remarkable of all the multitude for its fantastic shapes. High from its black top, you overlook what seems an endless crater of these porphyry and granite blocks, many of them carved with ancient figures and hieroglyphics; in the silver lake which they enclose lies Philæ, the only flat island amongst them. Its situation is more curious than beautiful, and the same is true of its temples. As seen from the river or the rocks, their brown sandstone colour, their dead walls hardly emerge sufficiently from the sand and mud cottages which enclose them round, and the palms are not sufficiently numerous to relieve the bare and mean appearance which the rest of the island presents. As seen from within, however, the glimpses of the river, the rocky knolls, and the feathery tresses of the palm, through the vista, the massive walls and colonnades irregular and perverse in all their proportions, but still grand from their size, are in the highest degree peculiar. Foreground—distance—Art and nature are here quite unique; the rocks and river (of which you might see the like elsewhere) are wholly unlike Egypt, as the square towers, the devious perspective, and the sculptured walls, are wholly unlike anything else except Egypt.

The whole Temple is so modern, that it no way illustrates, except so far as it copies them, the feelings of the religion of the old Egyptians. The earliest, and the only Egyptian, name that occurs upon it, is Nectanebo, an Egyptian prince, who revolted against the later Persian kings. All the rest are the Grecian Ptolemies, and of these the chief is Ptolemy Physcon, or the Fat, so called because he became so bloated by his luxurious living that he measured six feet round, and who proposed, but in vain, to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi. But in this very fact of its modern origin there is a peculiar interest. It is the fullest specimen of the restoration of the old Egyptian worship by the Ptolemies, and of an attempt, like ours, in Gothic architecture, to revive a style and forms which had belonged to ages far away. The Ptolemies here, as in many other places, were trying "to throw themselves" into Egyptian worship, following in the steps of Alexander "the son of Ammon." In many ways this appears. First, there is much for show without real use—one great side chapel, perhaps the finest of the group, built for the sake of its terrace towards the river—the main entrance to the Temple being in fact no entrance at all. Then there is the want of symmetry which always more or less distinguishes the

Egyptian architecture, but is here carried to a ridiculous excess. No perspective is carried consistently through: the sides of the same courts are of different styles: no one gateway is in the same line with another. Lastly there is the curious sight of sculptures, contemporary with the finest works of Greek Art, and carved under Grecian kings, as rude and coarse as those under the earliest Pharaohs, to be "in keeping" with Egyptian architecture, and to "preserve the ancient type," like the mediæval figures in painted windows and the illegible inscriptions round the arches of some modern English churches. And not only are the forms but the subjects imitated, long after all meaning had passed away, and this not only in the religious figures of Isis and the gods. There is something ludicrously grotesque in colossal bas-reliefs of kings seizing innumerable captives by the hair of their head, as in the ancient sculptures of Rameses—kings who reigned at a time when all conquests had ceased, and who had, perhaps, never stirred out of the palaces and libraries of Alexandria.

The mythological interest of the Temple is its connection with Isis, who is its chief divinity, and accordingly the sculptures of her, of Osiris, and of Horus, are countless. The most remarkable, though in a very obscure room, and on a very small scale, is the one representing the death of Osiris, and then his embalment, burial, gradual restoration, and enthronement as judge of the dead. But this legend belongs, like the rest of the Temple, to the later, not the ancient stage of Egyptian belief.

## 12. NILE IN NUBIA.

We are still on the Nile, but it is no longer the Nile of Egypt. The two ranges are wild granite and sandstone hills, which enclose the river so completely, and render the banks so high and steep, that there is no general cultivation. The waters rise to a certain height up the terraced shore, and accordingly here, as to a certain extent in Upper Egypt, you see the springing corn and vegetation to the very edge of the stream. But beyond that the water can only be raised by water-wheels worked by oxen, which accordingly are here ten times as numerous as in Egypt, working by night and day, and—as all the grease in the country is used in plastering the long hair of the unturbaned heads of the Nubians—creaking by night and day, and all along the river, with a sound which in the distance is like the hum of a mosquito. How much that hum tells you of the state of the country if you inquire into all its causes! The high banks which prevent the floods, the tropical heats which call for the labour of oxen instead of men, the constant need of water, and the wild costume of the people.

Another feature of the country is, that you feel you are now beyond the reach of history. This is Ethiopia, and from this possibly the Egyptian race may have sprung; and there is no doubt that the great Pharaohs, and afterwards the Cæsars, pushed their conquests over it far south. But it was, after all, a province without any national existence of its own, and accordingly of all the towns and temples we shall pass there is not one of the slightest historical interest—not the villages in the wilds of Australia or America can be less known or less important than these. Their sole interest is, that they assist you in filling up the broken outlines and vacant spaces of Thebes and Memphis; and the very fact of their remoteness from the course of history conduces to this result, because this remoteness has preserved them, whilst the monuments of the better frequented country below the Cataract have perished. Already we have passed as many temples in one day, as we passed (with the exception of Thebes) during the whole of the rest of our Egyptian voyage. There they stand, broken and of various ages, but massive and striking on the river-side, taking the place of the tombs of Egypt, and of the castles on the Rhine and Danube. . . . .

Further on we see clusters of deep purple hills rising, not in continuous chains, but east, and west, and north and south; purple, not with the amethyst of the Apennines, but with a black porphyry hue, that contrasts strangely with the bright green strip which lies at their feet, or else with the drifts of sand, sometimes the gray dust of the Nile alluvium, oftener the yellow sand of the Desert, which now appears far oftener than in Egypt.

You feel here the force of that peculiar attribute of the Nile—his having no tributaries. After having advanced 800 miles up his course, you naturally expect, as in the Rhine, that when you have tracked him up into his mountain-bed, and are approaching, however indefinitely, to his veiled sources, you will find the vast volume of waters shrink. But no—the breadth and strength below was all his own; and throughout that long descent he has not a drop of water but what he brought himself, and therefore you have the strange sight of a majestic river flowing like an arm of the sea in the Highlands, as calm and as broad amongst these wild Nubian hills as in the plain of Egypt.

## 13. IPSAMBUL (OR ABOU-SIMBIL).

Why the great Temple of Ipsambul should have been fixed at this spot, it is hard to say. Perhaps because, after this point, begins the more strictly Desert-part of Nubia, known by the name of the "Belly of Stone;" and thus, for a long way further south, on the

western bank (to which all the Nubian temples, but two, are confined), there are no masses of rock out of which such a monument could be hewn. The great temple is in the bowels of a hill, obliquely facing eastwards, and separated from the smaller Temple, which immediately overhangs the river, by the avalanche of sand which, for centuries, had entirely buried the entrance, and now chokes up its greater part.

There are two points which give it an essential and special interest. First, you here get the most distinct conception of the great Rameses. Sculptures of his life you can see elsewhere. But here alone, as you sit on the deep pure sand, you can look at his features inch by inch, see them not only magnified to tenfold their original size, so that ear and mouth, and nose, and every link of his collar, and every line of his skin, sinks into you with the weight of a mountain; but these features are repeated exactly the same, three times over—four times they once were, but the upper part of the fourth statue is gone. Kehama is the image which most nearly answers to these colossal kings: and this multiplication of himself—not one Rameses but four—is exactly Kehama entering the eight gates of Padalon by eight roads at once. Look at them, as they emerge,—the two northern figures, from the sand which reaches up to their throats—the southernmost, as he sits unbroken, and revealed from the top of his royal helmet to the toe of his enormous foot. Look at them, and remember that the face which looks out from the top of that gigantic statue is the face of the greatest man of the Old World that preceded the birth of Greece and Rome—the first conqueror recorded in history—the glory of Egypt—the terror of Africa and Asia—whose monuments still remain in Syria and in Asia Minor—the second founder of Thebes, which must have been to the world then, as Rome was in the days of its Empire. It is certainly an individual likeness. Three peculiarities I carry away with me, besides that of profound repose and tranquillity, united, perhaps, with something of scorn—first, the length of the face, compared with that of most others that one sees in the sculptures; secondly, the curl of the tip of the nose; thirdly, the overlapping and fall of the under lip.

One of the two southern colossal figures, I said, was shattered from the legs upwards; but the legs are happily preserved, and on them, as on the Amenophis at Thebes, are the scrawls, not of modern travellers—nor even as at Thebes, of Roman pilgrims—but of the very earliest Greek adventurers who penetrated into Africa. Some of them are still visible. The most curious, however, has been again buried in the accumulation of sand. It is the oldest Greek inscription in the world,—by a Greek soldier who came here to pursue some deserters in the last days of the Egyptian monarchy.

And now let us pass to the second great interest of Ipsambul, which is this. Every other great Egyptian temple is more or less in ruins. This, from being hewn out of the rock, is in all its arrangements as perfect now as it was when it was left unfinished by Rameses himself.

You can explore every chamber from end to end, and you know that you have seen them all. The fact of its being a cave, and not a building, may of course have modified the forms. But the general plan must have been the same, and the massive shapes, the low roofs, the vast surface of dead wall, must have been suggested in the temples of Lower Egypt, where these features were not necessary, by those in Ethiopia where they were.

The temple is dedicated to Ra or the Sun. This is represented in a large bas-relief over the great entrance between the colossal figures. There is Rameses presenting offerings to the Sun, whom you recognise at once here and elsewhere by his hawk's head. This in itself gives the whole place a double interest. Not only was the Sun the especial deity of the Pharaohs, which means "Children of the Sun," but he was the god of Heliopolis, and such as we see him here,—and such in great measure as his worship was here, such was he and his worship in the great Temple of Heliopolis, now destroyed,—from which came the obelisks of Europe,—of which Joseph's father-in-law was High Priest, and where Moses must most frequently have seen the Egyptian ceremonies.

Now climb up that ridge of sand, stoop under the lintel of the once gigantic doorway, between which and the sand there is left only an aperture of a few feet, and dive into the dark abyss of the Temple itself. Dark it must always have been, though not so dark as now. All the light that it had came through that one door. First, there is the large hall, with four pillars ranged on each side, colossal figures of Osiris; each figure with the feet swathed, the hands crossed on the breast, the crook and knotted scourge—his universal emblems—clasped in them; the face absolutely passionless; broad, placid, and serene as the full Nile; the highest ideal of repose, both as the likeness of Death in the mummy, and as the representative of the final Judgment. From this hall, richly sculptured round with the Homeric glories of Rameses, we pass into another filled with sculptures of gods. We have left the haunts of man and are advancing into the presence of the Divinities. Another corridor, and the Temple narrows yet again, and we are in the innermost sanctuary. . . . . In that square rocky chamber, to which we are thus brought by the arms of the mountain closing us in with a closer and ever closer embrace, stood, and still stands, though broken, the original altar. Behind the altar, seated against the rocky wall, their hands upon their knees, looking straight out

through the door of the sanctuary, through the corridor, through the second hall, and through the first, to the small aperture of daylight and blue sky, as it is now,—to the majestic portal as it was in ancient times,—sate, and still sit, the four great gods of the Temple. There they sate and looked out; and as you stand far back in the Temple, and light up the Adytum by kindling fires once more on that forgotten altar, you can see them still.

There is the Hawkhead of the Sun. Next to him, Rameses himself; next, Ammon, the Jupiter of Egypt—the great god of Thebes—you see his tall cap, or tiara, towering high above the head of all the others in strong relief against the wall;—and in the remaining corner Kneph with the ram's head, the Spirit of the Universe. As the whole Temple has contracted in proportion to its receding inwards, so also have the statues in size. The sculptures of the Adytum, on each side, represent the processions of the Sacred Boat, floating to its extremity. There is no trace of habitation for the sacred Hawk, who if he were in the Temple must have been here, sitting at the feet of Ra. So at least it follows from Strabo's clear account, that in the Adytum of every Egyptian temple the Sacred animal was kept, whatever it might be, corresponding to the statue of the Greek and Roman sanctuary,—to the no-statue of the Holy of Holies in the Jewish temple.

The chief thought that strikes one at Ipsambul, and elsewhere, is the rapidity of transition in the Egyptian worship, from the sublime to the ridiculous. The gods alternate between the majesty of ante-Diluvian angels, and the grotesqueness of pre-Adamite monsters. By what strange contradiction could the same sculptors and worshippers have conceived the grave and awful forms of Ammon and Osiris, and the ludicrous images of gods in all shapes, "in the heavens, and in the earth, and in the waters under the earth," with heads of hawk and crocodile, and jackal and ape? What must have been the mind and muscles of a nation who could worship, as at Thebes, in the assemblage of hundreds of colossal *Pashts* (the Sacred Cats)? And, again, how extraordinary the contrast of the serenity and the savageness of the kings! Rameses, with the placid smile, grasping the shrieking captives by the hair, as the frontispiece of every temple; and Ammon, with the smile no less placid, giving him the falchion to smite them. The whole impression is that gods and men alike belong to an age and world entirely passed away, when men were slow to move, slow to think, but when they did move or think, their work was done with the force and violence of Giants.

One emblem there is of true Monotheism,—everywhere a thousand times repeated,—always impressive, and always beautiful,—chiefly on the roof and cornice, like the Cherubim in the Holy of Holies,—

the globe, with its wide-spread wings of azure blue, of the all-embracing sky: "Under the shadow of thy wings shall be my refuge."

## 14. THE NILE BEFORE THE SECOND CATARACT.

The great peculiarity of this last stage of Nubia is, that whereas in Egypt the Nile flowed through its limestone ranges, in Lower Nubia through its wild mountain-passes, so here, in Upper Nubia, it flows through an absolute Desert. From the high sandstone rock of Abou-Sir, that last monument of English travellers, you look over a wide expanse of sand, broken only by the sight of the turbid river which dashes below through innumerable islets of what look exactly like black, bristling coal. This wide expanse ends, or ended, on the day when I saw it, in clouds of sand, such as overwhelmed the host of Cambyses, and which rose high in the heavens, like a thick November fog, the sun glaring with a sickly orb above, and his rays streaming through the mist below, like the rain of northern regions. Sand is, as I have said before, the snow of these southern regions; it is also its water, for rightly did the Prophet enjoin his followers to use its fine and pure streams for their ablutions when water failed; it is also, as I saw on this day, its mist, its rain, its fog. In the dim distance rose the two isolated mountains on the southern horizon, which mark the way to Dongola. The Second Cataract is, geographically speaking and historically, of but little significance in the Valley of the Nile: it stops the navigation, that is all: the Desert has begun before, and continues afterwards.

One feature of the Nile I must here add to what I have already said. Every one knows that the only mode of communication is the river; but the voyage up the Nile requires and possesses the consent of another power besides that of the stream; namely the wind. It is a remarkable provision that the north wind which blows for nine months in the year, and especially during the floods when the stream is strongest, acts as a corrective to enable navigation upwards when else it would be impossible. Hence the plausibility of that conjecture mentioned by Herodotus about the "yearly winds." So fixed, so regular a part of the economy of the river do they form, that it was natural to imagine that they actually prevented the waters of the river from entering the sea. And thus when we look at the boats with their white sails scudding before the breeze along the broad stream, we see how Egypt and Ethiopia might be fitly called "a land shadowing with wings."[1]

[1] Isa. xviii. 1. (Ewald.)

## 15. DENDERA.[1]

Dendera is the only perfect Temple left besides those in Nubia—that is, the only one perfect, not as an excavation from the rock, but as a building. But its interest is like Philæ, not from its antiquity, but its novelty. Its oldest portion was built by Cleopatra; its finest part by Tiberius. Here, as at Hermonthis, is yet to be seen that famous form and face. She is here sculptured in colossal proportions, so that the fat full features are well brought out, and, being like those at Hermonthis, give the impression that it must be a likeness. Immediately before her stands, equally colossal and with the royal crown of Egypt, her son, by Cæsar.

These must be the latest sculptures of the independent sovereigns of Egypt. The interior is filled with the usual ovals for the names of kings—now blank—for before Cleopatra had time to fill them Actium was fought, and Egypt had passed into the hands of Rome, and accordingly the splendid portico is the work of Tiberius. It is in these great porticoes that you trace the real spirit of Roman architecture in Egypt. The interior of the Temple, though very large, is but a tedious and commonplace copy of the most formal plan of an old temple; but the portico has something of its own, which is only seen here and in the corresponding portico at Esneh, and of which the whole effect, though on a gigantic scale and with curious capitals of human faces, is like that of the colonnade in front of the Pantheon.

## 16. MEMPHIS.

Memphis was the second capital of Egypt—sometimes the first—and there the Pharaohs lived at the time of the Exodus; and there, if its monuments had remained, might have been found the traces of the Israelites, which we seek in vain elsewhere. Historically and religiously it ought to be as interesting as Thebes. Yet Thebes still remains quite unrivalled. There was never anything at Memphis like that glorious circle of hills—there is now nothing like those glorious ruins. Still it is a striking place. Imagine a wide green plain, greener than anything else I have seen in Egypt. A vast succession of palm-groves, almost like the Ravenna pine-forest in extent, runs along the river-side, springing in many spots from green turf. Behind these palm-forests—behind the plain—rises the white back of the African range; and behind that again, "even as the hills stand round about Jerusalem," so stand the

[1] These three last letters are, for convenience of their contents, arranged not in order of place, but of time.

Pyramids round about Memphis. These are to Memphis as the Royal tombs to Thebes, that is, the sepulchres of the Kings of Lower, as those of Upper, Egypt. And such as the view now is, such it must have been as far back as history extends. They are not actually as old as the hills, but they are the oldest monuments of Egypt and of the world, and such as we see them in that distant outline, each group rising at successive intervals—Dashur, Sakara, Abou-Sir and Ghizeh—such they seemed to Moses, to Joseph, perhaps to Abraham. They are the sepulchres of the kings, and in the sand-hills at their feet are the sepulchres of the ordinary inhabitants of Memphis.

For miles you walk through layers of bones and skulls and mummy swathings, extending from the sand, or deep down in shaft-like mummy-pits; and amongst these mummy-pits are vast galleries filled with mummies of Ibises, in red jars, once filled, but now gradually despoiled. And lastly—only discovered recently—are long galleries hewn in the rock, and opening from time to time—say every fifty yards—into high arched vaults, under each of which reposes the most magnificent black marble sarcophagus that can be conceived—a chamber rather than a coffin—smooth and sculptured within and without; grander by far than even the granite sarcophagi of the Theban kings—how much grander than any human sepulchres anywhere else. And all for the successive corpses of the bull Apis! These galleries formed part of the great temple of Serapis, in which the Apis mummies were deposited; and here they lay, not in royal, but in divine state. The walls of the entrances are covered with ex-votos. In one porch there is a painting at full length, black and white, of the Bull himself as he was in life.

One other trace remains of the old Memphis. It had its own great temple, as magnificent as that of Ammon at Karnac, dedicated to the Egyptian Vulcan, Pthah. Of this not a vestige remains. But Herodotus describes that Sesostris, that is Rameses, built a colossal statue of himself in front of the great gateway. And there accordingly—as it is usually seen by travellers, is the last memorial of that wonderful King, which they bear away in their recollections of Egypt. Deep in the forest of palms, before described, in a little pool of water left by the inundations, which year by year always cover the spot, lies a gigantic trunk, its back upwards. The name of Rameses is on the belt. The face lies downwards, but is visible in profile and quite perfect, and the very same as at Ipsambul, with the only exception that the features are more feminine and more beautiful, and the peculiar hang of the lip is not there. . . . .

## 17. THE PYRAMIDS.

The approach to the Pyramids is first a rich green plain, and then the Desert—that is, they are just at the beginning of the Desert, on a ridge, which of itself gives them a lift above the Valley of the Nile. It is impossible not to feel a thrill as one finds oneself drawing nearer to the greatest and the most ancient monuments in the world, to see them coming out stone by stone into view, and the dark head of the Sphinx peering over the lower sandhills. Yet the usual accounts are correct which represent this nearer sight as not impressive—their size diminishes, and the clearness with which you see their several stones strips them of their awful or mysterious character. It is not till you are close under the great Pyramid, and look up at the huge blocks rising above you into the sky, that the consciousness is forced upon you that this is the nearest approach to a mountain that the art of man has produced.

The view from the top has the same vivid contrast of Life and Death which makes all wide views in Egypt striking—the Desert and the green plain; only here, the view over the Desert—the African Desert—being much more extensive than elsewhere, one gathers in better the notion of the wide heaving ocean of sandy billows which hovers on the edge of the Valley of the Nile. The white line of the minarets of Cairo is also a peculiar feature—peculiar, because it is strange to see a modern Egyptian city which is a grace instead of a deformity to the view. You also see the strip of Desert running into the green plain on the east of the Nile, which marks Heliopolis and Goshen. . . . .

The strangest feature in the view is the platform on which the Pyramids stand. It completely dispels the involuntary notion that one has formed of the solitary abruptness of the Three Pyramids. Not to speak of the groups, in the distance, of Abou-Sir, Sakara, and Dashur—the whole platform of this greatest of them all, is a maze of Pyramids and tombs. Three little ones stand beside the first, three also beside the third. The second and third are each surrounded by traces of square enclosures, and their eastern faces are approached through enormous masses of ruins as if of some great temple; whilst the first is enclosed on three sides by long rows of massive tombs, on which you look down from the top as on the plats of a stone-garden. You see in short that it is the most sacred and frequented part of that vast cemetery which extends all along the Western ridge for twenty miles behind Memphis.

It is only by going round the whole place in detail that the contrast between its present and its ancient state is disclosed. One is

inclined to imagine that the Pyramids are immutable, and that such as you see them now such they were always. Of distant views this is true, but taking them near at hand it is more easy from the existing ruins to conceive Karnac as it was, than it is to conceive the Pyramidal platform as it was. The smooth casing of part of the top of the Second Pyramid, and the magnificent granite blocks which form the lower stages of the third, serve to show what they must have been all, from top to bottom; the first and second, brilliant white or yellow limestone, smooth from top to bottom, instead of those rude disjointed masses which their stripped sides now present; the third, all glowing with the red granite from the First Cataract. As it is, they have the barbarous look of Stonehenge; but then they must have shone with the polish of an age already rich with civilisation, and that the more remarkable when it is remembered that these granite blocks which furnished the outside of the third and inside of the first, must have come all the way from the First Cataract. It also seems from Herodotus and others, that these smooth outsides were covered with sculptures. Then you must build up or uncover the massive tombs, now broken or choked with sand, so as to restore the aspect of vast streets of tombs, like those on the Appian Way, out of which the Great Pyramid would rise like a cathedral above smaller churches. Lastly, you must enclose the two other Pyramids with stone precincts and gigantic gateways, and above all you must restore the Sphinx, as he (for it must never be forgotten that a female Sphinx was almost unknown) was in the days of his glory.

Even now, after all that we have seen of colossal statues, there was something stupendous in the sight of that enormous head—its vast projecting wig, its great ears, its open eyes, the red colour still visible on its cheek, the immense projection of the whole lower part of its face. Yet what must it have been when on its head there was the royal helmet of Egypt; on its chin the royal beard; when the stone pavement by which men approached the Pyramids ran up between its paws; when immediately under its breast an altar stood from which the smoke went up into the gigantic nostrils of that nose, now vanished from the face, never to be conceived again. All this is known with certainty from the remains which actually exist deep under the sand on which you stand, as you look up from a distance into the broken but still expressive features.

And for what purpose was this Sphinx of Sphinxes called into being—as much greater than all other Sphinxes as the Pyramids are greater than all other temples or tombs? If, as is likely, he lay couched at the entrance, now deep in sand, of the vast approach to the second, that is, the Central Pyramid, so as to form an essential part of this immense group; still more, if, as seems possible, there

was once intended to be (according to the usual arrangement which never left a solitary Sphinx any more than a solitary obelisk) a brother Sphinx on the Northern side, as this on the Southern side of the approach, its situation and significance was worthy of its grandeur. And if, further, the Sphinx was the giant representative of Royalty, then it fitly guards the greatest of Royal sepulchres; and, with its half human, half animal form, is the best welcome and the best farewell to the history and religion of Egypt.

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[*In the references to the Plan of Loretto, figures* 2 *and* 3 *must be transposed.*]

# CHAPTER I.

## PART I.—PENINSULA OF SINAI.

## PART II.—THE JOURNEY FROM CAIRO TO JERUSALEM.

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Exodus xiv. 13. "The Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more for ever."

Deut. viii. 15. "That great and terrible wilderness . . . . where there was no water."

Deut. xxxiii. 2. "The Lord came from Sinai and rose up from Seir unto them: He shined forth from Mount Paran; and he came with the ten thousands ['of Kadesh.' LXX]."

# PART I.

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# SINAI.

## PART I.

### PENINSULA OF SINAI.

THE Peninsula of Mount Sinai is, geographically and geologically speaking, one of the most remarkable districts on the face of the earth. It combines the three grand features of earthly scenery—the sea, the desert, and the mountains. It occupies also a position central to three countries, distinguished, not merely for their history, but for their geography amongst all other nations of the world—Egypt, Arabia, Palestine. And lastly, it has been the scene of a history, as unique as its situation; by which the fate of the three nations which surround it, and through them the fate of the whole world, has been determined.

It is a just remark of Chevalier Bunsen, that "Egypt has, properly speaking, no history. History was born on that night when Moses led forth his people from Goshen." Most fully is this felt as the traveller emerges from the Valley of the Nile, the study of the Egyptian monuments, and finds himself on the broad track of the Desert. In those monuments, magnificent and instructive as they are, he sees great kings, and mighty deeds—the father, the son, and the children,—the sacrifices, the conquests, the coronations. But there is no before and after, no unrolling of a great drama, no beginning, middle, and end of a moral progress, or even of a mournful decline.

In the Desert, on the contrary, the moment the green fields of Egypt recede from our view, still more when we reach the Red Sea, the further and further we advance into the Desert and the mountains, we feel that everything henceforward is continuous, that there is a sustained, and protracted interest, increasing more and more, till it reaches its highest point in Palestine, in Jerusalem, on Calvary, and on Olivet. And in the desert of Sinai this interest is enhanced by the fact that there it stands alone. Over all the other great scenes of human history,—Palestine itself, Egypt, Greece and Italy, —successive tides of great recollections have rolled, each to a certain extent obliterating the traces of the former. But in the Peninsula of Sinai there is nothing to interfere with the effect of that single event. The Exodus is the one only stream of history that has passed through this wonderful region,—a history, which has for its background the whole magnificence of Egypt, and for its distant horizon, the forms, as yet unborn, of Judaism, of Mahometanism, of Christianity.

It is this district, which, for the sake of, and in connection with that history, it is here proposed briefly to describe.

General configuration. The Mountains, the Desert, and the Sea.

I. The great limestone range of Syria, which begins in the north from Lebanon and extends through the whole of Palestine, terminates on the south in a wide table-land, which reaches eastward far into Arabia Petræa, and westward far into Africa. At the point where this rocky mass descends from Palestine, another element falls in, which at once gives it a character distinct from mountainous tracts in other parts of the world; namely, that waterless region of the earth, which extends from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Persian Gulf, under the familiar name of the Desert. But its character, both as a wilderness and as a mountain country, is broken by three great clefts, which divide its several portions from each other. The westernmost of these clefts is the deep valley, which descending from the mountains of Abyssinia contains the course of the solitary, mysterious, and majestic river, with the green strip of verdure lining its

banks, which forms the land of Egypt. The second runs almost parallel to this—the bed not of a fertilising stream, but of a desolate sea,—the Arabian Gulf of the Greeks, the Gulf of Suez in modern geography. The third and easternmost cleft at its southern extremity is similar in character to the second, and forms the Elanitic Gulf of the Greeks, the modern Gulf of 'Akaba; but further north it passes into the deep and wide valley of the 'Arabah, which in turn communicates with the still deeper valley of the Jordan, running up into the heart of the mountains of Lebanon, the original basis from which the whole of the system takes its departure.

1. The Two Gulfs of the Red Sea.

It is between those two gulfs, the Gulf of Suez, and the Gulf of 'Akaba, that the Peninsula of Sinai lies. From them it derives its contact with the sea, and therefore with the world; which is one striking distinction between it and the rest of the vast desert of which it forms a part. From hardly any point in the Sinaitic range is the view of the sea wholly excluded; from the highest points both of its branches are visible; its waters, blue with a depth of colour more like that of some of the Swiss lakes than of our northern or midland seas, its tides imparting a life to the dead landscape,—familiar to modern travellers from the shores of the Atlantic or German ocean; but strange and inexplicable to the inhabitants of the ancient world, whose only knowledge of the sea was the vast tideless lake which washed the coasts of Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and Italy. It must have always brought to the mind of those who stood on its shores, that they were on the waters of a new, and almost unknown, world. Those tides come rolling in from the vast Indian Ocean; and with the Indian Ocean these two gulfs are the chief channels of communication from the Northern world. The white shells which strew their shores, the forests of submarine vegetation which gave the whole sea its Hebrew appellation of the "Sea of Weeds," the trees of coral, whose huge trunks may be seen even on the dry shore, with the red rocks and red sand, which especially in the Gulf of 'Akaba bound its sides,—all bring before us the

mightier mass of the Red or Erythræan[1] Ocean, the coral strands of the Indian Archipelago, of which these two gulfs with their peculiar products are the northern offshoots. The Peninsula itself has been the scene of but one cycle of human events. But it has, through its two watery boundaries, been encircled with two tides of history, which must not be forgotten in the associations which give it a foremost place in the geography and history of the world; two tides, never flowing together, one falling as the other rose, but imparting to each of the two barren valleys through which they flow a life and activity hardly less than that which has so long animated the valley of the Nile. The two great lines of Indian traffic have alternately passed up the eastern and the western gulf; and, though unconnected with the greater events of the Peninsula of Sinai, the commerce of Alexandria and the communications of England with India, which now pass down the Gulf of Suez, are not without interest, as giving a lively image of the ancient importance of the twin Gulf of 'Akaba. That gulf, now wholly deserted, was, in the times of the Jewish monarchy, the great thoroughfare of the fleets of Solomon and Jehoshaphat,

[1] The appellation "Red Sea," as applied distinctively to the two gulfs of Suez and 'Akaba, is comparatively modern. It seems to have been applied to them only as continuations of the Indian Ocean, to which the name of the Erythræan or Red Sea was given, at a time when the two gulfs were known to the Hebrews only by the name of the "Sea of Weeds," and to the Greeks by the name of the Bays of Arabia and Elath. This in itself makes it probable that the name of "Red" was derived from the corals of the Indian ocean, and makes it impossible that it should have been from *"Edom,"*—the mountains of Edom, as is well known, hardly reaching to the shores of the gulf of 'Akaba, certainly not to the shores of the ocean. "As we emerged from the mouth of a small defile," writes the late Captain Newbold, in describing his visit to the mountain of Nakûs near Tôr, "the waters of this sacred gulf burst upon our view; the surface marked with annular, crescent-shaped, and irregular blotches of a purplish red, extending as far as the eye could reach. They were curiously contrasted with the beautiful aqua-marina of the water lying over the white coral reefs. This red colour I ascertained to be caused by the subjacent red sandstone and reddish coral reefs; a similar phenomenon is observed in the straits of Babel-Mandeb, and also near Suez, particularly when the rays of the sun fall on the water at a small angle."—Journ. of R. Asiat. Society, No. xiii., p. 78. This accurate description is decisive as to the origin of the name, though Captain Newbold draws no such inference. The Hebrew word "sûph," though used commonly for "flags" or "rushes," would by an easy change be applied to any aqueous vegetation (see Dietrich's Abhandlungen, pp. 17, 23—25); just as Pliny (xiii. 25) speaks of it as "a vast forest;" "Rubrum mare et totus orientis oceanus *refertus est sylvis.*" (Ritter, Sinai, 466—482.) See Part II. p. 83.

and the only point in the second period of their history which brought the Israelites into connection with the scenes of the earliest wanderings of their nation.

Such are the western and eastern boundaries of this mountain tract; striking to the eye of the geographer, as the two parallels to that narrow Egyptian land from which the Israelites came forth; important to the historian, as the two links of Europe and Asia with the great ocean of the south—as the two points of contact between the Jewish people and the civilisation of the ancient world. From the summit of Mount St. Catherine, or of Um-Shômer, a wandering Israelite might have seen the beginning and the end of his nation's greatness. On the one side lay the sea through which they had escaped from the bondage of slavery and idolatry—still a mere tribe of the shepherds of the Desert. On the other side lay the sea, up which were afterwards conveyed the treasures of the Indies, to adorn the palace and the temple of the capital of a mighty empire.

2. The Plateau of the Tih.

Of the three geological elements which compose the Peninsula itself,[1] the first and the most extensive is the northern table-land of limestone which is known as the Desert of the "Tîh," or the "Wanderings." It is supported and enclosed by long horizontal ranges, which keep this uniform character wherever they are seen. They are the same which, under the name of the Mountains of Râhah, first meet the eye of the traveller approaching Suez from Egypt, as forming the western boundary of the great plateau; the same which, under the name of the Mountains of the Tîh, run along its southern border, as seen from Serbâl or St. Catherine; and which, under the same name, form its eastern border, as seen from Mount Hor. However much the other mountains of the Peninsula vary in form or height, the mountains of the Tîh are always alike; always faithful to their tabular outline and blanched desolation. It is this which gives them a natural affinity

[1] For a lucid account of the geology of the Peninsula, I refer to a valuable paper on the subject by Captain Newbold in the Madras Journal, vol. xiv. pt. ii.; also to Russegger's map, and to Mr. Hogg's map and paper in Jameson's Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, vols. xlviii. p. 193, xlix. p. 33.

of appearance with the two long limestone walls which confine the traveller's view down the Valley of the Nile from Cairo to Thebes; and, again, to the unbroken line of mountains which runs along the eastern side of the Jordan, from the Dead Sea to Mount Hermon.[1]

One solitary station-house and fort marks this wilderness. It probably derives its name of Nakhl, the "Palm," from an adjacent palm-grove, now vanished; a miniature in this respect of the midway station for the great Syrian desert—"Tadmor," "Palmyra"—the palm-grove station of Solomon and Zenobia, whence in like manner the palms are now said to have disappeared.[2] It seems to have no peculiar features, beyond the general character of its horizontal hills, and its one wide undulating pebbly plain. If any of the stations of the Israelites mentioned in the Pentateuch were in this portion of the Peninsula, it is useless to seek for them; nor is there apparently any passage or scene in their wanderings which derives any special light from its scenery. Its one interest now is the passage of the Mecca pilgrimage.

3. The sandy Tract of Debbet-er-Ramleh.

The plateau of the Tîh is succeeded by the sandstone mountains which form the first approach to the higher Sinaitic range, called by the general Arabic name for a high mountain, the "Tôr." One narrow plain or belt of sand, called from that circumstance the "Debbet-er-Ramleh," divides the table-land of the north from these mountains of the south; the hills of "the Tîh"—the seat of the tribe thence called "Tiyâha,"—from the hills of the "Tôr," the seat of the tribe thence called "Ṭowâra." From Serbâl and St. Catherine this yellow line of sand is distinctly visible; and seems to be, as its name implies, the only tract of pure sand which the desert of Sinai presents. The name is of itself sufficient to indicate to

[1] The Tih has been traversed and described by Rüppell, Burckhardt, and Bartlett from east to west, and by Robinson from south to north. The passage of the Caravan has been described by Rüppell and Bartlett. I did not see it, except from a distance.

[2] Carne's Recollections of the East, vol. ii., p. 545. Is it quite certain that "Tadmor" and "Palmyra" are derived from the *palms?* A palm is in Hebrew "Tamar," and not "Tadmor;" and in Greek (and Josephus says that the Greeks gave it the name of Palmyra) "Phœnix" (Φοῖνιξ). See Hitzig; Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. viii., 222.

the experienced geographer, what the traveller soon learns by observation, that sand is properly speaking the exception and not the rule of the Arabian desert. In the usual route from Cairo to Suez, and from Suez to 'Akaba, it occurs only once in any great quantity or depth: namely, in the hills immediately about Huderâh,[1] where, it would seem, the Debbet-er-Ramleh terminates on reaching the sandstone cliffs which here shut off both it and the tableland of the Tîh from the Gulf of 'Akaba. There, after traversing the whole Peninsula on hard ground of gravel, pebble, or rock, the traveller again finds himself in the deep sand-drifts which he has not seen since he left them on the western shores of the Nile, enveloping the temples of Ipsambul, and the Serapeum of Memphis. It is important to notice this, partly as a correction of a popular error, partly as an illustration, negative indeed, but not altogether worthless, of the narrative of the Pentateuch. Whatever other sufferings the Israelites may have undergone, the great sand-drifts which the armies of Cambyses encountered in the desert of Africa are never mentioned, nor could have been mentioned, in their journeyings through the wilderness of Sinai.

4. The Mountains of the Tôr.

This brings us to the mountains of the Tôr (as distinct from the Tîh), which form, strictly speaking, the mountain-land of the Peninsula. This mass of mountains, rising in their highest points to the height of more than 9000 feet, forms the southern tower, if one may use the expression, of that long belt or chain of hills, of which the northern bulwark is the double range of Lebanon. It is the southern limit of the history of the Israelites. Their boundaries, in the narrower sense, were Dan and Beersheba; in the wider sense, Lebanon and Sinai.[2]

(a) The Kâ'a, and the Shores.

It is with the configuration and aspect of this district that we are now chiefly concerned. The sandy plain which parts it from the table-land of the Tîh on the north has been already noticed. A similar plain, though apparently of gravel rather than of sand, under the name of El-Kâ'a,[3]

[1] See Part II. p. 80.
[2] See Chapter XII.
[3] Called "Gah" by Pococke (i. 137), and "Gae," by Lepsius.

"the plain," runs along its south-western base, generally reaching the shores of the Gulf of Suez; but at times interrupted by a lower line of hills, which form as it were the outposts of the Sinaitic range itself, and contain the two singular mountains, known respectively as the mountains of Nâkûs (the Bell), and Mokatteb (the Writing). On their north-western side, and on the whole of the eastern side of the Peninsula, the mountains of the Tôr descend so steeply on the shores of the respective gulfs of the Red Sea, that there is little more than the beach left between the precipitous cliffs and the rising tides.

(*b*) The Passes.

From these shores or plains the traveller ascends into the mountain triangle of which they form the three sides. It is approached for the most part by rugged passes, leading to the higher land above, from which spring the cliffs and mountains themselves. These begin in a gradual, but terminate usually in a very steep, ascent—almost a staircase of rock—resembling the "Puertas" of the Andalusian table-land; that, for example, of Gaucin, on the way from Gibraltar to Ronda; or of Sapphira, on the way from Malaga to Granada. To these steep and rugged defiles is given the name of "Nakb," or "'Akaba." It is from one of these—that down which the Egyptian pilgrimage descends, on the eastern branch of the Red Sea—that the gulf and town of 'Akaba derives its name.[1] The others of note, are the Nakb-Badera, which is the chief entrance to the cluster of Serbâl; the Nakb-Hâwy, to the cluster of Sinai; the Nakb-Um-Rachi, through which the whole range is approached from the "Tîh."

(*c*) The Mountains.

The cluster itself consists (speaking in general and popular language) of two formations—sandstone, and granite or porphyry. These two formations, of which it may be said generally that the first constitutes the

[1] There is another, 'Akaba-es Shâm—"the Pass of the Syrian Pilgrimage"—on the eastern side of the 'Arabah (see Burckhardt's Arabia, ii., 94) which forms the great ascent from the lower level of Arabia to the higher level of Syria.

northern, and the latter the southern division, play an important part, both in its outward aspect and in its history. To these it owes the depth and variety of colour, which distinguish it from almost all other mountainous scenery. Sandstone[1] and granite alike lend the strong red hue, which, when it extends further eastward, is, according to some interpretations, connected with the name of "Edom." It was long ago described by Diodorus Siculus as of a bright scarlet hue, and is represented in legendary pictures as of a brilliant crimson. But viewed even in the soberest light, it gives a richness to the whole mountain landscape which is wholly unknown in the grey and brown suits of our northern hills. Sandstone, moreover, when, as in the Wâdy Megâra, and on the cliffs which line the shores of the Red Sea, it has become liable to the infirmities of age and the depredations of water, presents us with those still more extraordinary hues, of which the full description must be reserved for the scene of their greatest exemplification in the rocks of Petra.[2] In these formations, too, we trace the connection of the Sinaitic range with the two adjacent countries, and with the historical purposes to which their materials have been turned. The limestone ranges of the Tîh, in their abutment on the Valley of the Nile, furnished the quarries of the Pyramids. It was the soft surface of these sandstone cliffs which, in the Wâdy Mokatteb, offered ready tablets to the writers of the so-called Sinaitic inscriptions and engravings, and to Egyptian sculptors in the Wâdy Megâra and the valley of Sarbût-el-Kedem, just as the continuation of the same formation, far away to the south-west, reappears in the consecrated quarries of the gorge of Silsilis, whence were hewn the vast materials for the Temples of Thebes; as the same cliffs, far away to the east, lent themselves to the excavations of the Edomites and Nabatæans at Petra, and of ancient Ammon[3] and Moab in the deep defiles of the Arnon. So, too, the granite mountains, on whose hard

[1] Rüppell, p. 188. [2] See Part II., xvii.
[3] See Lynch's "Dead Sea," p. 368.

blocks were written the Ten Commandments of the Mosaic Law, and whose wild rents and fantastic forms have furnished the basis of so many monastic or Bedouin legends, reappear in Egypt at the First Cataract, in the grotesque rocks that surround the island of Philæ, and in the vast quarries of Syene; and are to be found far off to the east, in Arabia Felix, forming the vast granite mass[1] of Ohod, the scene of Mahomet's first victory near Medina.

The Three Groups;

The mountains, thus flanked by the sandstone formations—being themselves the granitic kernel of the whole region—are divided into two, or, perhaps, three groups, each with a central summit. These are (1) the north-western cluster, which rises above Wâdy Feirân, and of which the most remarkable mountain—being in some respects also the most remarkable in the whole peninsula—is Mount Serbâl; (2) the eastern and central cluster, of which the highest point is Mount St. Catherine;—and (3) the south-eastern cluster, which forms as it were the outskirts of the central mass, the highest point of which is Um-Shômer, the most elevated summit of the whole range. Of these points Mount St. Catherine with most of its adjacent peaks has been ascended by many travellers; Mount Serbâl by a very few, of whom only four have recorded their ascent; Um-Shômer has been ascended by none except Burckhardt, and by him not quite to the summit.

the Colours;

Reserving for the present the more special characteristics of these respective clusters, their general peculiarities may be best given in common. The colours[2] have been already mentioned. Red, with dark green, are the predominant hues; the two are most markedly combined in the long line of Gebel Mousa, as Pococke, with more than his usual observation, noticed long ago. These colours, especially in the neighbourhood of Serbâl, are

[1] Burckhardt, ii., 231.

[2] The most accurate description of the colours of the Desert is that given by Dr. Olin. (Travels, i., 372, 390.) Unfortunately, no published views ever attempt it. The three peaks of red granite which overhang the northern side of the Valley of Chamouni, called from their colour the *Aiguilles Rouges*, give some notion of the colour and form of Sinai.

diversified by the long streaks of purple which run over them from top to bottom. But it is only in the parts of the sandstone cliffs where the surface has been broken away, as in the caves of the Wâdy Megâra, or on the shores of the two gulfs, that they present the great variety of colour which reaches its highest pitch at Petra.

Another feature, less peculiar, but still highly characteristic, is the infinite complication of jagged peaks and varied ridges. When seen from a distance, as from the hills between Sinai and 'Akaba, this presents as fine an outline of mountain scenery as can be conceived, but the beauty and distinctness of a nearer view is lost in its multiplied and intricate confusion — the cause no doubt, in part, of the numerous mistakes made by travellers in their notice of the several peaks to be seen from this or that particular point. It is this characteristic which Sir Frederick Henniker has described, with a slight exaggeration of expression, when he says that the view from Gebel Mousa (where this particular aspect is seen to the greatest perfection) is as if "Arabia Petræa were an ocean of lava, which, whilst its waves were running mountains high, had suddenly stood still." the Confusion;

It is an equally striking, and more accurate, expression of the same traveller, when he speaks of the whole range as being "the Alps unclothed."[1] This—their union of grandeur with desolation—is the point of their scenery absolutely unrivalled. They are the "Alps" of Arabia —but the Alps planted in the Desert, and therefore stripped of all the clothing which goes to make up our notions of Swiss or English mountains; stripped of the variegated drapery of oak, and birch, and pine, and fir; of moss, and grass, and fern, which to landscapes of European hills, are almost as essential as the rocks and peaks themselves. Of all the charms of Switzerland, the one which most impresses a traveller recently returned from the East, is the breadth and depth of its the Desolation;

[1] Notes during a Visit to Egypt, &c., p. 214.

verdure. The very name of "Alp" is strictly applied only to the green pasture-lands enclosed by rocks or glaciers; —a sight in the European Alps so common, in these Arabian Alps so wholly unknown. The absence of verdure, it need hardly be said, is due to the absence of water—of those perennial streams which are at once the creation and the life of every other mountain district.

and the Silence.

And it is this probably, combined with the peculiarity of the atmosphere, that produces the deep stillness and consequent reverberation of the human voice, which can never be omitted in any enumeration of the characteristics of Mount Sinai. From the highest point of Râs Sasâfeh to its lower peak, a distance of about sixty feet, the page of a book, distinctly but not loudly read, was perfectly audible; and every remark of the various groups of travellers descending from the heights of the same point rose clearly to those immediately above them. It was the belief of the Arabs who conducted Niebuhr,[1] that they could make themselves heard across the Gulf of 'Akaba; a belief doubtless exaggerated, yet probably originated or fostered by the great distance to which in those regions the voice can actually be carried. And it is probably from the same cause that so much attention has been excited by the mysterious noises which have from time to time been heard on the summit of Gebel Mousa, in the neighbourhood of Um-Shômer, and in the mountain[2] of Nâkûs, or the Bell, so called from the legend that the sounds proceed from the bells[3] of a convent enclosed within the mountain. In this last instance the sound is supposed to originate in the rush of sand down the mountain side; sand, here, as elsewhere, playing the same part as the waters or snows of the north. In the case of Gebel Mousa, where it is said that the monks had originally settled on the highest peak, but were by

[1] Description de l'Arabie, p. 245.

[2] See the picture and description of this mountain in Wellsted, ii., 24; and a more complete and singularly graphic account by Captain Newbold, Journal of the R. Asiatic Society, No. xiii., 79.

[3] I use the word "bell" for the sake of convenience. But "the sound of the church-going bell," is unknown in the East; and "nâkûs" is really the rude cymbal or sounding-board used in Greek churches, such as are described further on in the Convent of St. Catherine.

these strange noises driven down to their present seat in the valley; and in the case of Um-Shômer, where it was described to Burckhardt as like the sound of artillery, the precise cause has never been ascertained. But in all these instances the effect must have been heightened by the deathlike silence of a region where the fall of waters, even the trickling of brooks, is unknown.

This last peculiarity of the Sinai range brings us to another, which has hardly been sufficiently described in the accounts of the Desert — namely, the valleys or "wâdys."

(*d*) The Wâdys.

It is by a true instinct that the Bedouins, as a general rule, call the mountains not by any distinctive name, but after the valleys or wâdys which surround them. As in Europe the configuration of a country, especially of a mountain country, depends on its rivers, so the configuration of the Desert of Sinai depends on its wâdys. It is necessary to use this Arabic name, because there is no English word which exactly corresponds to the idea expressed by it. A hollow, a valley, a depression —more or less deep, or wide, or long—worn or washed by the mountain torrents or winter rains for a few months or weeks in the year—such is the general idea of an Arabian "wâdy," whether in the Desert or in Syria. The Hebrew word (nachal), which is, as nearly as possible, the correlative of the Wâdy of the Arabic, is unfortunately confounded in our translation with a distinct word (nahar) under the common version of "river," though occasionally rendered, with a greater attempt at accuracy, by the name of "brook."[1]

For a few weeks or days in the winter these valleys present, it is said, the appearance of rushing streams. A graphic description is given of this sudden conversion of the dry bed of the Wâdy Mousa into a thundering

[1] The word *wâdy* (spelt by the French *ouadi*), is properly a "hollow between hills, whether dry or moist." It is said to be derived from "wada," a verb of a strange signification, but of which apparently the fundamental idea must be to "perforate by water." *Nachal*, in like manner, is probably from *chalal*, to "perforate." See Appendix, *sub voce*.

mountain torrent, in Miss Martineau's account of Petra. Another such is recorded by Wellsted near Tôr.[1] The Wâdy Shellâl (the Valley of the Cataracts) both in its name and aspect bears every trace of its wintry cascades. But their usual aspect is absolutely bare and waste; only presenting the image of thirsty desolation the more strikingly, from the constant indications of water which is no longer there. But so essentially are they, in other respects, the rivers of the Desert, and so entirely are they the only likeness to rivers which an Arab could conceive, that in Spain we find the name reproduced by the Arab conquerors of Andalusia; sometimes, indeed, fitly enough, as applied to the countless water-courses of Southern Spain, only filled like the valleys of Arabia by a sudden descent of showers, or melting of snow; but sometimes to mighty rivers, to which the torrents of the Desert could furnish only the most general parallel. Few who pass to and fro along the majestic river between Cadiz and Seville, remember that its name is a recollection of the Desert far away; the Arab could find no other appellation for the Bætis than that of "The Great Wâdy"—Guad-al-Khebîr.[2]

To these waterless rivers the Desert owes its boundaries, its form, its means of communication, as truly as the

[1] Quoted in Ritter, Sinai, p. 456. These instances, to which others might be added, are a complete answer to the doubt expressed by Mr. Fazakerley of the accuracy of Niebuhr's statements of these winter torrents. (Walpole's Memoirs, ii., 301.)

[2] A still more remarkable instance of this violent adaptation of the scanty nomenclature of the Desert to the varied features of European scenery, has been pointed out by M. Engelhardt, in his learned work on the valleys of Monte Rosa. It appears that in the ninth and tenth centuries the valley of Saas was occupied by a band of Saracens; and M. Engelhardt ingeniously, though in one or two instances fancifully, derives the existing names of the localities in that valley from these strange occupants. Amongst these are the *Monte Moro*—the Pass of the Moors—and the two villages or stations of *Almagal*, and the mountain of *Mischebel;* of which the former, by the likeness of its first syllable to the Arabian article *al*, the latter of its termination to the word *gebel*, certainly confirm the hypothesis. But the most curious and the most probable is the name of the huge glacier through which rushes the wild torrent of the Visp. Hardly two objects less like can be conceived than that mass of ice, with its lake reflecting the glaciers in the tranquil water, and the abundant stream gushing from its bosom, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the scanty rivulet or pool in the hot rocky bed of the Desert, fringed with palm or acacia. But this was the only image which the Arabs had of a *source* or *spring* of a river. And "Al-al-'Ain," accordingly, is the present name of the glacier of their Alpine valley.

countries or districts of Europe owe theirs to the living streams which divide range from range, and nation from nation. Sometimes, as in the Wâdy Tayibeh and the Wâdy Sayâl, a broad and winding track; sometimes, as in the Wâdy Mousa, closed between overarching cliffs; sometimes, as in the Wâdy Es-Sheykh, having a vast margin on each side, such as, in a happier soil and climate, would afford pasturage for a thousand cattle; sometimes, as in the Wâdy Sidri, expanding into a level space, where, in Switzerland and Westmoreland, the surrounding precipices would descend, not as there on a waste of sand or gravel, but on a bright and transparent lake; they yet all have this in common, that they are the high roads of the Desért: the stations, the tribes, the mountains, are as truly along their banks, and distinguished by their courses, as if they were rivers or railroads. By observing their peculiarities, their points of junction, and their general direction, any one who had once traversed the route from Cairo to Petra, would probably find his way back without any great risk or difficulty. And, as in western countries, amongst a variety of lesser streams there is generally one commanding river which absorbs all the rest, and serves as the main line of communication for the whole region, so it is with the wâdys of the Desert. Um-Shômer, St. Catherine, and Serbâl, are not more decisively the dominant summits of the Sinaitic mountains, than is the Wâdy Es-Sheykh—the "valley of the saint"—the queen of the Sinaitic rivers. The immense curve by which it connects the two great clusters of the Peninsula is as clear in reality as on the map.

The Vegetation;

Thus the general character of the wâdys as well as of the mountains of Sinai, is entire desolation. If the mountains are naked Alps, the valleys are dry rivers. But there are exceptions in both instances. There is nearly everywhere a thin, it might almost be said a transparent, coating of vegetation. There are occasional spots of verdure, which escape notice in a general view, but for that very reason are the more remarkable when observed. It is said that travellers, on arriving at Lisbon from Madrid, after crossing the bare table-land of central Spain, are

asked, "Do you remember that tree you passed on the road?" The same feeling is more strongly experienced in the passage of the Desert. Not perhaps every single tree, but every group of trees, lives in the traveller's recollection as distinctly as the towns and spires of civilised countries. Accordingly, both the valleys, and (where they are not named directly from the valleys) the mountains also are usually named from the slight vegetation by which they are distinguished from each other. The highest peak of the whole range is known by no other name than the trivial appellation of Um-Shômer,—"the mother of fennel,"—doubtless from the fennel which Burckhardt describes as characteristic of the Peninsula. That part of the Râs Sasâfeh, which represents, according to Dr. Robinson's view, the Horeb of Moses, is the "willow-head," from the group of two or three willows which grow in the Wâdy Sasâfeh, in its recesses. Serbâl is possibly so called from the *ser*, or myrrh, which creeps over its ledges up to the very summit. And (judging by this analogy) the most probable origin even of the ancient "Sinai" is the *seneh* or acacia, with which, as we know, it then abounded. The Wâdy Abou-Hamad is from the old fig-tree—the "father of fig-trees"—in its deep clefts; the Wâdy Sidri from its bushes of wild thorn;[1] the Wâdy Sayâl from the acacia; the Wâdy Tayibeh, from the "goodly" water and vegetation it contains.[2]

The Springs;

The more definitely marked spots of verdure, however, are the accompaniments not of the empty beds of winter torrents, but of the few living, perhaps perennial, springs, which, by the mere fact of their rarity, assume an importance difficult to be understood in the moist scenery

[1] See Ritter, Sinai, pp. 346, 748.

[2] The names of the Alps are, for the most part, derived from some peculiarity of the mountain—the Wetterhorn, Silberhorn, the Jungfrau, Mont Blanc, and the like. But one of the most striking has received its name, like those Arabian hills, from the vegetation of the valleys at its foot. The marvellous peak of "the Matterhorn" is so called, not from its extraordinary formation and shape, but from the fact that the first view of it usually obtained brings it before us in connection with the green pastures and woods of Matt or Zer-Matt, above which it rises; "Matt" being the provincial word for *meadow* or *mead*, of which it is in fact only another form—as in *An-der-Matt*, the village *on the mead* of the St. Gothard Pass. The German name of the mountain is thus "the peak of *the meadows*," as the Italian name (for a similar reason) is Monte Silvio—the Mountain of the Forests.

of the West and North. These springs, whose sources are for the most part high up in the mountain clefts, occasionally send down into the wâdys rills of water, which however scanty—however little deserving of the name even of brooks[1]—yet become immediately the nucleus of whatever vegetation the desert produces. Often their course can be traced, not by visible water, but a track of moss here, a fringe of rushes there, a solitary palm, a group of acacias —which at once denote that an unseen life is at work. Wherever these springs are to be found, there, we cannot doubt, must always have been the resort of the wanderers in the Desert; and they occur at such frequent intervals, that, after leaving Suez, there is at least one such spot in each successive day's journey. In two of the great wâdys which lead from the first beginnings of the Sinai range to the Gulf of Suez—Ghurundel, and Useit with its continuation of the Wâdy Tayibeh—such tracts of vegetation are to be found in considerable luxuriance. In a still greater degree is this the case in all the various wâdys leading down from the Sinai range to the Gulf of 'Akaba—of which the Wâdy El-'Ain is described by Rüppell and by Miss Martineau; the Wâdy Sumghy by Dr. Robinson; and the Wâdy Kyd by Burckhardt—in all of which this union of vegetation with the fantastic scenery of the desolate mountains presents a combination as beautiful as it is extraordinary. In three spots, however, in the Desert, and in three only, so far as appears, this vegetation is brought by the concurrence of the general configuration of the country to a still higher pitch. By far the most remarkable collection of springs is that which renders the cluster of Gebel Mousa the chief resort of the Bedouin tribes during the summer heats. Four abundant sources in the mountains immediately above the Convent of St. Catherine must always have made that region one of the most frequented of the Desert. But there are two other such spots, of considerable importance. It has been already observed that,

The Oases.

[1] Rüppell notices four perennial brooks: 1. The Wâdy El-'Ain. 2. The Wâdy Salaka. 3. The Wâdy Feirân. 4. The Wâdy Hebrân. I only saw the first and third. See Part II. vi. vii. xii.

in order fully to understand the geography of Sinai, we must combine it with the geography of the neighbouring countries. Every one has heard of the Oasis of Ammon, in the western desert of the Nile. What that oasis is on a great scale may be seen on a small scale elsewhere; namely, deep depressions of the high table-land, which thus become the receptacles of all the rain and torrents, and, consequently, of the vegetation and the life of the whole of that portion of the Desert. These oases, therefore, are to be found wherever the waters from the different wâdys or hills, whether from winter-streams, or from such living springs as have just been described, converge to a common reservoir. One such oasis in the Sinaitic desert seems to be the palm-grove of El-Wâdy at Tôr,[1]—the seaport half way down the Gulf of Suez,—which receives all the waters which flow down from the higher range of Sinai to the sea. The other, and the more important, is the Wâdy Feirân, high up in the table-land of Sinai itself; but apparently receiving all the waters which, from the springs and torrents of the central cluster of Mount Sinai, flow through the Wâdy Es-Sheykh into this basin, where their further exit is forbidden by the rising ground in the Wâdy Feirân.[2] These two green spots are the oases of Sinai, and, with the nucleus of springs in Gebel Mousa, form the three chief centres of vegetation in the Peninsula.

General adaptation to the history.

II. This is the general conformation of the scenery through which the Israelites passed. Even if their precise route were unknown, yet the peculiar features of the country have so much in common that the history would still receive many remarkable illustrations. They were brought into contact with a desolation, which was forcibly contrasted with the green Valley of the Nile. They were enclosed within a sanctuary of temples and pyramids not made with hands,—the more awful from its total dissimilarity to anything which they or their fathers could have

The Scenery.

[1] Burckhardt (Arabia, ii., 362) describes the palm-grove as so thick, that he could hardly find his way through it. It is two miles from the village of Tôr, in a valley called emphatically, *El-Wâdy*, "*The* Wâdy." (Wellsted, ii., 9.)

[2] See Part II. vi. Tôr I did not see.

remembered in Egypt or in Palestine. They were wrapt in a silence which gave full effect to the morning and the evening shout with which the encampment rose and pitched, and still more to the 'thunders, and the voice exceeding loud' on the top of Horeb. The Prophet and his People were thus secluded from all former thoughts and associations, that

> "Separate from the world, his breast
> Might duly take and strongly keep
> The print of God, to be exprest
> Ere long on Sion's steep."[1]

Not less illustrative, though perhaps less explanatory, of the more special incidents recorded, are some of the more local peculiarities of the Desert. The occasional springs, and wells, and brooks, are in accordance with the notices of the "waters" of Marah; the "springs" (mistranslated "wells") of Elim; the "brook" of Horeb; the "well" of Jethro's daughters, with its "troughs" or tanks, in Midian.[2] The vegetation is still that which we should infer from the Mosaic history. The wild Acacia (*Mimosa Nilotica*), under the name of "sont," everywhere represents the "seneh" or "senna" of the Burning Bush.[3] A slightly different form of the tree, equally common under the name of "sayal," is the ancient "Shittah,"[4] or, as more usually expressed in the plural form (from the tangled thickets into which its stem expands), the "Shittim,"[5] of which the tabernacle was made,—an incidental proof, it may be observed, of the antiquity of the institution, inasmuch as the acacia, though the chief growth of the Desert, is very rare in Palestine.[6] The "Retem," or wild broom, with its high canopy and white blossoms, gives its name to one of the stations of the Israelites (Rithmah),[7] and is the very shrub under

[1] Keble's Christian Year, 13th Sunday after Trinity. I have everywhere quoted from this work the illustrations it contains of Scripture scenery, not only because of its wide circulation, but because the careful attention of its learned author to all local allusions renders it almost a duty to test these allusions, whenever opportunity occurs, by reference to the localities themselves.

[2] Ex. xv. 23, 27; Deut. ix. 21; Ex. ii. 16.

[3] Ex. iii. 2; Deut. xxxiii. 16. See Part II. iv.

[4] Isa. xli. 19.

[5] Exod. xxv. 5, 10, 13; xxvi. 26; xxvii. 1, 6, &c.

[6] The gum which exudes from it is said to be the old Arabian frankincense, and is brought from Sinai by Tôr. See Clarke's Travels, vol. v., 75.

[7] Num. xxxiii. 18, 19.

which—in the only subsequent passage which connects the Desert with the history of Israel—Elijah slept[1] in his wanderings. The "palms," not the graceful trees of Egypt, but the hardly less picturesque wild palms of uncultivated regions, with their dwarf trunks and shaggy branches, vindicate by their very appearance the title of being emphatically the "trees" of the Desert;[2] and therefore, whether in the cluster of the seventy palm trees of the second station of the wanderings,[3] or in the grove, which still exists at the head of the Gulf of 'Akaba,[4] were known by the generic name of "Elim," "Elath," or "Eloth,"[5] "the trees." The "tarfa" or tamarisk, is not mentioned by name in the history of the Exodus; yet, if the tradition of the Greek Church and of the Arabs be adopted, it is inseparably connected with the wanderings by the "manna" which distils from it, as gum-arabic from the acacia. It is also brought within the limit of their earlier history by the grove of "tamarisks,"[6] which Abraham planted round the wells of Beersheba, as soon as he had exchanged the vegetation of Palestine,—the oaks of Moreh and of Mamre,—for the wild and scanty shrubs of the desert frontier. The "lasaf," or "asaf," the caper plant, the bright green creeper, which climbs out of the fissures of the rocks in the Sinaitic valleys,[7] has been identified on grounds of great probability with the

[1] 1 Kings xix. 4, mistranslated "juniper." It is the "spartium juncum" of Linnæus. In Job xxx. 4, it is described as the food of the wild inhabitants of Edom when driven into the Desert. The word is also used in Ps. cxx. 4. See Part II. iv. xii.

[2] The palms in the palm-grove at Tôr are all registered. Property in them is capital; marriage portions are given in dates, like tulips in Holland. (Henniker, p. 217.)

[3] Exod. xv. 27; xvi. 1; Num. xxxiii. 9.

[4] Deut. ii. 8; 1 Kings ix. 26; 2 Kings xiv. 22; xvi. 6; 2 Chr. viii. 17; xxvi. 2.

[5] It is the same word which in Palestine is used habitually for the *ilex* or *terebinth*; an instructive change, because the *terebinth* is as emphatically the distinguished tree (if one may so say) of Palestine, as the palm is of the Desert. See Chapter II. p. 140.

[6] The "Eshel" (ἄρουρα, LXX.) of Gen. xxi. 33. It is also used in 1 Sam. xxii. 6, for a tree at Ramah; and in 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, for a tree at Jabesh, which in 1 Chron. x. 12, is called an "oak" (Elah). This last example perhaps throws doubt on the previous usage. But it can hardly be doubted that the tamarisk is intended in Gen. xxi. 33. See Part II. iv., and Appendix.

[7] Ritter, Sinai, 345, 761. I remember it especially in the Wâdy Shellâl, the Wâdy El-'Ain, and the Sik at Petra. (See Part II. pp. 70, 81, 90.) To us, as to Lepsius and Forskal, the Bedouin name seemed to be *Lasaf* or *Lascf*. But it is the same as Burckhardt, Freytag, and Richardson give under the name of *Aszef* and *Asaf*; and the other form is probably only a corruption of *al-asaf* (See Journal of R. Asiat. Soc., No. xv. 203); as, on the contrary,

"hyssop" or "ezob" of Scripture, and thus explains whence came the green branches used, even in the Desert, for sprinkling the water over the tents of the Israelites.[1]

The physical phenomena.

Again, it has often been asked whether there are any natural phenomena by which the wonders of the giving of the Law can be explained or illustrated. There are at first sight many appearances which, to an unpractised eye, seem indications of volcanic agency. But they are all, it is believed, illusory. The vast heaps, as of calcined mountains, are only the detritus of iron in the sandstone formation.[2] The traces of igneous action on the granite rocks belong to their first upheaving, not to any subsequent convulsions. Everywhere there are signs of the action of water, nowhere of fire. On the other hand the mysterious sounds which have been mentioned on Um-Shômer and Gebel Mousa, may be in some way connected with the terrors described in the Mosaic narrative. If they are, they furnish an additional illustration, not to say an additional proof, of the historical truth of the narrative. If they are not, it must rest, as heretofore, on its own internal evidence.

The present inhabitants.

Finally, the relation of the Desert to its modern inhabitants is still illustrative of its ancient history. The general name by which the Hebrews called "the wilderness," including always that of Sinai, was "the pasture."[3] Bare as the surface of the Desert is, yet the thin clothing of vegetation, which is seldom entirely withdrawn, especially the aromatic shrubs on the high hill-sides, furnish sufficient sustenance for the herds of the six thousand Bedouins who constitute the present population of the Peninsula.

> "Along the mountain ledges green,
> The scatter'd sheep at will may glean
> The Desert's spicy stores."[4]

Bethany is sometimes called *El-Azarieh*, from a corruption of *Lazarieh*. The arguments in favour of the identification are thus summed up by Professor Royle. "It is found in Lower Egypt, in the deserts of Sinai . . . Its habit is to grow on the most barren soil, or rocky precipice, or the side of a wall. . . . It has, moreover, always been supposed to possess cleansing properties, [especially in cutaneous disorders. Pliny, H. N., xx. 15]. . . It is capable of yielding a stick, to which the sponge might be affixed." (Journal of R. Asiat. Soc., No. xv. p. 202.) The word ὄσσωπος seems to have been used by the LXX as the Greek name most nearly resembling the Hebrew "Ezob" in sound, though differing in sense.—Thus Βάρις is used for "*Birch*," and Βῶμος for "*Bamah*."

[1] Numb. xix. 18. [2] See Part II. vi.
[3] "Midbar." See Appendix, *sub voce*.
[4] Christian Year, 5th Sunday in Lent.

So were they seen following the daughters or the shepherd-slaves of Jethro. So may they be seen climbing the rocks, or gathered round the pools and springs of the valleys, under the charge of the black-veiled Bedouin women of the present day. And in the Tiyâha, Towâra, or Alouin tribes, with their chiefs and followers, their dress, and manners, and habitations, we probably see the likeness of the Midianites, the Amalekites, and the Israelites themselves in this their earliest stage of existence. The long straight lines of black tents which cluster round the Desert springs, present to us on a small scale the image of the vast encampment gathered round the one Sacred Tent which, with its coverings of dyed skins, stood conspicuous in the midst, and which recalled the period of their nomadic life long after their settlement in Palestine.[1] The deserted villages—marked by rude enclosures of stone—are doubtless such as those to which the Hebrew wanderers gave the name of "Hazeroth,"[2] and which afterwards furnished the type of the primitive sanctuary at Shiloh.[3] The rude burial-grounds, with the many nameless head-stones, far away from human habitation, are such as the host of Israel must have left behind them at the different stages of their progress—at Massah, at Sinai, at Kibroth-hattaavah, "the graves of desire." The salutations of the chiefs, in their bright scarlet robes, the one "going out to meet the other," the "obeisance," the "kiss" on each side the head, the silent entrance into the tent for consultation, are all graphically described in the encounter between Moses and Jethro.[4] The constitution of the tribes, with the subordinate degrees of sheykhs, recommended by Jethro to Moses, is the very same which still exists amongst those who are possibly his lineal descendants—the gentle race of the Towâra.[5]

Change in the features of the Desert.

As we pass from the Desert to its inhabitants, a question naturally arises—How far can we be sure that we have the same outlines, and colours, and forms, that were presented to those who wandered through these mountains and valleys

[1] 1 Chron. xxi. 29; 2 Chron. i. 3.
[2] See p. 82, and Appendix.
[3] See Chapter V.
[4] Exodus xviii. 7.
[5] Ritter, Sinai, pp. 936, 937.

three thousand years ago? It might at first sight seem, that in this, as in other respects, the interest of the Desert of Sinai would be unique; that here, more than in any other great stage of historical events, the outward scene must remain precisely as it was; that the convent of Justinian with its gardens, the ruins of Paran, with the remains of hermits' cells long since desolate, are the only alterations which human hands have introduced into these wild solitudes. Even the Egyptian monuments and sculptures which are carved out of the sandstone rocks, were already there, as the Israelites passed by—memorials at once of their servitude and of their deliverance. But a difficulty has often been stated that renders it necessary somewhat to modify this assumption of absolute identity between the ancient and modern Desert. The question is asked—"How could a tribe, so numerous and powerful as, on any hypothesis, the Israelites must have been,[1] be maintained in this inhospitable desert?" It is no answer to say that they were sustained by miracles; for except the manna, the quails, and the three interventions in regard to water, none such are mentioned in the Mosaic history; and if we have no warrant to take away, we have no warrant to add. Nor is it any answer to say that this difficulty is a proof of the impossibility, and therefore of the unhistorical character of the narrative. For, as Ewald has well shown, the general truth of the wanderings in the wilderness is an essential preliminary to the whole of the subsequent history of Israel. Something, of course, may be allowed for the spread of the tribes of Israel far and wide through the whole peninsula; something, also, for the constant means of support from their own flocks and herds. More, also, might be elicited than has yet been done, from the undoubted fact that a population nearly if not quite equal to the whole permanent

[1] In spite of the difficulties attending upon the statement of the 600,000 armed men, as given in the Pentateuch, and the uncertainty always attached to attaining exact statements of numbers in any ancient text, or in any Oriental calculation, in this case the most recent and the most critical investigation of this history inclines to adopt the numbers of 600,000 as authentic. Ewald, Geschichte, (2nd edit.) ii. 61, 253, 359.

population of the Peninsula does actually pass through the Desert, in the caravan of the five thousand African pilgrims on their way to Mecca. It is, of course, a number incomparably less than that ascribed to the Israelites, and passing only for a few days, but still it shows what may be done for a large addition to the habitual population of the country, even when traversing a portion of the Desert (the Tîh) far less available for resources of life than the mountains of Sinai. Yet it must be acknowledged that none of these considerations solve the difficulty, though they mitigate its force. It is therefore important to observe what indications there may be of the mountains of Sinai having ever been able to furnish greater resources than at present. These indications are well summed up by Ritter.[1] There is no doubt that the vegetation of the wâdys has considerably decreased. In part, this would be an inevitable effect of the violence of the winter torrents. The trunks of palm-trees washed up on the shore of the Dead Sea, from which the living tree has now for many centuries disappeared, show what may have been the devastation produced amongst those mountains, where the floods, especially in earlier times, must have been violent to a degree unknown in Palestine; whilst the peculiar cause—the impregnation of salt—which has preserved the vestiges of the older vegetation there, has here, of course, no existence. The traces of such a destruction were pointed out to Burckhardt on the eastern side of Mount Sinai,[2] as having occurred within half a century before his visit; also to Wellsted,[3] as having occurred near Tôr, in 1832. In part, the same result has followed from the reckless waste of the Bedouin tribes—reckless in destroying, and careless in replenishing. A fire, a pipe, lit under a grove of Desert trees, may clear away the vegetation of a whole valley. So Laborde observed,[4] to justify his preference of the Wâdy Useit to the Wâdy Ghurundel as the site of Elim, against the objection that there were fewer palms in the former than

[1] Ritter, Sinai, pp. 926, 927. There is a chapter on the same subject in the first volume of Captain Allen's "Dead Sea."

[2] Burckhardt, p. 538.

[3] Wellsted, ii., 15.

[4] Commentary on Exodus, p. 85.

in the latter. The truth of his remark is amply confirmed by the fact, that, in the few years which have elapsed since his visit, the case is reversed. There may, perhaps, be not more palms at Useit than in Laborde's time, but there are fewer at Ghurundel;[1] and no one now who was guided by the wish to choose the larger palm-grove could hesitate to select Useit. Again, it is mentioned by Rüppell, that the acacia trees have been of late years ruthlessly destroyed by the Bedouins for the sake of charcoal; especially since they have been compelled by the Pasha of Egypt to pay a tribute in charcoal for an assault committed on the Mecca caravan in the year 1823.[2] Charcoal from the acacia is, in fact, the chief, perhaps it might be said the only, traffic of the Peninsula. Camels are constantly met, loaded with this wood, on the way between Cairo and Suez. And as this probably has been carried on in great degree by the monks of the convent, it may account for the fact, that whereas in the valleys of the western and the eastern clusters this tree abounds more or less, yet in the central cluster itself, to which modern tradition certainly, and geographical considerations probably, point as the mountain of the burning "thorn," and the scene of the building of the Ark and all the utensils of the Tabernacle from this very wood, there is now not a single acacia to be seen. If this be so, the greater abundance of vegetation would, as is well known, have furnished a greater abundance of water, and this again would re-act on the vegetation, from which the means of subsistence would be procured. How much may be done by a careful use of such water and such soil as the Desert supplies, may be seen by the only two spots to which, now, a diligent and provident attention is paid; namely, the gardens at the Wells of Moses, under the care of the French and English agents from Suez, and the gardens in the valleys of Gebel Mousa, under the care of the Greek monks of the convent of St. Catherine. Even as late as the seventeenth century, if we may trust the expression of Monconys,[3] the Wâdy Er-

[1] In 1853 I counted twenty at Useit, and six at Ghurundel. See Part II. iv.
[2] Rüppell, p. 190.
[3] Journal des Voy., p. 420.

Râheh in front of the convent, now entirely bare, was "a vast *green* plain,"—"une grande champagne *verte*." And that there was in ancient times a greater population than at present—which would, again, by thus furnishing heads and hands to consider and to cultivate these spots of vegetation, tend to increase and to preserve them—may be inferred from several indications.[1] The Amalekites who contested the passage of the Desert with Israel were, —if we may draw any inferences from this very fact, as well as from their wide-spread name and power even to the time of Saul and David, and from the allusion to them in Balaam's prophecy as "the first of the nations,"—something more than a mere handful of Bedouins. The Egyptian copper-mines, and monuments, and hieroglyphics, in Sarbût-el-Kedem and the Wâdy Megâra, imply a degree of intercourse between Egypt and the Peninsula in the earliest days of Egypt, of which all other traces have long ceased. The ruined cities of Edom in the mountains east of the 'Arabah, and the remains and history of Petra itself, indicate a traffic and a population in these remote regions which now seems to us almost

[1] In the question of the maintenance of the Israelites, it is impossible to avoid considering the question of the identity of the present manna with that described in the Mosaic history. The hypothesis of their identity, it must be remembered, is no modern fancy; but was believed by Josephus (Ant. iii. 2) and has always been maintained by the Greek Church in its representatives at the Convent of St. Catherine; and portions of it have been by them deliberately sold as such to pilgrims and travellers for many centuries. It must be acknowledged, with all deference to so ancient a tradition, that the only arguments in its favour are the name and the locality in which it is found. An exudation like honey, produced by insects from the leaves of the tamarisk, used only for medicinal purposes, and falling on the ground only from accident or neglect, and at present produced in sufficient quantities only to support one man for six months, has obviously but few points of similarity with the "small round thing, small as the hoarfrost on the ground; like *coriander seed*, white, its taste like wafers made with honey; gathered and ground *in mills*, and beat *in a mortar*, baked in pans and *made into cakes*, and its taste as the taste of fresh oil;" and spoken of as forming at least a considerable part of the sustenance of a vast caravan like that of the Israelites. All the arguments in favour of the ancient view of the identity may be seen in Ritter (pp. 665—695), all those in favour of the modern view of the diversity of the two kinds of manna, in Robinson (vol. i. p. 170) and Laborde (Commentary on Exodus and Numbers, p. 97). So far as the argument against its identity depends on its insufficiency, the greater abundance of vegetation, and therefore of *tarfa* trees, should be taken into account. And it should be observed, that the manna found in Kurdistan and Persia far more nearly corresponds to the Mosaic account, and also is asserted by the Bedouins and others to fall fresh from heaven. (Wellsted, ii., 48.)

inconceivable. And even in much later times,—in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era — the writings of Christian pilgrims on the rocks, whether in the Sinaitic characters, in Greek, or in Arabic; as well as the numerous remains of cells, gardens, houses, chapels, and churches, now deserted and ruined, both in the neighbourhood of Gebel Mousa and of Serbâl, all show that even the Desert was not always the dreary waste that it is now. Whether these changes are sufficient to explain the difficulty in answer to which they are alleged, may be doubtful. But they at least help to meet it, and they must under any circumstances be borne in mind, to modify in some degree the image which we form to ourselves of the scenes of the Israelite history.

Local traditions of the history.

III. And now, is it possible to descend into details, and to ascertain the route by which the Israelites passed— over the Red Sea, and then through the Desert to Palestine? First, can we be guided by tradition? In other words, has the recollection of those past events formed part of the historical consciousness and tradition of the Desert, or has it been merely devised in later times from conjectures either of the Greek monks and hermits of Sinai speculating on the words of the Old Testament, or of the Bedouin chiefs applying here and there a fragment of their knowledge of the Koran? Such a question can only be authoritatively answered by a traveller who, with a complete knowledge of Arabic, has sifted and compared the various legends and stories of the several tribes of the Peninsula. But any one, by combining his own experience, however slight, with the accounts of previous travellers, especially of Burckhardt, may form an approximation to the truth. From whatever date it may be derived, there is unquestionably a general atmosphere of Mosaic tradition everywhere. From Petra to Cairo— from the northern platform of the Peninsula to its southern extremity, the name and the story of Moses is still predominant. There are the two groups of "Wells of Moses," one on each side the Gulf of Suez—there are the "Baths of Pharaoh"—and the "Baths of Moses" further down the coast; there is the "Seat of Moses," near

1. Arab tradition.

Traditions of Moses.

Bisâtîn, and in the Wâdy Feirân; there is the "Mountain of Moses" in the cluster of Sinai; the "Cleft of Moses" in Mount St. Catherine; the "Valley" and the "Cleft of Moses," at Petra; the "Island of Pharaoh," or of "Moses," in the Gulf of 'Akaba. There is the romantic story told to Burckhardt,[1] that the soughing of wind down the Pass of Nuweybi'a, on that gulf, is the wailing of Moses as he leaves his loved mountains; there is the "Hill of Aaron," at the base of the traditional Horeb; the "Tomb of Aaron," at the summit of the "Mountain of Aaron," overhanging Petra. It is possible, too, that the plateau of the Tîh, or of the "Wanderings," on the north of the Peninsula, —the valley of the Tîh, with the Mountain of Gheiboun (Doubt), on the southern road from Cairo to Suez— and the Gebel 'Attâka, or Mountain of Deliverance, between that valley and Suez, have reference to the wanderings and the escape of Israel. But these latter names may perhaps have originated in the dangers and deliverances of the Mecca pilgrimage.

Loss of the ancient names.

Two circumstances throw doubt on the continuity of this tradition. The first is, that hardly in one instance do the actual localities bear the names preserved in the Old Testament. These names are frequent and precise. The different regions of the Desert which are indicated by their natural features, as above described, all seem to have had their special nomenclatures. All these as general names have perished. One name only, that of *Paran*, has lingered in the valley and city of that name —apparently the same as that corrupted into *Feirân*; just as the name of *Hellas* is preserved only in a solitary hamlet on the banks of the Sperchius in Thessaly. The names of the particular stations which are given both in the general narrative, and in the special enumeration in the 33rd chapter of the Book of Numbers, have also disappeared. There are three possible exceptions: the defile of *Muktala* may be a corruption of *Migdol*; *Ajerood* of *Pi-hahiroth*; *Huderah* of *Hazeroth*. But these are all doubtful, and of the others, even of the most celebrated, Marah, Elim, and Rephidim, no trace remains.

[1] Burckhardt, p. 517. For the present Mussulman traditions, see Note A.

More remarkable still, perhaps, if we did not remember how very rarely mountains retain their nomenclature from age to age, is the disappearance of the names of Horeb and Sinai.[1] What was the original meaning or special appropriation of these two names it is difficult to determine.[2] "Horeb" is probably the "Mountain of the Dried-up Ground;" "Sinai" the "Mountain of the Thorn." Either name applies, therefore, almost equally to the general aspect or to the general vegetation of the whole range. But both are now superseded by the fanciful appellations which attach to each separate peak, or by the common name of "Tôr," in which all are merged alike.

Modern names.

The names now given to the mountains, as before observed, are chiefly derived either from the adjacent wâdys, or from their peculiar vegetation. Some few are called from some natural peculiarity, such as Gebel Hammâm, so called from the warm springs at its foot; or Tâst Sudr, from its cuplike shape. Some, however, both of the wâdys and the mountains, are called from legendary or historical events attached to them. Such are the Wâdy Es-Shéykh,—the central valley of the Peninsula, which derives its name from the tomb of Sheykh Saleh;[3] the Gebel-el-Banât—the "Mountain of the Damsels," so called from a story of two Bedouin sisters having, in a fit of disappointed love, twisted their hair together, and leaped from the two peaks

[1] One of the most intelligent guides I ever saw in any mountain country —Sheykh Zeddan, Sheykh of Serbâl, —who accompanied us to the top of that mountain, was wholly unacquainted with the names of Horeb and Sinai; and this seemed to be the general rule. But it must be observed, that in Niebuhr's time the Arabs spoke of the whole cluster now called "Tôr" as "Tôr Sina" (Description de l'Arabie, p. 200); and the little Arab guides of the convent (as will be noticed afterwards, see p. 42) gave to one particular peak the name of "Sena."

[2] The special use of "Horeb" and "Sinai" in the Old Testament has often been discussed. It appears to me that this depends rather on a distinction of usage than of place. 1. In Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, *Sinai* is always and exclusively used for the scene of the Giving of the Law; *Horeb* being only used twice—for the scene of the Burning Bush, and of the Striking of the Rock. (Ex. iii. 1, xvii. 6, are doubtful; Ex. xxxiii. 6, is ambiguous.) 2. In Deuteronomy, *Horeb* is substituted for *Sinai*, the former being always used, the latter never, for the Mountain of the Law. 3. In the Psalms, the two are used indifferently for the Mountain of the Law. 4. In 1 Kings xix. 8, it is impossible to determine to what part, if to any special part, *Horeb* is applied. For a further discussion of the subject, see Lepsius' Letters, p. 317.

[3] See p. 56; Part II. p. 79.

of the mountain, which, in all probability, originated the legend; Gebel-Katherin, or Mountain of St. Catherine, the scene of the miraculous translation of the body of that saint from Alexandria. This nomenclature suggests the likelihood that the various names before mentioned in connection with the Mosaic history are comparatively modern. If the monks of the convent have been able so completely to stamp the name of St. Catherine on one of their peaks, there is no reason to doubt that they may have been equally able to stamp the name of Moses on the other.[1]

But, secondly, the moment that the Arab traditions of Moses are examined in detail, they are too fantastic to be treated seriously. They may well be taken as representing some indistinct or mysterious impression left by that colossal figure as he passed before the vision of their ancestors. But it is not possible to apply them for verification of special events or localities. The passage of the Red Sea, as Niebuhr has well remarked, is fixed wherever the traveller puts the question to his Arab guides. The "Wells of Moses," the "Baths of Pharaoh," the "Baths of Moses," all down the Gulf of Suez, and the "Island of Pharaoh," in the Gulf of 'Akaba, equally derive their names from traditions of the passage at each of these particular spots. The "warm springs of Pharaoh" are his last breath as the waves past over him; the "Wells of Moses," the "Baths of Moses," the great "Clefts of Moses" on St. Catherine, and at Petra, are equally the results of Moses' rod. The "Mountain of Moses" is so called, not so much from any tradition of the Giving of the Law, as because it is supposed to contain in the cavity of the granite rock the impression of his back, as he hid himself from the presence of God. His visit to Sinai is apparently separated from that of the Children of Israel, who, according to the Bedouin story, occupied

[1] At the same time it is impossible not to remark the much greater slowness with which foreign traditions strike root here than would be the case in Europe. Since Burckhardt's time, the spring of Howâra has been generally assumed to be Marah. Had this spring been in England, Italy, or Greece, the place would long before this have received the name which travellers and guides are anxious to impose upon it. But here, in spite of the endeavours made by every party that passes to extract a confession of the desired name, "Howâra" it still is, and probably will remain.

the whole forty years in vainly endeavouring to cross the platform of the Tîh.

If the Arab tradition fails in establishing particular localities, so does also the Greek tradition as preserved in the convent. How far in earlier times the monks were better guides than they are at present, it is difficult to determine. At present, and as far back as the modern race of travellers extends, there is probably no branch of the vast fraternity of ciceroni so unequal to their task as the twenty-one monks of the most interesting convent in the world. Exiles from the islands in the Greek Archipelago; rebels against monastic rules at home; lunatics sent for recovery; none as a general rule remaining longer than two or three years; with an imperfect knowledge of Arabic, with no call upon their exertions, and no check upon their ignorance, they know less about the localities which surround them than the humblest of the Bedouin serfs who wait upon their bounty. It may be said, perhaps, that for this very reason, they may have the more faithfully handed down the traditions of the first inhabitants of the convent. Yet, when we remember how many of these sites have evidently been selected for the sake of convenience rather than of truth, it is not easy to trust a tradition that has descended through such channels even for fifteen hundred years, unless it can render good its claim to be the offspring of another, which requires for its genuineness another fifteen hundred still. In order to bring it into the round of the daily sights, the cleft of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, is transferred from Kadesh Barnea to the foot of Horeb. The peak of Gebel Mousa, now pointed out by them as the scene of the giving of the Law, fails to meet the most pressing requirements of the narrative. Rephidim has been always shown within an hour's walk instead of a day's march from the mountain. The monks in the last century confessed or rather boasted that they had themselves invented the footmark of Mahomet's mule, in order to secure the devotion of the Bedouins. The cypress, surmounted by a cross, and cut into the shape of a serpent, in the court of the convent, in all probability was intended to

2. Greek traditions.

commemorate the really remote event of the erection of the Brazen Serpent.[1] Tôr, and even 'Akaba, were long shown as Elim.[2]

3. Early traditions,

There are, however, some few traces of traditions extending beyond the age of Justinian, or of Mahomet, which ought not to be disregarded. Josephus, here as elsewhere, refers throughout to sources of information not contained in the Old Testament, yet free from the grotesqueness and absurdity of the Rabbinical interpretations. Eusebius and Jerome also speak as if the nomenclature of the Desert[3] was in some instances known to them, either by tradition or conjecture. The selection of the sites of the two great convents of Feirân and St. Catherine, though it may have been dictated in part by the convenience of the neighbouring water and vegetation, yet must also have been in part influenced by a pre-existing belief in the sanctity of those spots. One point there is,—not, indeed, in the Peninsula itself, but in connection with the route of the Israelites—in which the local tradition so remarkably coincides with every indication furnished by historical notices, and by the nature of the country, as not only to vindicate credibility for itself, but to lend some authority to the traditions of the Desert generally—the "Mountain of Aaron," in all probability the "Hor" of Aaron's grave.[4] The cycle of Mosaic names and traditions, which seems most reasonably to point to a genuine Arab source, is that which relates to the Arab chief Jethro, or (as he is called from his other name "Chobab")

of Eusebius and Jerome;

and respecting Mount Hor,

and Jethro.

[1] This observation I owe to the accurate drawing of the convent by my friend Mr. Herbert Herries.

[2] Wellsted (ii., 13) says that "the traditions of the country assert Tor to be Elim, where Moses and his household encamped;" and "that the Mohamedan pilgrims proceeding to or returning from Mecca give implicit credence to the tradition," and "believe the waters to be efficacious in removing cutaneous and other tropical disorders." This shows the importance of an accurate distinction of the different classes of tradition. There is no doubt that the Mussulmans regard the wells as the Baths of Moses; but the question is, whether they regard them as Elim, or whether, as is probable, that is not a name given by the Greek convent, to which the palm-grove of Tôr belongs.

[3] At the same time the rash conjecture that Jerome makes about the second encampment by the Red Sea, (Numb. xxxiii. 10) shows that he was quite unacquainted with the details of the geography. He speaks of it as a great difficulty, and solves it by imagining that there was a bay running inland, or that a pool of water with reeds (!) may possibly have been the Reedy Sea. (Ep. ad Fabiolam.)

[4] See Part II. xvi.

Shouaib. The most remarkable of these is the Wâdy Shouaib; according to one version, the valley east of Gebel Mousa, in which the convent stands; according to another, the ravine leading down into that valley from the Râs Sasâfeh. Probably the Wâdy Lejâ on the western side of the same range, and the Gebel Fureiâ above the plain Er-râheh, point to the two daughters of Jethro,[1] called in the Arabian legends Lija and Safuria (Zipporah). There is also the cave of Shouaib[2] on the eastern shores of the Gulf of 'Akaba, a tradition the more remarkable as being by its situation removed from any connection with the Christian convents, and also being the very region which, in all probability, is the country described as Jethro's Midian in the Pentateuch.

Route of the Israelites.

IV. Bearing these earliest traditions in mind, whenever they can be traced, it may still be possible, by the internal evidence of the country itself, to lay down not indeed the actual route of the Israelites in every stage, but, in almost all cases, the main alternatives between which we must choose, and, in some cases, the very spots themselves. Hitherto no one traveller has traversed more than one, or at most two routes of the Desert; and thus the determination of these questions has been obscured, first, by the tendency of every one to make the Israelites follow his own track, and secondly, by his inability to institute a just comparison between the facilities or the difficulties which attend the routes which he has not seen. This obscurity will always exist till some competent traveller has explored the whole Peninsula. When this has been fairly done, there is little doubt that some of the most important topographical questions now at issue will be set at rest. Meanwhile, with the materials before us, it may be useful to give a summary of the points in dispute as they at present stand.[3]

1. The passage of the Red Sea.

1. The passage of the Red Sea, has been extended, as

[1] See Weil's Biblical Legends, p. 107.

[2] Itinerary of Mecca Pilgrims in Welsted's "Arabia," ii., 459.

[3] In all that follows I have confined myself to the most concise statement consistent with perspicuity. The map must be in many cases its own interpreter. I must also refer to the subsequent portion of this Chapter (Part II.)

already observed, by the Arab traditions down the whole Gulf of Suez, and even to the Gulf of 'Akaba.[1] But it may, for all practical purposes, be confined to two points —the Wâdy Tuârik, opposite the Wells of Moses; or the immediate neighbourhood of Suez; whether at the present fords, or at some point higher up the gulf which then, doubtless, extended further northward. In favour of the former locality, besides the usual Arab tradition, there is the earlier statement of Josephus that the start was made from Latopolis, which he identifies with the Egyptian Babylon, that is, Old Cairo. If they started from this city, standing almost at the entrance of the valley which opens on the southern point of passage, the great probability is that they would have followed that course throughout. This, perhaps, is the chief argument in favour of the theory of the southern passage. But the traditions of Josephus can hardly weigh against those[2] of the Alexandrine translators, who make the departure to be from some point in the Delta in the neighbourhood of Heroopolis.[3] And, in all other points, the words of the narrative almost imperatively require the shallower, the narrower, and therefore the more northern, passage. If the "strong east wind," or, according to the Septuagint, "the strong south[4] wind," was used to part the waters, we must select a portion of the sea whose depth is not too great to forbid the agency of wind; and this can only be at the northern end, where the shoals are, and must always have been, sufficient to render a shallower passage possible. If the passage of 600,000 armed men was

[1] The best representation of the conflicting theories is given in the map of Laborde's Commentary on Exodus and Numbers. For the general scene, see Part II. ii. 2, 3.

[2] Josephus, Ant., II. xv. 1.

[3] Compare Ex. xii. 37,—"they departed from Rameses,"—with Gen. xlvi. 28,—"to Heroopolis in the land of Rameses" (LXX.). See also the almost conclusive arguments by which Lepsius decides the identity of Abu-Kesheb with Rameses. (Letters, p. 438. Bohn's Ed.)

[4] Νότῳ, Ex. xiv. 21. The effect of the winds in the Red Sea is well given by Wellsted, (ii. 42, 470.) Compare Clarke, i., 324, on the power of the wind to dry up the Sea of Azof, though five fathoms deep; and King's Morsels of Criticism, i. 285 (quoted in Bagster's Comprehensive Bible, on Joshua iii.), who mentions the strong south-west wind which amongst other like events in 1645 blew the bed of the Rhone dry. See also a learned dissertation on the "wind" in the Journal of Sacred Literature, vol. viii. p. 108.

effected in the limits of a single night, we are compelled to look for it in the narrower end of the gulf, and not in the wide interval of eight or ten miles between the Wâdy Tuârik and the Wells of Moses.[1] Indeed, it should be remembered that the notion of the Israelites *crossing* the Red Sea at its broader part is comparatively modern. By earlier Christian commentators, and by almost all the Rabbinical writers who selected the wider road as the scene of the event, the passage was explained to be not a *transit*—which, as a learned Dutch interpreter calculated, would have required at least three days—but a short *circuit*, returning again to the Egyptian shore, and then pursuing their way round the head of the Gulf. Such an interpretation, faithfully represented on the old maps, and defended at great length by Quaresmius,[2] is worth preserving, as a curious instance of the sacrifice of the whole moral grandeur of a miracle, to which men are often (and in this case necessarily) driven by a mistaken desire of exaggerating its physical magnitude.

2. There can be no dispute as to the general track of the Israelites after the passage. If they were to enter the mountains at all they must continue in the route of all travellers, between the sea and the tableland of the Tîh, till they entered the low hills of Ghurundel. Marah must be either Howâra[3] or Ghurundel. Elim must be Ghurundel, Useit, or Tayibeh.[4] 2. Marah and Elim.

3. The "encampment by the Red Sea" (Numbers xxxiii. 10) must almost certainly be at the descent of the Wâdy Tayibeh on the sea, or in some portion of the plain of Murkâ, before they again turned up into the mountains; the cliffs forbidding any continuous line of march along the shore between the Wâdy Ghurundel and the Wâdy Tayibeh. It is indeed just possible that, like Pococke and Bartlett, they may have descended to the mouth of the 3. Encampment by the Red Sea.

[1] This is the width according to the survey of the Red Sea by Commander Moresby and Lieutenant Careless.

[2] Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ, ii., 965, &c.

[3] Dr. Graul, however, was told that Tuweileb (the well-known Sheykh of the Towâra tribe) knew of a spring near *Tîh el 'Amâra*, right (*i. e.* south) of Howâra, so bitter that neither men nor camels could drink of it. From hence the road goes straight to Wâdy Ghurundel. (Vol. ii., p. 254.)

[4] See Part II. p. 68.

Wâdy Ghurundel, by the warm springs ("of Pharaoh"), and then returned to the Wâdy Useit. Such a détour is not likely: yet it must be borne in mind as possible. For if the "encampment by the Red Sea" was at the mouth of the Wâdy Ghurundel, it must have been before the bifurcation of the two routes to Gebel Mousa—that namely to the north by Sarbût-el-Kedem, and that to the south by Wâdy Tayibeh—and would thus open the alternative of their having gone by the former of these two roads, and so avoided altogether the Wâdy Feirân. This is a material point in favour of all views which exclude Mount Serbâl from the history. If, on the other hand, they proceeded, as travellers usually do, by Ghurundel, Useit, and Tayibeh, (and if Tayibeh or Useit be Elim, they must have done so) and thus descended on the sea, here two other alternatives open upon us.

4. Wilderness of Sin.

4. For when arrived at the plain of Murkâ, they may have gone, according to the route of the older travellers,—Shaw, Pococke, and the Prefect of the Franciscan Convent,—to Tôr, and thence by the Wâdy Hebrân, and the Nakb Hôwy, to Gebel Mousa; or they may have gone, according to the route of all recent travellers, by the Wâdy Shellâl, the Nakb Badera, and the Wâdys Mokatteb, Feirân, and Es-Sheykh, to the same point. The former route is improbable, both because of its détour, and also because the Wâdy Hebrân is said to be, and the Nakb Hôwy certainly is, as difficult if not more difficult than any pass on the route of the Wâdy Feirân. If it might seem to be in its favour that it was the habitual route of the early travellers, before the newly-awakened love of scenery had induced any one to visit the Wâdy Feirân, yet it must be remembered that all early travellers went and returned from Cairo to Sinai, and consequently took one route on their egress and the other on their regress. Still it must be borne in mind as a possible alternative.

5. Choice between Serbâl and Gebel Mousa as Sinai.

5. Of the three routes just mentioned, which we may call the northern, the central, and the southern, the northern and the southern combine in this result, that they omit Mount Serbâl, and necessarily take the Israelites to Gebel Mousa, or at least some mountain in the

eastern extremity of the peninsula. But the central route, after leaving the plain of Murkâ, mounts by the successive stages of the Wâdy Shellâl, the Nakb Badera, and the Wâdy Mokatteb, to the Wâdy Feirân and its great mountain, Serbâl, the pride of this cluster. If, as is most probable for the reasons just assigned, the Israelites took this road, the question is at once opened whether Serbâl be the Sinai of the Exodus? If it be, then we are here arrived at the end of their journey. If, on the other hand, the Israelites could be shown to have taken the northern or the southern road, or if there are insuperable objections to the identification of Serbâl with Sinai, the end is to be sought where it has usually been found, in the cluster of Gebel Mousa. Between these two clusters the question must lie.[1]

Each has its natural recommendations, which will best appear on proceeding. The claims of tradition are very nearly equal. Gebel Mousa is now the only one which puts forward any pretensions to be considered as the place, and is indeed the only region of the Sinaitic mountains where any traditions can be said to linger. They are certainly as old as the 6th century: and they probably reach back still further. On the other hand, though Serbâl has in later times lost its historical name, in earlier ages it enjoyed a larger support of tradition than Gebel Mousa. This, at least, is the natural inference from the Sinaitic inscriptions, which, of whatever date, must be prior to the age of Justinian, founder of the Convent of St. Catherine; and which are found at the very top of the mountain and the ruined edifice on its central summit. This too is the impression conveyed by the existence of the episcopal city of Paran, at its foot, which also existed prior to the foundations of Justinian. And the description of Horeb by Josephus[2] as a mountain,

[1] Till Um-Shômer has been thoroughly explored it would be rash to discard entirely the highest point of the peninsula. It was ascended by Burckhardt to within 200 feet of the summit, which is white. The plain of El-Kâ'a is immediately below. There is a spring and fig-trees, the ruins of a convent (Deir Antous), and there are strange stories of sounds like thunder. (Burckhardt, 586—588.) These points agree to a certain extent with the scriptural indications of Sinai, yet it is so far removed from any conceivable track of the Israelites as to render its claims highly improbable.

[2] Jos. Ant. II. xii. 1.

"the highest of the region," "with good grass growing round it," is more like the impression that is produced on a traveller by Serbâl than that derived from any other mountain usually seen in the range. It was undoubtedly identified with Sinai by Eusebius, Jerome, and Cosmas; that is, by all known writers till the time of Justinian. Rüppell also asserts that the summit of Serbâl was regarded by the Bedouins who accompanied him, as a sacred place, to which at certain times they brought sacrifices.[1]

There remains the question, whether there is any solution of the rival claims of Serbâl and Gebel Mousa, which can give to each a place in the sacred history. Such an attempt has been made by Ritter, who, with his usual union of diffidence and learning, suggests the possibility that Serbâl may have been "the Mount of God,"[2] the sanctuary of the heathen tribes of the Desert,—already sacred before Israel came, and that to which Pharaoh would understand that they were going their long journey into the Wilderness for sacrifice. It may then have been the Wâdy Feirân that witnessed the battle of Rephidim,[3] the building of the Altar on the hill, and the visit of Jethro, and after this long pause, in "the third month," they may again have moved forward to "Sinai," the cluster of Gebel Mousa. There are two points gained by any such solution; first, that Sinai may then be identified with Gebel Mousa, without the difficulty, otherwise considerable, that the narrative brings the Israelites through the two most striking features of the Desert—Wâdy Feirân and Serbâl—without any notice of the fact; and, secondly that it gives a scene, at least in some respects well-suited, for the encampment at Rephidim, the most remarkable which occurred before the final

[1] For the comparison of all these arguments in favour of Serbâl, see Lepsius' Letters (Bohn), pp. 310—321, 556—562. I have been unwilling to enter into more detail than was necessary to give a general view of the question at issue. See Part II. vii.

[2] Exodus iii. 1; iv. 27.

[3] Ritter, Sinai, pp. 728—744. If Feirân be Rephidim, one serious difficulty arises from the abundance of water in a spot where Israel is described as wanting water. But this applies even more to any spot in the neighbourhood of Gebel Mousa. Graul (vol. ii., 256) suggests that the brook of Feirân may (by a fallen rock) have been subsequently diverted into its present course; or, that it may have been dry, as it was when he saw it (March 9th, 1853).

one in front of Sinai itself. How far the narrative itself contains sufficient grounds for such a distinction between the two mountains is, in our present state of knowledge, very uncertain. If "Horeb" be taken for the generic name of the whole range, and not necessarily as identical with Sinai, then there is only one passage left (Exod. xxiv. 13, 16) in which, in the present text, "the Mount of God" is identified with "Sinai;" and even if Horeb be identified with Sinai, yet the variations of the Septuagint on this point show how easily the title of one mountain might be assumed into the text as the title of the other after the distinction between the two had been forgotten. In Exod. iii. 1, where "the Mountain of God" occurs in the present Hebrew text, it is omitted in the LXX, (though not in the Alexandrian MS.;) as in Exod. xix. 3, where it occurs in the LXX, it is omitted by the Hebrew text. This would agree well with the slight topographical details of the battle. In every passage where Sinai, and Horeb, and the Mount of God, and Mount Paran are spoken of, the Hebrew word "Hor" for "mountain" is invariably[1] used. But in Exod. xvii. 9, 10, in the account of the battle of Rephidim, the word used is "Gibeah," rightly translated "hill." Every one who has seen the valley of Feirân will at once recognise the propriety of the term, if applied to the rocky eminence which commands the palm-grove, and on which, in early Christian times, stood the church and palace of the Bishops of Paran. Thus if we can attach any credence to the oldest known tradition of the Peninsula, that Rephidim is the same as Paran, then Rephidim, "the resting-place," is the natural name for the paradise of the Bedouins in the adjacent palm-grove; then the hill of the Church of Paran may fairly be imagined to be "the hill" on which Moses stood, deriving its earliest consecration from the altar which he built; the Amalekites may thus have naturally fought for the oasis of the Desert, and the sanctuary of their gods; and Jethro may well have found his kinsmen encamping after their long journey, amongst the palms "before the

[1] In Ex. xxiv. 4, it is the same word, though mistranslated "hill." See Appendix, *sub voce.*

Mount of God," and acknowledged that the Lord was greater even than all the gods who had from ancient days been thought to dwell on the lofty peaks which overhung their encampment. And then the ground is clear for the second start, described in the following chapter. "They 'departed' from Rephidim, and came to the Desert of Sinai, and 'pitched' in the Wilderness; and there Israel encamped before the Mount."[1]

If the Wâdy Feirân, from its palm-grove and its brook, be marked out as the first long halting-place of Israel, the high valleys of Gebel Mousa with their abundant springs no less mark out the second. The great thoroughfare of the Desert, the longest, and widest, and most continuous of all the valleys, the Wâdy Es-Sheykh, would lead the great bulk of the host, with the flocks and herds, by the more accessible though more circuitous route into the central upland; whilst the chiefs of the people would mount directly to the same point by the Nakb Hôwy, and all would meet in the Wâdy Er-Râheh, the "enclosed plain" in front of the magnificent cliffs of the Râs Sasâfeh. It is possible that the end of the range Furei'a, to which the Arab guides give the name of *Sena*, may have a better claim than the Râs Sasâfeh, from the fact that it commands both the Wâdy Er-Râheh and the Wâdy Es-Sheykh; and that alone of those peaks it appears to retain a vestige of the name of *Sinai*. It is said to contain a level platform with trees,[2] and undoubtedly any future traveller will do well to explore it. But no one who has approached the Râs Sasâfeh through that noble plain, or who has looked down upon the plain from that majestic height, will willingly part with the belief that these are the two essential features of the view of the Israelite camp.[3] That such a plain should exist at all in front of such a cliff is so remarkable a coincidence with the sacred narrative, as to furnish a strong internal argument, not merely of its identity with the scene,

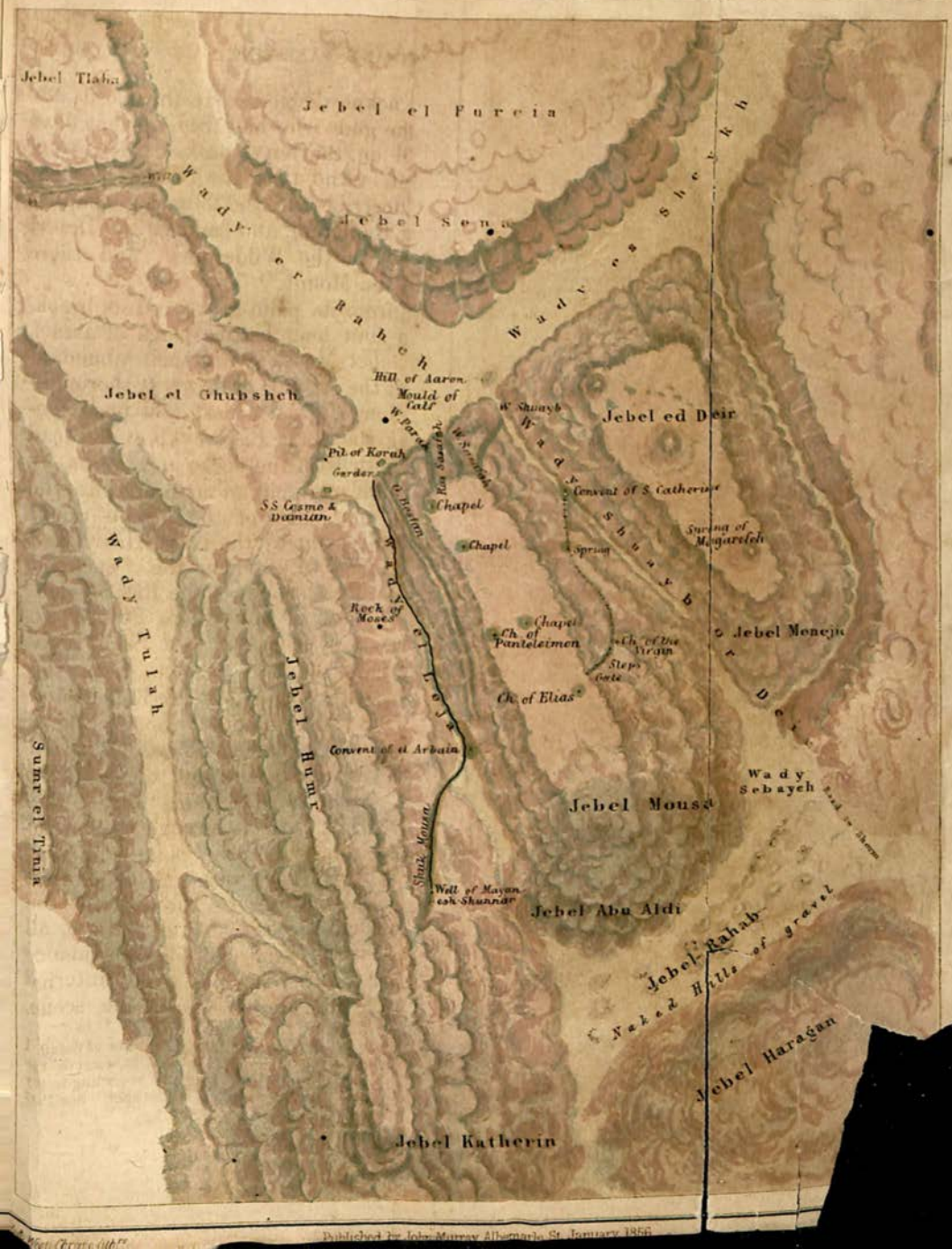
[1] Exod. xix. 2.

[2] See Palmer's Map of Arabia and Syria.

[3] Ritter (Sinai, 590—598) argues for the Wâdy Seb'âyeh, at the back of Gebel Mousa. As this is a matter of detail, I have thought it best to reserve the argument to be stated according to my own impressions on the spot. See Part II. p. 75.

N. Face p. 62

# MAP OF THE TRADITIONAL SINAI.

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but of the scene itself having been described by an eye-witness. The awful and lengthened approach, as to some natural sanctuary, would have been the fittest preparation for the coming scene. The low line of alluvial mounds at the foot of the cliff exactly answer to the "bounds" which were to keep the people off from "touching the Mount." The plain itself is not broken and uneven and narrowly shut in, like almost all others in the range, but presents a long retiring sweep, against which the people could "remove and stand afar off." The cliff, rising like a huge altar, in front of the whole congregation, and visible against the sky in lonely grandeur from end to end of the whole plain, is the very image of "the mount that might be touched," and from which the voice of God might be heard far and wide over the stillness of the plain below, widened at that point to its utmost extent by the confluence of all the contiguous valleys. Here, beyond all other parts of the Peninsula, is the adytum, withdrawn as if in the "end of the world," from all the stir and confusion of earthly things.[1] And as in the Wâdy Feirân "the hill" of Paran may be taken as fixing with some degree of probability the scene of Rephidim, so there are some details of the plain of Er-Râheh which remarkably coincide with the scene of the worship of the Golden Calf, evidently the same as that of the encampment at the time of the Delivery of the Law. In this instance the traditional locality is happily chosen. A small eminence at the entrance of the convent valley is marked by the name of Aaron, as being that from which Aaron surveyed the festival on the wide plain below. This tradition, if followed out, would of necessity require the encampment to be in the Wâdy Er-Râheh, as every other circumstance renders probable. But there are two other points which meet here, and nowhere else. First, Moses is described as descending the mountain without seeing the people; the shout strikes the ear of his companion before they ascertain the cause; the view bursts upon him suddenly as he draws nigh to the camp, and he throws

[1] "If I were to make a model of the end of the world, it would be from the valley of the convent of Mount Sinai." —Henniker, p. 225.

down the tables and dashes them in pieces "beneath the mount."[1] Such a combination might occur in the Wâdy Er-Râheh. Any one coming down from one of the secluded basins behind the Râs Sasâfeh, through the oblique gullies which flank it on the north and south, would hear the sounds borne through the silence from the plain, but would not see the plain itself till he emerged from the Wâdy Ed-Deir or the Wâdy Lejâ; and when he did so, he would be immediately under the precipitous cliff of Sasâfeh. Further, we are told that Moses strewed the powder of the fragments of the idol on the "waters"[2] of the "brook that came down out of the mount." This would be perfectly possible in the Wâdy Er-Râheh, into which issues the brook of the Wâdy Lejâ, descending, it is true, from Mount St. Catherine, but still in sufficiently close connection with the Gebel Mousa to justify the expression, "coming down out of the mount." These two coincidences, which must be taken for what they are worth, would not occur either at Serbâl or in the Wâdy Sebâyeh. In the case of the former, although there is the brook from the Wâdy Aleyat, which would probably meet the description, there is no corresponding contiguity of the encampment. In the case of the latter, both are wanting.

6. Special localities of the history.

6. It is hardly necessary, after what has been said, to examine minutely the special traditional localities of Gebel Mousa. How little could have been the desire of finding a place which should realise the general impressions of the scene; how the great event which has made Sinai famous was forgotten in the search after traces of special incidents, of which there could be no memorial, and in the discovery of which there could be no real instruction, is sufficiently apparent from the fact that, amongst all the pilgrims who visited Mount Sinai for so many centuries, hardly one noticed, and not one paid any attention to the great plain of Er-Râheh. And yet it is the very feature which since the time that it was (we may almost say) first discovered by Lord Lindsay and Dr. Robinson, must strike any thoughtful observer as the point in the whole range the most illustrative of Israelite history. There is, how-

[1] Exod. xxxii. 15—19.

[2] Exod. xxxii. 20; Deut. ix. 21.

ever, one general remark that applies to almost all the lesser localities. If, on the one hand, the general features of the Desert, and of the plain beneath the Râs Sasâfeh in particular, accord with the authentic history of Israel, there is little doubt on the other, that the physical peculiarities of the district have suggested most of the legendary scenes which subsequent tradition has fastened on that history. Where almost every rock is a "lusus naturæ," it is not surprising that men, like the Greek monks or the Bedouin Arabs, as keen in their search for special traces of the history as they were indifferent to its impression as a whole, should have seen marks of it everywhere. The older travellers, the Prefect of the Franciscan convent, Pococke, Shaw, and others, all notice what they call Dendrite-stones,—*i. e.* stones with fossil trees marked upon them. It is curious that these have never been observed in later times. But in early ages they seem to have been regarded as amongst the great wonders of the mountain; they were often supposed to be the memorials of the Burning Bush.[1] The mark of the back of Moses on the summit of the mountain, which bears his name, has been already mentioned. Still more evident is the mark of the body of St. Catherine on the summit of Gebel Katherin. The rock of the highest point of that mountain swells into the form of a human body, its arms swathed like that of a mummy, but headless;[2] the counterpart, as it is alleged, of the corpse of the beheaded Egyptian saint. It is difficult to trace the earliest form of the legend, now so familiar through pictorial art, of the transference of the Alexandrian martyr by angelic hands to the summit of Mount Sinai,—a legend which, in the convent to which the relics are thence said to have been carried down, almost ranks on an equality with the history of the Burning Bush and of the Giving of the Law. But not improbably this grotesque figure on the rock furnishes not merely the illustration, but the origin of the story.[3] A third well-known instance

Fossil trees.

The back of Moses.

The body of St. Catherine.

[1] See Scheuchzer's Physique Sacrée, vol. ii., p. 26.

[2] It is well described by Monconys, p. 441. Fazakerley was told that the rock had swelled into this form on the arrival of the body. (Walpole. ii. 374.)

[3] Falconius (see Butler's Lives of the

The Cow's head.

of the kind is what in earlier times was called the head—at present the mould of the head[1]—of the molten calf, just as the rock of St. Catherine is sometimes called the body itself; sometimes (to accommodate it to the story of the transference of the relics to the convent), the place on which the body rested. It is a natural cavity, in a juncture of one or two stones, possibly adapted in some slight measure by art, representing rudely the round head, with two horns spreading out of it.

The footmark of the Mule.

A fourth, is one of the many curious fissures and holes in the weather-beaten rocks near the summit of Gebel Mousa, pointed out as the footmark of the mule or dromedary of Mahomet. It is true that the monks themselves, in the seventeenth century, declared to the Prefect of the Franciscan Convent that this mark had been made by themselves, to secure the protection of the Bedouin tribes. But it has more the appearance of a natural hollow, and it is more probable that they were unwilling to let the Prefect imagine that such a phenomenon should be accidental, than that they actually invented it.

The sunbeam of the Burning Bush.

Another (which has not found its way into books), is the legend in the convent, (as represented in an ancient picture of the traditional localities,) of the sunbeam, which on one day in the year darts into the Chapel of the Burning Bush from the Gebel-ed-Deir.[2] It is only by ascending the mountain that the origin of the legend appears. Behind the topmost cliffs, a narrow cleft admits of a view, of the only view, into the convent buildings, which lie far below, but precisely commanded by it, and therefore necessarily lit up by the ray, which once in the year darts through that especial crevice.

The rock of Moses.

But the most famous of all these relics is the Rock of Moses. Every traveller has described, with more or less accuracy, the detached mass,[3] from 10 to 15 feet high as it stands,—in the wild valley of the Lejâ, under the ridge of

Saints, Nov. 25) expressly asserts his belief that the whole story of the miraculous transportation of the body by angels was merely a legendary representation of "the translation of the relics" from Alexandria to Sinai in the eighth century by the monks. It is thus a curious eastern counterpart of the angelic flight of the House of Loretto.

[1] To Burckhardt it was shown as the *head* of the calf (p. 583). He notices the fact, that the Arab guides called it, as now, Râs Bukkara, the head of the *cow*.

[2] See Burckhardt, p. 579.

[3] See Part II. p. 77.

the Râs Sasâfeh,—slightly leaning forwards, a rude seam or scoop running over each side, intersected by wide slits or cracks, which might, by omitting or including those of less distinctness, be enlarged or diminished to any number between ten and twenty; perhaps ten on each side would be the most correct account; and the stone between each of those cracks worn away as if by the dropping of water from the crack immediately above. Unlike as this isolated fragment is to the image usually formed of "the rock in Horeb," and incompatible as its situation is with any tenable theory of the event with which it professes to be connected, yet to uncultivated minds, regardless of general truth, and eager for minute coincidence, it was most natural that this rock should have suggested the miracle of Moses. There is every reason accordingly to believe that this is the oldest legendary locality in the district. It is probable that it was known even in the time of Josephus, who speaks of the rock as "lying beside them"—παρακειμένην[1]—an expression naturally applicable to a fragment like this, but hardly to a cliff in the mountain. The situation and form of this stone would also have accommodated itself to the strange Rabbinical belief that the "rock followed"[2] them through the wilderness; a belief, groundless enough under any circumstances, but more natural if any Jewish pilgrims had seen or heard of this detached mass by the mountain side. It next appears, or rather, perhaps, we should say, its first unquestionable appearance, is in the reference made more than once in the Koran[3] to the rock with the twelve mouths for the twelve tribes of Israel, evidently alluding to the curious cracks in the stone, as now seen. These allusions probably increased, if they did not originate, the reverence of the Bedouins, who, at least down to the present generation of travellers, are described as muttering their prayers before it, and thrusting grass into the supposed mouths of the stone. From the middle ages onwards, it has always been shown to Christian pilgrims; and the rude crosses on the sides, as well as the traces of stone

[1] Ant. III. i. 7.
[2] See Notes on 1 Cor. x. 4.
[3] Koran, ii. 57; vii. 160.

chipped away, indicate the long reverence in which it has been held. In more modern times, it has been used to serve the two opposite purposes, of demonstrating on the one hand the truth of the Mosaic history, and on the other hand the lying practices of the monastic system. Bishop Clayton triumphantly quotes it as a voice from the Desert, providentially preserved to put the infidels of the eighteenth century to shame. Sir Gardner Wilkinson as positively brings it forward to prove the deceptions practised by the Greek Church to secure the respect of the Arabs and the visits of pilgrims. It is one of the many instances in which both arguments are equally wrong. It is evidently, like the other examples given above, a trick of nature, which has originated a legend, and, through the legend, a sacred locality. Probably less would have been said of it, had more travellers observed what Sir Frederick Henniker[1] alone has expressly noticed, namely, the fragment which lies in the same valley, less conspicuous, but with precisely similar marks. But, taking it merely for what it is, of all the lesser objects of interest in Sinai, the Rock of Moses is the most remarkable; clothed with the longest train of associations, allied in thought, though not in fact, to the image which, of all others in the Exodus, has, perhaps, been most frequently repeated in the devotions of Jewish and Christian worship; of all the objects in the Desert most bound up with the simple faith of its wild inhabitants and of its early visitants.

Later history of the Peninsula.

V. It has been said, that the history of the Peninsula is confined to the history of the Exodus. Yet we must not forget that it is the oldest of the "Holy Places," and accordingly, the halo of that first glory has rested upon it long after the events themselves had ceased. There are, as has been already intimated, traces of a sanctity even anterior to the passage of the Israelites,—a "Mount of God," honoured by the Amalekite Arabs, and known at the Egyptian Court; a belief, as Josephus tells us, that a

[1] Henniker's Notes, pp. 233, 242. This fragment we saw in 1853. Pococke (i., 147) had heard of a similar stone, sixteen miles to the north-west. Possibly this might be the "Seat of Moses," described by Laborde, in the Bueib ("little gate") or Pass of the Wâdy Es-Sheykh.

Divine presence dwelt in those awful cliffs—on that long ascent, deemed unapproachable by human footsteps; the rich pastures round the mountain foot avoided even by the wandering shepherds.[1] But this reverence, whatever it was, or to whichever point it might be more especially attached, must have been thrown into the shade from the moment that it was announced that the ground on which Moses stood was "holy ground,"—still more from the day when the Law was given, in "fire, and blackness, and tempest." Yet, as it has been well observed,[2] so high already did the Religion which was there first proclaimed tower above any local bonds, that throughout the whole subsequent history of Judaism there is but one known instance of a visit to this its earliest birthplace. The whole tenor of the historical and prophetical Scriptures is to withdraw the mind from the Desert to Palestine—from Sinai to Zion. "Why leap ye so, ye high 'mountains?' This (Jerusalem) is the 'mountain' which God desireth to dwell in. . . . The Lord is among them, as *in Sinai*, in the holy place."[3] "God *came from* Teman, and the Holy One *from* Mount Paran."[4] The sanctuary of Horeb was not living but dead and deserted. One visitant, however, there was to this wild region—it may be, as the only one known, out of many unknown pilgrims, but, more probably, an exception proving the rule—driven here only by the extraordinary circumstances of his time, and by his own character and mission, the great prophet Elijah. The scene of the address to Elijah is now localised in the secluded plain immediately below the highest point of Gebel Mousa, marked by the broken chapel, and by the solitary cypress. There, or at Serbâl, may equally be found "the cave,"[5] the only indication by which the sacred narrative identifies the spot. There,

1. Elijah's visit.

[1] Ant. III. v. 1; II. xii. 1.
[2] Quart. Rev. No. cxxxvii., p. 156.
[3] Psalm lxviii. 16, 17.
[4] Hab. iii. 3.
[5] 1 Kings xix. 9–13. Ewald, in the expression "*the* cave," ver. 9 (the article is not in the English version), sees the indication of its being a cavern, well known for the reception of pilgrims. The expression certainly seems to indicate a special locality of some kind. If Serbâl were either Sinai or "Horeb the Mount of God," there is a cave—or rather cavity—much talked of by the Bedouin Sheykh of the mountain as *the* cave (the "*Megâra*") to which travellers are taken—formed by the overhanging rock of the summit. See Part II. vii.

or at Serbâl, equally may have passed before him the vision in which the wind rent the granite mountains, and broke in pieces the 'cliffs,'[1] followed as at the time of Moses, by the earthquake and the fire, and then, in the silence of the desert air, by the 'still small voice.'

2. Visit of the informants of Josephus.

We hear of Sinai no more till the Christian era. In the local touches that occur from time to time in Josephus, the question rises, whether he, or those from whom he received his information, had really passed through the Desert. The "mountain" of which he speaks emphatically on the shores of the Red Sea can be no other than the Gebel 'Attâka; the "rock lying beside" Mount Sinai is probably the stone of Moses; and although it may be difficult in "the highest mountain of the range, so high as not to be visible without straining of the sight;"[2] to recognise any peak of Sinai, yet the exaggeration is precisely similar to that in which he indulges in speaking of the precipices, which he had himself seen, about Jerusalem. There is another traveller through Arabia at this time, on whose visit to Mount Sinai we should look with still greater interest. "I went into Arabia," says St. Paul,[3] in describing his conversion to the Galatians. It is useless to speculate, yet when, in a later chapter[4] of the same Epistle, the words fall upon our ears, "This Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia," it is difficult to resist the thought that he, too, may have stood upon the rocks of Sinai, and heard from Arab lips the often repeated "Hagar,"—"rock,"—suggesting the double meaning to which that text alludes.

3. Allusions of St. Paul.

If the sanctity of Sinai was forgotten under the Jewish Dispensation, still more likely was it to be set aside under the Christian, where not merely its contrast, but its inferiority, was the constant burden of all the allusions to it—"the mount that gendereth to bondage," "the mount that might be touched."[5] But what its own associations could not win for it, its desert solitudes did. From the neighbouring shores of Egypt—the parent land of monasticism—the anchorites and cœnobites were drawn

[1] Ver. 11. The word is "Sela," not "Tzur;" see p. 96, and Appendix.
[2] Ant. III. v. 1.
[3] Gal. i. 17.
[4] Gal. iv. 24, 25.
[5] Heb. xii. 18.

by the sight of these wild mountains across the Red Sea; and beside the palm-groves of Feirân, and the springs of Gebel Mousa, were gathered a host of cells and convents. The whole range must have been then to the Greek Church what Athos is now. No less than six thousand monks or hermits congregated round Gebel Mousa;[1] and Paran must almost have deserved the name of a city at the time when it was frequented by the Arabian pilgrims, who wrote their names on the sandstone rocks of the Wâdy Mokatteb and the granite blocks of Serbâl. Probably, the tide of Syrian and Byzantine pilgrims chiefly turned to Gebel Mousa; the African and Alexandrian, to the nearer sanctuary at Feirân.[2] Of all these memorials of ancient devotion, the great convent of the Transfiguration, or, as it was afterwards called, of St. Catherine, alone remains. It has been described by every traveller, and with the utmost detail by Burckhardt and by Robinson. But it is so singular of its kind, that a short summary of its aspect and recollections is essential to any account of the Peninsula of Sinai.

4. Christian hermitages.

Convent of St. Catherine.

Those who have seen the Grande Chartreuse in the Alps of Dauphiny, know the shock produced by the sight of that vast edifice in the midst of its mountain desert—the long, irregular pile, of the Parisian architecture of the fifteenth century, the one habitation of the upland wilderness of which it is the centre. It is this feeling, raised to its highest pitch, which is roused on finding in the heart of the Desert of Sinai the stately Convent of St. Catherine, with its massive walls, its gorgeous church hung with banners, its galleries of chapels, of cells, and of guest-chambers, its library of precious manuscripts, the sound of its rude cymbals calling to prayer, and changed by the echoes into music as it rolls through the desert valley, the double standard of the Lamb and Cross floating high upon its topmost towers.[3] And this contrast is heightened still more by the fact, that, unlike most monastic retreats, its inhabitants and its associations are not

[1] Burckhardt, 546.
[2] See Note B.
[3] Part of it is built on the slope of Gebel Mousa, to avoid blocking up the narrow valley, and so preventing the rush of the torrents. (Wellsted, ii. 87.)

indigenous, but wholly foreign, to the soil where they have struck root. The monks of the Grande Chartreuse, however secluded from the world, are still Frenchmen; the monks of Subiaco are still Italians. But the monks of Sinai are not Arabs, but Greeks. There in the midst of the Desert, the very focus of the pure Semitic race, the traveller hears once again the accents of the Greek tongue; meets the natives of Thessalonica and of Samos; sees in the gardens the produce, not of the Desert or of Egypt, but of the isles of Greece; not the tamarisk, or the palm, or the acacia, but the olive, the almond tree, the apple tree, the poplar, and the cypress of Attica and Corcyra. And as their present state so also their past origin, is alike strange to its local habitation. No Arab or Egyptian or Syrian patriarch erected that massive pile; no pilgrim princess, no ascetic King: a Byzantine Emperor, the most worldly of his race, the great legislator Justinian, was its founder. The fame of his architectural magnificence, which has left its monuments in the most splendid churches of Constantinople and Ravenna, had penetrated even to the hermits of Mount Sinai; and they, "when they heard that he delighted to build churches and found convents, made a journey to him, and complained how the wandering sons of Ishmael were wont to attack them suddenly, eat up their provisions, desolate the place, enter the cells, and carry off everything—how they also broke into the church and devoured even the holy wafers."[1] To build for them as they desired a convent which should be to them for a stronghold, was a union of policy and religion which exactly suited the sagacious Emperor. Petra was just lost, and there was now no point of defence against the Arabian tribes, on the whole route between Jerusalem and Memphis. Such a point might be furnished by the proposed fortress of Sinai; and as the old Pharaonic and even Ptolemaic kings of Egypt had defended their frontier against the tribes of the Desert by fortified temples,[2] so the Byzantine Emperor determined

[1] Eutychii Annales, tom. ii. p. 190; Robinson, Biblical Researches, i. p. 556.
[2] See Sharpe's History of Egypt, p. 565.

to secure a safe transit through the Desert by a fortified convent. A tower ascribed to Helena furnished the nucleus. It stood by the traditional sites of the Well of Jethro and the Burning Bush, a retreat for the hermits when in former times they had been hard pressed by their Bedouin neighbours. It still remains, the residence of the Archbishop of Sinai, if that term may be applied to an abode in which that great dignitary is never resident; the very gate through which he should enter having been walled up since 1722, to avoid the enormous outlay for the Arab tribes, who, if it were open for his reception, have an inalienable right to be supported for six months at the expense of the convent.[1] Round about this tower, like a little town, extend in every direction the buildings of the convent, now indeed nearly deserted, but still by their number indicating the former greatness of the place, when each of the thirty-six chapels was devoted to the worship of a separate sect.[2] Athwart the whole stretches the long roof of the church; within which, amidst the barbaric splendour of the Greek ritual, may be distinguished with interest the lotus-capitals of the columns—probably the latest imitation of the old Egyptian architecture; and high in the apse behind the altar—too high and too obscure to recognise their features or lineaments distinctly—the two medallions of Justinian and Theodora, probably, with the exception of those in St. Vitalis, at Ravenna, the only existing likenesses of those two great and wicked sovereigns; than whom perhaps few could be named who had broken more completely every one of the laws which have given to Sinai its eternal sacredness.

5. Mosque in the Convent.

High beside the church, towers another edifice, which introduces us to yet another link in the recollections of Sinai—another pilgrim, who, if indeed he ever passed though these valleys, ranks in importance with any who have visited the spot, since Moses first led thither the flocks of Jethro. No one can now prove or disprove

[1] See Robinson, Biblical Researches, i. 142.

[2] For a good account of the chapels, see the Journey of the Franciscan Prefect, published by Bishop Clayton, p. 22.

Traditions of the visit of Mahomet.

the tradition which relates that Mahomet, whilst yet a camel-driver in Arabia, wandered to the great convent, then not a century old. It is at least not impossible, and the repeated allusions in the Kôran to the stone of Moses,[1] evidently that now exhibited; to the holy valley of Tuwa,[2] a name now lost, but by which he seems to designate the present valley of the convent; and to the special addresses made to Moses on the western, and on the southern slopes of the mountain,[3] almost bring it within the range of probability. His name certainly has been long preserved, either by the policy or the friendliness of the monks. No where else probably in the Christian world is to be found such a cordial, it might also be said such a tender feeling towards the Arabian prophet and his followers, as in the precincts and the memorials of the Convent of Mount Sinai. "As he rested," so the story has with slight variations been told from age to age,[4] "as he rested with his camels on Mount Menejia,[5] an eagle was seen to spread its wings over his head, and the monks, struck by this augury of his future greatness, received him into their convent, and he in return, unable to write, stamped with ink on his hand the signature to a contract of protection, drawn up on the skin of a gazelle, and deposited in the archives of the convent." This contract, if it ever existed, has long since disappeared; it is said, that it was taken by Sultan Selim to Constantinople, and exchanged for a copy, which however no traveller has ever seen. The traditions also of Mahomet in the Peninsula have evidently faded away. The stone which was pointed out to Laborde in 1828 as that on which Moses first, and the youthful camel-driver afterwards, had reposed, and to which the Bedouins of his day muttered their devotions, is now comparatively unknown.[6] The footmark on the rock, whatever it is, invented or pointed out by the monks, as impressed by his dromedary or mule, according as it is supposed to have been left in

[1] Koran, ii., 57; vii. 160.
[2] Koran, xx., 12.
[3] Koran, xx., 82; xxvii., 45, 46.
[4] See Laborde's Commentary on Exodus and Numbers.
[5] That which closes up the Valley of the Convent.
[6] I could hear nothing of it, though frequently inquiring.

this early visit, or on his nocturnal flight from Mecca to Jerusalem—is now confounded by the Arabs with the impress of the dromedary on which Moses rode up and down the long ascent to Gebel Mousa. But there still remains, though no longer used, the mosque on the top of the mountain, and that within the walls of the convent, in which the monks allowed the Mahometan devotees to pray side by side with Christian pilgrims; founded, according to the belief of the illiterate Mussulmans,—in whose mind chronology and history has no existence,—in the times of the prophet, when Christians and Mussulmans were all one, and loved one another as brothers.[1]

6. Present state of the Convent.

As centuries have rolled on, even the Convent of Sinai has not escaped their influence. The many cells which formerly peopled the mountains have long been vacant. The episcopal city of Paran, perhaps in consequence of the rise of the foundation of Justinian, has perished almost without a history. The nunnery of St. Episteme has vanished; the convent of the good physicians Cosmo and Damian, the hermitage of St. Onufrius, the convent of the Forty Martyrs—tinged with a certain interest from the famous churches of the same name, derived from them, in the Forum of Rome, on the Janiculan Hill, and on the Lateran—are all in ruins; and the great fortress of St. Catherine probably owes its existence more to its massive walls than to any other single cause. Yet it is a thought of singular, one might add of melancholy, interest, that amidst all these revolutions, the Convent of Mount Sinai is still the one seat of European and of Christian civilisation and worship, not only in the whole Peninsula of Sinai, but in the whole country of Arabia. Still, or at least till within a very few years, it has retained a hold, if not on the reason or the affections, at least on the superstitions of the Bedouins, beyond what is exercised by any other influence. Burckhardt and, after him, Robinson,[2] relate with pathetic simplicity the deep conviction with which these wild children of the Desert believe that the monks command or withhold the rain from heaven, on which the whole sustenance of the Peninsula depends.

[1] See Note A.

[2] Burckhardt, p. 567; Robinson, i. 132.

It is not for us to judge the difficulties of their situation, the poverty and ignorance of the monks, the untameable barbarism of the Arabs. Yet looking from an external point of view at the singular advantages enjoyed by the convent, it is hard to recall another institution, with such opportunities so signally wasted. It is a colony of Christian pastors planted amongst heathens, who wait on them for their daily bread and for their rain from heaven, and hardly a spark of civilisation, or of Christianity, so far as history records, has been imparted to a single tribe or family in that wide wilderness. It is a colony of Greeks, of Europeans, of ecclesiastics, in one of the most interesting and the most sacred regions of the earth, and hardly a fact, from the time of their first foundation to the present time, has been contributed by them to the geography, the geology, or the history of a country, which in all its aspects has been submitted to their investigation for thirteen centuries.

7. Sanctuary of the grave of Sheykh Saleh.

One other sanctuary of the Desert must be mentioned. The Bedouin tribes, as has been said, have lost their ancient reverence for the traces of the Prophet, and every traveller has observed on their godless life. It is very rare indeed that any sign of religious worship can be found amongst them. Few have any knowledge of the prescribed prayers of the Mussulman; still fewer practise them. But there is one exception. In the eastern extremity of the great crescent-shaped valley which embraces the whole cluster of Sinai, is the tomb of the Sheykh, from which the wâdy derives its name—"the Wâdy Es-Sheykh," the "Valley of the Saint." In a tenement of the humblest kind is Sheykh Saleh's grave. Who he was, when he lived, is entirely unknown. Possibly he may have been the founder of the tribe of that name which still exists in the Peninsula; possibly the ancient prophet mentioned in the Koran as preaching the faith of Islam before the birth of Mahomet.[1] The present belief would seem to be, that he was one of the circle of companions of the prophet, which, according to the defiance of all chronological laws in the minds of uneducated

[1] Koran, vii. 71. For the various conjectures as to this great Bedouin Saint, see Ritter, Sinai, 650.

Mussulmans, included Saleh, Moses, David, and Christ, as well as Abu Bekr, Omar, and Ali. This tomb is to the modern Bedouins the sanctuary of the Peninsula. As they approach it, they exhibit signs of devotion never seen elsewhere; and once a year all the tribes of the Desert assemble round it, and celebrate with races and dances a Bedouin likeness of the funeral games round the tomb of Patroclus. Sacrifices of sheep and camels, with sprinkling of the blood on the walls of this homely chapel, are described as accompanying this sepulchral feast.[1]

[1] Two descriptions of these funeral rites have been preserved: one by Schimper, a German, whose MS. travels are quoted by Ritter, p. 652, and who saw them in 1835; the other, by the celebrated scholar Tischendorf (Reise ii., pp. 207—214; Ritter, 653), who saw them in 1847. See Part II. xii. *a*.

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NOTE A.

MUSSULMAN TRADITIONS OF MOUNT SINAI.

(See pages 30 and 34.)

I give these as they were communicated by our Mussulman servant, Mohammed Ghizawee. Their only value is that they slightly vary from those hitherto published. They are related, as nearly as possible, in his own broken English, as we passed along the Desert.

1. *The Exodus.*—Pharaoun, at Cairo, wishes to make his people think that he is God Almighty, and says he can bring water by rolling on the ground. God allows him to do so: and he brings out water. He stands on the top of the two pyramids: one leg on each: and pushes up a spear against God: God tells the "Malaki," those flying people you know—[the angels] to put blood upon it: and so he thinks that God is dead. . . . . Well—he squeezes Mousa: Mousa flies down to the sea. He, with his own tribe, only a few; and Pharaoun with a great number: Mousa prays to God—God tells him to beat the sea with his stick—and he and his tribe pass over. . . . Pharaoun comes in too: Mousa beats the sea with his stick, and says "Shut,"—and Pharaoun is drowned: God is very cross with Mousa, because he drowned Pharaoun without asking Him, and He sends Sid [the Lord] Gabriel—Peace be with him—the same that God sent to our Prophet—to ask Mousa the reason why. He says that Pharaoun had

begged for help, not saying "If it please God,"—but "If *you* please,"—and so he had taken it into his own hands.

*Ayoun Mousa.*—"There are two wells, one on each side of the Red Sea:—both '*Ayoun Mousa,*' which Mousa brought up by striking the ground with his stick."

2. *Hammam Pharaoun.*—[This was from the Bedouins.] When Pharaoun came into the sea, and Mousa said "Shut," Pharaoun called out "Save me;" and when the sea came back, Pharaoun put his hands to his mouth, and breathed out a great breath—his last breath. The air came out warm, and so there are the warm baths by the sea-shore. And there are the Hammam Mousa—the baths of Mousa—where he pushed with his stick, and the water came.

3. *Sinai.*—Gebel Sidni Mousa ["the mountain of my Lord Moses"] is so called, because when Mousa was there, he called on God that he might see Him. God Almighty loved Mousa very much; but when Mousa asked this, God said to him "Shame,"—and Mousa became frightened, and went back into the rock: and the granite has the mark of his back. This is the only reason why it is called Gebel Mousa. I know nothing about the giving of the Ten Commandments. The mark of the dromedary is not of the Prophet's,—he never was there. It was Mousa's dromedary—which never left him; and he rode upon this dromedary, when he went to call to see God. The mosque and the convent were built both in a day—in Mousa's time—when Christians and Mussulmans did not quarrel, and knew that they were both made by God.

4. *Jethro,* or *Shouaib.*—"He is Nebi Shouaib—like Sheikh Saleh, whose tomb we saw the other day, who was not only a Sheikh, but a Nebi [Prophet]. They were all Souabi—companions of Mohammed."—[The Bedouins knew nothing of him, except that Wâdy Shouaib was the name of one of the valleys near the convent.]

5. *St. Catherine.* "Gebel Katherin is called so from Sittah Mariam—our great Lady—Mary you call her. She and Catherine are one and the same,—and she came here when she fled away to Cairo with the Lord Isa [Jesus], when they tried to nail him to the cross."

## NOTE B.

## SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

(See page 51.)

I have preferred to give my account of these inscriptions as nearly as possible in the words of a letter, written immediately after having seen the last of them on the frontier of the Desert, because I wish to confine myself simply to facts which fell under my own observation. Those who wish to know the latest and most scientific hypothesis on the subject of the language and contents of these inscriptions, will find it in Chevalier Bunsen's "Christianity and Mankind," vol. iii. pp. 231—234. I will take this opportunity of expressing a doubt whether the learned author is justified in his identification of "the palm-grove on the sea-shore," mentioned by Diodorus and Strabo, with the palm-grove of Feirân. I took the same view myself till I had been on the spot, but now feel convinced that they must have intended the second great palm-grove of the Desert, that of Tôr, which is on the shore; whereas that of Feirân is so entirely in the heart of the mountains, that it could only by the greatest inaccuracy be so designated. The places here indicated as marked by the inscriptions, are most of them described in the ensuing Letters and Notes.

I here briefly sum up my experience of the Sinaitic inscriptions, in which, of course I go entirely by their appearance, not by their language, of which I have no knowledge whatever. 1. I have seen them in the following places: First, in the Wâdy Sidri, the Wâdy Megâra, and in great numbers in the Wâdy Mokatteb. I class these valleys together, because they are within three hours of each other. Secondly, a few in the lower parts of the Wâdy Feirân. Thirdly, in considerable numbers up the Wâdy Aleyat, and five or six in the Wâdy Abou Hamad, and three on the summit of Mount Serbâl. These I class together as being all on the passage to the top of Serbâl. Fourthly, in the Wâdy Solab, three or four, and in great numbers in the Nakb-Hôwy. This valley and pass form together the lower road between Serbâl and Sinai. Fifthly, in great numbers in the Lejâ, up to the first ascent of the "Shûk Mousa," or ravine by which you mount St. Catherine. Sixthly, on the high

table-plain, called Herîmet Haggag, between the Wâdy Sayâl and the Wâdy-el-'Ain; the rock which stands at the end of this plain has more in proportion than any other spot I have seen, and there are some in the sandstone labyrinths near it. Seventhly, a few on the staircase leading up to the Deir at Petra, and, apparently, on the "isolated column" in the plain. (Some of our fellow-travellers also found them in a tomb near the Theatre.) Eighthly, on the broken columns of a ruin at or near the ancient Malatha, immediately before entering the hills of Judea.

2. This enumeration will show how widely spread they are; it will also, I think, show that in some instances at least they have been cut by pilgrims or travellers, visiting particular, and probably, sacred localities. I allude to those of the Lejâ, the Deir at Petra, and especially Serbâl. In all these places there is no thoroughfare, and therefore the places themselves must have been the object of the writers. What could have been their purpose in the Lejâ it is difficult to say, for they go beyond the traditional Rock of Moses, and yet they fall far short of the summit of St. Catherine; nor have they any connection with the traditional scenes of the giving of the Law, Gebel Mousa being entirely without them. At Petra their object is evidently the Deir. At Serbâl their object must have been something at the top of the mountain itself. [It will be seen that I have not visited the "Gebel Mokatteb," which is an isolated mountain on the shore of the Red Sea, hitherto described only by the Comte d'Amtraigues. See Forster's "Voice of Israel," p. 84.] It should also be observed, that they are nearly, though not quite, as numerous on the east as on the west of the peninsula. Those in the south lay out of my route.

3. Their situation and appearance is such as in hardly any case requires more than the casual work of passing travellers. Most of them are on sandstone, those of Wâdy Mokatteb and Herîmet Haggag, and Petra, of course very susceptible of inscriptions. Those which are on granite are very rudely and slightly scratched. At Herîmet Haggag one of us scooped out a horse, more complete than any of these sculptured animals, in ten minutes. Again, none that I saw, unless it might be a very doubtful one at Petra, required ladders or machinery of any kind. Most of them could be written by any one, who, having bare legs and feet as all Arabs have, could take firm hold of the ledges, or by any active man even with shoes. I think there are none that could not have been written by one man climbing on another's shoulder. Amongst the highest in the Wâdy Mokatteb are single Greek names.

4. Their numbers seem to me to have been greatly exaggerated. I had expected in the Wâdy Mokatteb to see both sides of a deep defile covered with thousands. Such is not the case by any means. The Wâdy Mokatteb is a large open valley, almost a plain, with no con-

tinuous wall of rock on either side, but masses of rock receding and advancing; and it is only or chiefly on these advancing masses, that the inscriptions straggle, not by thousands, but at most by hundreds or fifties. So, on Serbâl, I think we could hardly have overlooked any; but we saw no more than three, though it is difficult to reconcile this with the statement of Burckhardt, that he had there seen many inscriptions. They are much less numerous than the scribblings of the names of Western travellers on the monuments in the Valley of the Nile since the beginning of this century.

5. So far as the drawings of animals by which they are usually accompanied, indicate the intention of the inscriptions themselves, it is difficult to conceive that that intention could have been serious or solemn. The animals are very rudely drawn; they are of all kinds; asses, horses, dogs, but, above all, ibexes; and these last, in forms so ridiculous, that, making every allowance for the rudeness of the sculpture, it is impossible to invest them with any serious signification. The ludicrous exaggeration of the horns of the ibex was almost universal; and no animal occurred so frequently. Sometimes they are butting other animals. Sometimes they, as well as asses and horses, occur disconnected with inscriptions.

6. As regards their antiquity, I observed the following data. There was great difference of age, both in the pictures and letters, as indicated by the difference of colour; the oldest, of course, being those which approached most nearly to the colour of the rock. But, first, I found none on fallen rocks inverted, and, though I doubt not that there may be such, the sandstone crumbles so rapidly that this is no proof of age. A famous Greek inscription at Petra fell in 1846. Secondly, they are intermixed, though not in great numbers, with Greek and Arabic, and in one or two instances Latin inscriptions, these in some cases bearing the same appearance of colour, wear and tear, as the Sinaitic. Thirdly, these Greek inscriptions, which alone I could read, were chiefly the *names* of the writers. The only Latin inscription which I remember was in the sandstone rocks near Herîmet Haggag,—PERTUS. Fourthly, *Crosses* of all kinds, chiefly + and ✠, were very numerous and conspicuous, standing usually at the beginning of the inscriptions, and (what is important) occurring also and in the same position before those written in Greek and Arabic; often nothing but the cross, sometimes the cross with Alpha and Omega. [These last were in the same place where I noticed the Latin inscription, (thus A + Ω,) of the same colour as the contiguous Sinaitic characters.] From having previously seen that Forster and Tuch (the last German writer on the subject) had united in the conclusion that the hypothesis of their being Christian inscriptions was groundless, and that the alleged appearance of crosses was a mistake, I was the more surprised to find them in such numbers, and of such a character;

and however else they may be explained, I can hardly imagine a doubt that they are the work, for the most part, of Christians, whether travellers or pilgrims. They are in this case curious, and if their object could be ascertained, would throw great light on the traditions of the Peninsula; but it cannot be reconciled with the theory of their being the work of Israelites. If the date of the columns at Malatha could be ascertained, or of the temple and tomb at Petra where they occur, the question would be settled. The two latter, I presume, cannot be older than the Roman dominion of Arabia.

[I may here add the curious fact, that Laborde describes a Latin inscription in a certain tomb at Petra as "an inscription in three lines, carved on a tablet, and of importance, as giving the name of the officer, Quintus Practextus Florentinus, who died at Petra while he was governor of this part of Arabia. It appears to be of the time of Adrian or Antoninus Pius." (Laborde's "Sinai and Petra," Eng. Tr., p. 289.) He indicates its position so precisely, that there was no difficulty in identifying it. But no single fact which he thus describes can be found in the inscription, and no single fact mentioned in the inscription is found in his description of it. It was as follows:—

. . . . NTONII P . . I. . . . . TINI . . . IIIVIRD. AVRATO
. . . . FLANDO · TRIB · MIL.
MINERVAE PROVINCIAE TRIB · PLEB
V·III. HISP · PROCOS. ·
LEG · AVG. PR. PR. . . . PATRI EX TESTA . . . .
IPSIUS.

One of the Sinaitic inscriptions of Petra is given in the "Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft," ix. 230.]

# SINAI.

## PART II.

### THE JOURNEY FROM CAIRO TO JERUSALEM.

THE following extracts are either from letters, or (when bracketed) from journals, written on the spot or immediately afterwards. Such only are selected as served to convey the successive imagery of the chief stages of the journey, or as contained details not mentioned by previous travellers. My object has been to give the impressions of the moment, in the only way in which they could be given,—as the best illustrations of the more general statements elsewhere founded upon them,

I. Departure from Egypt; Overland Route; First Encampment.—II. The Passage of the Red Sea. (1.) Approach to Suez. (2.) Suez. (3.) Wells of Moses.—III. The Desert, and Sandstorm.—IV. Marah; Elim.—V. Second Encampment by the Red Sea; "Wilderness of Sin."

VI. Approach to Mount Serbâl; Wâdy Sidri and Wâdy Feirân.—VII. Ascent of Serbâl.

VIII. Approach to Gebel Mousa, the traditional Sinai.—IX. Ascent of Gebel Mousa and Râs Sasâfeh.—X. Ascent of St. Catherine.—XI. Ascent of the Gebel-ed-Deir.

XII. Route from Sinai to the Gulf of 'Akaba. (*a.*) Tomb of Sheykh Saleh. (*b.*) Wâdy Sayâl and Wâdy El 'Ain. HAZEROTH. XIII. Gulf of 'Akaba; Elath.

XIV. The 'Arabah.—XV. Approach to Petra.—XVI. Ascent of Mount Hor. XVII. Petra. KADESH.

XVIII. Approach to Palestine.—XIX. Recollections of the First Day in Palestine. —XX. Hebron.—XXI. Approach to Bethlehem and Jerusalem.—XXII. First View of Bethlehem.—XXIII. First View of Jerusalem.

# EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS, ETC.

## I.—DEPARTURE FROM EGYPT—OVERLAND ROUTE—FIRST ENCAMPMENT.

It was too hazy to see anything in the distance,—even the Pyramids were but shadows. Soon the green circle of cultivated land receded from view, like the shores as you sail out to sea, and in an hour we were in the Desert ocean. Not, however, a wide circle of sand, but a wild waste of pebbly soil, something like that of the Plaine de Crau (near Marseilles), broken into low hills, and presenting nowhere an even horizon. But the remarkable feature was a broad beaten track, smooth and even, and distinctly marked as any turnpike road in England, only twice the width, and running straight as a railway or Roman road through these desert hills.

It was a striking sight in itself, to see the great track of civilised man in such a region. One of the party said, that the only thing to which it could be compared was the high-road from Petersburgh to Moscow. It was still more striking when you knew what it was, the great thoroughfare of the British empire becoming yearly more important and interesting, as the course which so many friends have travelled, and will travel. Even the Exodus for that day waxed faint before it. And, lastly, it was most instructive, as the only likeness probably which I shall ever see of those ancient roads carried through the Desert in old times to the seats of the Babylonian and Persian Empires, to which allusion is made in the 40th chapter of Isaiah. In this comparatively level region, it is true, no mountains had to be brought low, nor valleys filled up; but it was literally "a high-way prepared in the wilderness;" and the likeness was only interrupted, not obscured, by the solitary stations and telegraphs which, at intervals of every five miles, broke the perfect desolation. It has hitherto run along our whole course. To-day, between heaps of stones—said by one of the dragomans to be the graves of Ibrahim Pasha's soldiers—which, as the heaps extend for miles and miles, with the utmost regularity, needs no remark, except as an instance of the extreme rapidity with which false local traditions spring up. They really are the "stones," the stumbling-blocks "cast up"[1] out of the way, and so left on each side of the road to mark it more distinctly. . . . .

[1] Isa. xl. 3; lxii. 10.

Nothing was more striking to me in our first encampment than the realisation of the first lines in Thalaba:—

"How beautiful is night,
A dewy freshness fills the *silent* air."

There is the freshness without coldness, and there is the silence doubly strange as compared with the everlasting clatter of the streets and inns of Cairo, and the incessant sound of songs, and screams, and shocks of the boat upon the Nile; nothing heard but the slight movement amongst the Bedouin circles round their fires, and from time to time a plaintive murmur from the camels as they lie, like stranded ships, moored round the tents.

## II.—THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

(1.) *Approach to Suez.*—I have at last, as far as mortal eyes can see it, seen the passage of the Red Sea. It was about 3 P.M. yesterday, that as we descended from the high plain on which we had hitherto been moving, by a gentle slope through the hills, called, by figure of speech, the "defile" of Muktala, a new view opened before us. Long lines, as if of water, which we immediately called out to be the sea, but which was, in fact, the mirage; but above these, indubitably, the long silvery line of even hills—the hills of ASIA. Onwards we still came, and in the plain below us lay on the left a fortress, a tomb, and a fortified wall.

This is 'Ajerûd, famous as the first great halting-place of the Mecca Pilgrimage; famous as the scene of Eothen's adventure; still more famous as being the only spot on the road which, by its name and position, can claim to be identified with any of the stations mentioned in the flight of the Israelites. It may possibly be Pi-hahiroth.[1]

If it was so, then the low hills of Muktala, through which we descended, are Migdol, and Baal Zephon was Suez, which lay on the blue waters of the sea now incontrovertibly before us east and south; and high above the whole scene, towered the Gebel 'Attâka, the "Mountain of Deliverance," a truly magnificent range, which, after all, is the one feature of the scene unchanged and unmistakeable. Every theory of the passage combines in representing this as the impediment which prevented the return of the Israelites into

[1] Exod. xiv. 2, 9. Numb. xxxiii. 7, 8. "Pi-hahiroth" may be either—(1) in Hebrew, "mouth of caverns," as in the Vatican MS. of the LXX., Numb. xxxiii. 7, τὸ στόμα Εἰρὼθ; or much more probably, (2) in Egyptian, "the grassy places,"—"Pi" being the Egyptian article; as in Alex. MS. of the LXX ἐπαύλεις. There is no appearance of verdure now, either at 'Ajerûd, nor apparently at any corresponding spot in the Wâdy Tuârik. The name, however, may, after all, be derived from the name of the Saint, "'Ajerûd," who is said to be buried in the tomb beside the fortress (Burton's Pilgrimage to Medineh, i. p. 230), unless, which is equally probable, the name of the Saint was invented to account for the name of the place. See like instances in Chapter VI.

Egypt when Pharaoh appeared on their rear. It was this which "shut them in."[1]

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(2.) *Suez.*—This morning I stood on the flat roof of the house, and with Dr. Robinson's book in my hand, made out every locality. Somewhere within my view,—somewhere under that jagged mountain, —the greatest event before the Christian era must have taken place. Close under one's feet, were the sandy shoals all around the modern town of Suez,—over which they passed, according to one theory; further down the gulf opened the deep blue sea, with the Asiatic hills just visible on the Eastern side,—over which they passed, according to the other. It is the less necessary and the less possible to decide precisely, because the limits of the Desert in the previous route have evidently changed since "the edge of the wilderness"[2] was only a day's march from the sea; as the limits of the sea have also changed, since the time when it ran far up into the north.

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(3.) *From the Wells of Moses* (*'Ayoun Mousa*).—The wind drove us to shore; and on the shore—the shore of Arabia and Asia —we landed in a driving sand-storm, and reached this place, 'Ayoun Mousa, the "Wells of Moses." It is a strange spot,—this plot of tamarisks with its seventeen wells,—literally an island in the Desert, and now used as the Richmond of Suez,—a comparison which chiefly serves to show what a place Suez itself must be. It is not mentioned in the Bible, but coming so close as it does upon any probable scene of the passage, one may fairly connect it with the song of Miriam. And now once more for the Passage. From the beach, within half an hour's walk from hence, the shore commands a view across the Gulf into the wide opening of the two ranges of mountains,[3] the opening of the valley through which the traditional Exodus took place, and consequently the broad blue sea of the traditional passage. This, therefore, is the traditional spot of the landing, and this, with the whole view of the sea as far as Suez, I saw to-night; both at sunset, as the stars came out; and later still by the full moon—the white sandy desert on which I stood, the deep black river-like sea, and the dim silvery mountains of 'Attâka on the other side. These are the three features which are indisputable. You know the Straits of Gibraltar,—the high mountains of Africa, the green swells of Europe, the straits which divide them. Such in their way are the three characteristic features of this great boundary of Africa and Asia, on which the Israelites looked through the moonlight of that memorable night. Behind that high African range lay Egypt, with all its wonders; the green fields of the Nile, the immense cities, the

[1] Josephus (Ant. II. xv. 3.) mentions "the mountain."

[2] Exod. xiii. 20.

[3] See Part I. p. 36.

greatest monuments of human power and wisdom. On this Asiatic side begins immediately a wide circle of level desert stone and sand, free as air, but with no trace of human habitation or art, where they might wander as far as they saw, for ever and ever. And between the two rolled the deep waters of the sea, rising and falling with the tides, which, except on its shores, none of them could have seen,—the tides of the great Indian Ocean, unlike the still dead waters of the Mediterranean Sea. "The Egyptians whom they had seen yesterday they will see no more for ever." Most striking, too, it is to look on that mountain of 'Attâka, and feel that on its northern and its southern extremity settle the main differences which on so many like questions have divided the Church in after times. For the passage at its southern end are the local Arab traditions, the poetical interest of its scenery, the preconceived notions of one's childhood. For the passage at the northern end are the ancient traditions of the Septuagint; almost all the arguments founded on the text of the Bible itself; all the wishes to bring the event within our own understanding. It is remarkable that this event —almost the first in our religious history—should admit on the spot itself of both these constructions. But the mountain itself remains unchanged and certain—and so does the fact itself which it witnessed. Whether the Israelites passed over the shallow waters of Suez by the means, and within the time, which the narrative seems to imply, or whether they passed through a channel ten miles broad, with the waves on each side piled up to the height of 180 feet, there can be no doubt that they did pass over within sight of this mountain and this desert by a marvellous deliverance. The scene is not impressive in itself, —that at Suez especially is matter of fact in the highest degree, and even that at 'Ayoun Mousa is not amongst those grand frameworks, such as at Marathon and elsewhere correspond to the event which they have encompassed. In this very fact, however, there is something instructive; "a lesson," as the Arabian Nights say, "to be graven on the understanding for such as would be admonished."

### III.—THE DESERT, AND SAND-STORM.

The clearing up of the sand the next morning revealed a low range of hills on the eastern horizon, the first step to the vast plain of Northern Arabia. The day after leaving 'Ayoun Mousa was at first within sight of the blue channel of the Red Sea. "Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the deep waters, and thy *footsteps are not known.*" How true, as of so much beside, so of the uncertainty attending the precise locality of the passage. But soon Red Sea and all were lost in a sand-storm,

which lasted the whole day.[1] Imagine all distant objects entirely lost to view,—the sheets of sand fleeting along the surface of the Desert like streams of water; the whole air filled, though invisibly, with a tempest of sand driving in your face like sleet. Imagine the caravan toiling against this,—the Bedouins, each with his shawl thrown completely over his head, half of the riders sitting backwards,—the camels, meantime, thus virtually left without guidance, though, from time to time, throwing their long necks sideways to avoid the blast, yet moving straight onwards with a painful sense of duty truly edifying to behold. I had thought that with the Nile our troubles of wind were over; but (another analogy for the *ships* of the Desert) the great saddlebags act like sails to the camels, and therefore, with a contrary wind, are serious impediments to their progress. And accordingly Mohammed opened our tents this morning just as he used to open our cabin-doors, with the joyful intelligence that the wind was changed,—"good wind, master." Through this tempest, this roaring and driving tempest, which sometimes made me think that this must be the real meaning of "a *howling* wilderness,"[2] we rode on the whole day.

### IV.—MARAH—ELIM.

We were undoubtedly on the track of the Israelites, and we saw the spring[3] which most travellers believe to be Marah, and the two valleys, one of which must almost certainly, both perhaps, be Elim. The general scenery is either immense plains, or latterly a succession of water-courses, that especially of Ghurundel, exactly like the dry bed of a Spanish river. These gullies gradually bring you into the heart of strange black and white mountains, the ranges of which overhang the Red Sea above the Hot Wells of Pharaoh, where, according to the Arab traditions of these parts, somewhat invalidating that of 'Ayoun Mousa, Pharaoh literally breathed his last. For the most part the Desert was absolutely bare, but Wâdy Ghurundel and Wâdy Useit, the two rivals for Elim, are fringed with trees and shrubs, the first vegetation we have met in the Desert. These are so peculiar and so interesting that I must describe each. First, there are the wild palms, successors of the "threescore and ten." Not like those of Egypt or of pictures, but either dwarf,—that is, trunkless—or else with savage hairy trunks and branches all dishevelled. Then there are the feathery tamarisks, here assuming gnarled boughs and hoary heads, worthy of their venerable situation,

[1] I have retained this account of the sandstorm, chiefly because it seems to be a phenomenon peculiar to this special region. Van Egmont, Niebuhr, Miss Martineau, all notice it, and it was just as violent at the passage of a friend in 1841, and again of another two months after ourselves in 1853.

[2] Deut. xxxii. 10. It must mean either this, or the howling of wild beasts.

[3] There is nothing to add to Robinson's description (i. 96). See Part I. p. 37.

on whose leaves is found what the Arabs call manna. Thirdly, there is the wild acacia, the same as we had often seen in Egypt, but this also tangled by its desert growth into a thicket; the tree of the Burning Bush, and the shittim-wood of the Tabernacle. Keble's expression of the "towering thorn" is one of his few inaccuracies. No one who has seen it would have used that expression for the tangled spreading tree, which shoots out its gray foliage and white blossoms over the Desert.[1]

To-day occurred a curious instance of the tenacious adherence of the Bedouins to their own traditions. We passed a cairn, said to be the grave of the horse of Abou Zennâb, his horse killed in battle. Who Abou Zennâb was—when he lived—what the battle was—is quite unknown, but he left an ordinance that every Arab should throw sand on the cairn as if it were barley, and say, "Eat, eat, O horse of Abou Zennâb," as if the dead creature was still alive. So said our Bedouin, and accordingly each Arab muttered the words, and pushed the sand twice or thrice with his foot as he passed. I could not help thinking of the Rechabites, as described by Jeremiah.[2]

### V.—SECOND ENCAMPMENT BY THE RED SEA—"WILDERNESS OF SIN."

Another glorious day. We passed a third claimant to the title of Elim, the Wâdy Tayibeh, palms, and tamarisks, venerable as before; then down one of those river-beds, between vast cliffs white on the one side, and on the other, of a black calcined colour, between which burst upon us once more the deep blue waters of the Red Sea, bright with their white foam. Beautiful was that brilliant contrast, and more beautiful and delightful still to go down upon the beach and see the waves breaking on that shell-strewn weed-strewn shore, and promontory after promontory breaking into those waters right and left: most delightful of all the certainty,—I believe I may here say the certainty (thanks to that inestimable verse in Numbers xxxiii.), —that here the Israelites, coming down through that very valley, burst upon that very view,—the view of their old enemy and old friend,—that mysterious sea, and one more glimpse of Egypt dim in the distance in the shadowy hills beyond it. Above the blue sea rose the white marbly terraces, then blackened by the passage of the vast multitude. High above those terraces ranged the brown cliffs of the Desert, streaked here and there with the purple bands which now first began to display themselves. And as the bright blue sea formed the base of the view, so it was lost above in a sky of the deepest blue that I have ever observed in the East.

We turned aside at last into the plain of Murkâ—probably the wilderness of Sin.

[1] See Part I. p. 21.

[2] Jer. xxxv. This slightly differs from Robinson's account (i. p. 102).

Red mountains closed it in on the north, one of which the Bedouins called Um-Shômer—different from the far greater mountain of that name. Over the hills to the south was the first view of the peaks of Serbâl. From this plain we entered the Wâdy Shellâl—the "Valley of Cataracts;" thus, for the first time, plunging into the bosom of the strangely-formed and strangely-coloured mountains we had seen so long in the distance. They closed the prospect in front,—red tops resting on black or dark-green bases. The nearer rocks cast their deep evening shades along the level surface of the valley. The bright caper plant hung from their cliffs, and dwarf palms nestled under the overhanging cliff at the entrance.

## VI.—APPROACH TO MOUNT SERBAL—WÂDY SIDRI AND WÂDY FEIRÂN.

The first great ascent we had made was after leaving the Wâdy Shellâl. A stair of rock [the Nakb Badera] brought us into a glorious wâdy (Sidri), enclosed between red granite mountains descending as precipitously upon the sands as the Bavarian hills on the waters of the Königsee. It was a sight worthy of all remembrance, before we reached this, to see the sunbeams striking the various heights of white and red, and to think what an effect this must have had as the vast encampment, dawn by dawn, in these mountains, broke up with the shout, "Rise up, Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate Thee flee before Thee."[1] In the midst of the Wâdy Sidri, just where the granite was exchanged for sandstone, I caught sight of the first inscription. A few more followed up the course of a side valley where we turned up to see (strange sight in that wild region!) Egyptian hieroglyphics and figures carved in the cliffs,—strange sight, too, for the Israelites if they passed this way; like that second glimpse of the Red Sea, for these hieroglyphics are amongst the oldest in the world, and were already there before the Exodus. Of the other inscriptions, the chief part were in the next valley, Mokatteb, "of writing," so called from them. Of these I will speak elsewhere.[2] From the Wâdy Mokatteb, we passed into the endless windings of the Wâdy Feirân. I cannot too often repeat, that these wâdys are exactly like rivers, except in having no water; and it is this appearance of torrent-bed and banks and clefts in the rocks for tributary streams, and at times even rushes and shrubs fringing their course, which gives to the whole wilderness a doubly dry and thirsty aspect—signs of

"Water, water everywhere, and not a drop to drink."

Here, too, began the curious sight of the mountains, streaked from head to foot, as if with boiling streams of dark red matter

[1] Num. x. 35. [2] See Note B. to Part I.

poured over them; really the igneous fluid squirted upwards, as they were heaved from the ground. On the previous part of that day, and indeed often since, the road lay through what seemed to be the ruins, the cinders, of mountains calcined to ashes,[1] like the heaps of a gigantic foundry. I cannot conceive a more interesting country for a geologist. Even to the most uneducated eye the colours tell their own story, of chalk and limestone, and sandstone, and granite; and these portentous appearances are exactly such as give the impression that you are indeed travelling in the very focus of creative power. I have looked on scenery more grand, and on scenery as curious (the Saxon Switzerland), but on scenery at once so grand and so strange I never have looked, and probably never shall again. One other feature I must add. Huge cones of white clay and sand are at intervals planted along these mighty watercourses, guarding the embouchure of the valleys; apparently the original alluvial deposit of some tremendous antediluvian torrent, left there to stiffen into sandstone. We encamped at El Hessué, the first, but not the largest of those groves of tamarisks and palms which make the Wâdy Feirân so important a feature in the Desert.

### VII.—ASCENT OF MOUNT SERBAL.

At 5.30 A.M. we started. We passed the instructive and suggestive sight of the ruins of the old Christian city and episcopal palace of Paran, under the hill which has great claims to be that on which Moses prayed, whilst the battle of Rephidim was fought for the passage through what is now (whatever it may have been) the oasis of the Desert.[2] We then turned up the long watercourse occupied in part by the brook of Wâdy 'Aleyat, which conducted us to the base of the mountain, where the spring rises amidst moss and fern.

It is one of the finest forms I have ever seen. It is a vast mass of peaks, which, in most points of view, may be reduced to five, the number adopted by the Bedouins. These five peaks, all of granite, rise so precipitously, so column-like, from the broken ground which forms the root of the mountain, as at first sight to appear inaccessible. But they are divided by steep ravines, filled with fragments of fallen granite. Up the central ravine, Wâdy Abou-Hamad ("valley of the father of wild figs," so called from half-a-dozen in its course), we mounted. It was toilsome, but not difficult, and in about three hours we reached a ridge between the third and fourth peak. Here we rested; close by us were the traces of a large leopard. A little beyond was a pool of water surrounded by an old enclosure.

Three-quarters of an hour more brought us over smooth blocks of granite to the top of the third or central peak, the steep ascent

[1] See Part I. p. 23.

[2] See Part I. p. 41.

was broken by innumerable shrubs like sage or thyme, which grew to the very summit; and at last, also helped by loose stones arranged by human hands (whether yesterday or two thousand years ago), and through a narrow pass of about twenty feet, to the two eminences of which this peak is formed.

The highest of these is a huge block of granite; on this, as on the back of some petrified tortoise, you stand and overlook the whole Peninsula of Sinai. The Red Sea, with the Egyptian hills opposite; and the wide waste of the Kâ'a on the south, the village and grove of Tôr just marked as a dark line on the shore; on the east the vast cluster of what is commonly called Sinai, with the peaks of St. Catherine; and, towering high above all, the less famous, but most magnificent of all, the Mont Blanc of those parts, the unknown and unvisited Um-Shômer. Every feature of the extraordinary conformation lies before you; the wâdys coursing and winding in every direction; the long crescent of the Wâdy Es-Sheykh; the infinite number of mountains like a model; their colours all as clearly displayed as in Russegger's geological map, which we had in our hands at the moment; the dark granite, the brown sandstone, the yellow Desert, the dots of vegetation along the Wâdy Feirân, and the one green spot of the great palm-grove (if so it be) of Rephidim. On the northern and somewhat lower eminence are the visible remains of a building, which, like the stairs of stones mentioned before, may be of any date, from Moses to Burckhardt. It consists of granite fragments cemented with lime and mortar. In the centre is a rough hole, and close beside it, on the granite rocks, are three of those mysterious inscriptions, which, whatever they mean elsewhere, must mean here that this summit was frequented by unknown pilgrims, who used those characters; the more so, as the like inscriptions were scattered at intervals, through the whole ascent. A point of rock immediately below this ruin was the extreme edge of the peak. It was flanked on each side by the tremendous precipices of the two neighbouring peaks—itself as precipitous—and as we saw them overlooking the circle of Desert—plain, hill and valley, it was impossible not to feel that for the *giving* of the Law to Israel and the world, the scene was most truly fitted. I say "for the *giving* of the Law," because the objections urged from the absence of any plain immediately under the mountain for *receiving* the Law, are unanswerable, or could only be answered if no such plain existed elsewhere in the Peninsula.

The point to which we ascended is doubtless the same as that described by Burckhardt, though it is difficult to reconcile the "three inscriptions" which we saw, with the "many" described by him, or the comparative ease of our ascent, with the immense fatigue of which he speaks. This last, however, may be accounted for by the fact that he ascended without a guide; whereas we had the

assistance of the very intelligent Sheykh Zeddân, sheykh of Serbâl, whom we found in the Wâdy 'Âleyat; with the clever boy, *Fred*, son of Sheykh Hassan, sheykh of the village in the same wâdy. He answered the names of all the mountains and wâdys at a touch, [and it may be here interesting to give his version, as communicated through our dragoman, of the ruins and traditions of Feirân and Serbâl. In reply to the question suggested by Rüppell's[1] assertion of the estimation in which Serbâl was held by the Bedouins, as shown by sacrifices on its summit, he returned the following decisive answer: "Arabs never pray or kill sheep on the top of Serbâl; *sometimes, however, travellers eat chickens there.* The ruined building on the top was built by the Franks, or by the Derkani, the original inhabitants of the country, for keeping treasures. The ruins in Wâdy Feirân are also by Franks. There used to be a Frank windmill on the north-east side of the valley, and corn was carried across from the convent by a rope."]

It was already dark by the time that we reached our encampment at the eastern extremity of the Wâdy Feirân. It was a beautiful sight to see on our way the mountains lit up from top to bottom with the red blaze which shot up from the watchfires of the Bedouin tents. So they must have shone before the Pillar of Fire. The palm-groves of Feirân I saw only by the clear starlight; yet it was still possible to see how great must be the beauty of the luxuriant palms and feathery tamarisks—the wide glades below, the vast mountains above.

### VIII.—APPROACH TO GEBEL MOUSA, THE TRADITIONAL SINAI.

We started at 5 A.M. The camels went round by Wâdy Es-Sheykh; we took the direct route by Wâdy Solab, which, passing by several deserted Bedouin villages of the Arab serfs of the convent, with their lonely burial-grounds, brought us to the foot of the Nakb Hôwy, the "Pass of the Wind," a stair of rock, like that by which we had mounted to the cluster of Serbâl, and by which we were to mount again into the second and highest stage of the great mountain labyrinth. Its entrance is formed by the white alluvial formations before mentioned, as if left by the great streams of the central mountains when they first burst forth to feed the lower plains and valleys of the Wâdy Feirân; this being the opening into the dark range we had seen in the distance from the top of Serbâl. The pass itself is what would be elsewhere a roaring torrent, like the Pass of St. Gothard. It is amidst masses of rock, a thread of a stream just visible, and here and there forming clear pools, shrouded in palms. On many of these rocky fragments are Sinaitic inscriptions, mostly with crosses. The steep pass is broken

[1] See Part I. p. 40.

in part by long green swells as of tufa. At its summit, the course of the stream is still traceable from time to time by rushes.

We reached the head of the pass; and far in the bosom of the mountains before us, I saw the well-known shapes of the cliffs which form the front of Sinai. At each successive advance these cliffs disengaged themselves from the intervening and surrounding hills, and at last they stood out—I should rather say the columnar mass, which they form, stood out—alone against the sky. On each side the infinite complications of twisted and jagged mountains fell away from it. On each side the sky encompassed it round, as though it were alone in the wilderness. And to this giant mass we approached through a wide valley, a long continued plain, which enclosed as it was between two precipitous mountain ranges of black and yellow granite, and having always at its end this prodigious mountain block, I could compare to nothing else than the immense avenue,—the "dromos," as it is technically called,—through which the approach was made to the great Egyptian temples. One extraordinary sensation was the foreknowledge at each successive opening of the view of every object that would next appear; as cliff and plain, and the deep gorges on each side, and lastly the Convent with its gardens burst before me, it was the unfolding of the sight of sights, of which I had read and heard for years, till each part of it seemed as familiar as if I had seen it again and again. Was it the same or not? The colours, and the scale of the scene, were not precisely what I should have gathered from descriptions; the colours less remarkable, the scale less grand. But the whole impression of that long approach was even more wonderful than I had expected. Whatever may have been the scene of the events in Exodus, I cannot imagine that any human being could pass up that plain and not feel that he was entering a place above all others suited for the most august of the sights of earth. We encamped outside the Convent, at the point where the great Wâdy Es-Sheykh falls into the Wâdy Er-Râheh, immediately under the corner of the cliff.

### IX.—ASCENT OF GEBEL MOUSA AND OF RÂS SASÂFEH.

The next day we started for Gebel Mousa, the Mountain of Moses, the traditional scene of the Giving of the Law. I shall not go through all the steps of the well-known ascent. There were two points which especially struck me. First, the little plain just before the last ascent. The long flight of rude steps, which leads from the base to the summit, winding through crags of granite, at last brings you in sight of a grand archway standing between two of these huge cliffs, somewhat like that by which you enter the desert of the Chartreuse. You pass this, and yet another, and then find

yourself in that world-renowned spot.[1] The tall cypress, which stands in the centre, had already appeared towering above the rocks before we came in sight of the whole. There is a ruined church on the slope of the hill, built over the so-called cave of Elijah, and a well and a tank on the other, also ascribed to him. It is a solemn and beautiful scene, entirely secluded, and entirely characteristic, with the exception of the cypress, which marks the hand of strangers. Next, the summit itself, whatever else may be its claims, bears on its front the marks of being, or having been, regarded as the spot most universally sacred on earth. For there, side by side, and from reverence for the same event on which both religions are founded, stand the ruins of a small Christian church, once divided amongst all the Christian sects, and of a small Mahometan mosque. From whatever point we saw this famous peak, these two fragments of worship, almost always visible upon it, more distinctly than anything else told what it was. And now for the question which every one asks on that consecrated spot. Is this "the top of the mount" described in Exodus,[2] or must we seek it elsewhere? The whole question turns on another question, whether there is a plain below it agreeing with the words of the narrative. Dr. Robinson, who has the merit of discovering first that magnificent approach which I have before described on the other side of the mountain, declares not; but Laborde and others have so confidently maintained that there was a large and appropriate place for the encampment below this peak, that I was fully prepared to find it, and to believe in the old tradition. This impression is so instantly overthrown by the view of the Wâdy Seb'âyeh, as one looks down upon it from the precipice of Gebel Mousa, that it must be at once abandoned in favour of the view of the great approach before described, unless either the view of the plain of Er-Râheh was less imposing from above than it was from below, or the plain of Seb'âyeh more imposing from below than it was from above. The first thing to be done was, therefore, to gain the summit of the other end of the range called the Râs Sasâfeh (Willow Head), overlooking the Er-Râheh from above. The whole party descended, and after winding through the various basins and cliffs which make up the range, we reached the rocky point overlooking the approach we had come the preceding day. The effect on us, as on every one who has seen and described it, was instantaneous. It was like the seat on the top of Serbâl, but with the difference, that here was the deep wide yellow plain sweeping down to the very base of the cliffs; exactly answering to the plain on which the people "removed and stood afar off." . . . There is yet a higher mass of granite immediately above this point, which should be ascended, for the

[1] I cannot forbear to refer to the description of it in "Tancred."
[2] Exod. xix. 20.

greater completeness of view which it affords.—The plain below is then seen extending not only between the ranges of Tlaha and Furei'â, but also into the lateral valleys, which, on the north-east, unite it with the wide Wâdy of the Sheykh. This is important as showing how far the encampment may have been spread below, still within sight of the same summit. Behind extends the granite mass of the range of Gebel Mousa, cloven into deep gullies and basins, and ending in the traditional peak, crowned by the memorials of its double sanctity. The only point which now remained was to explore the Wâdy Seb'âyeh on the other side, and ascertain whether its appearance and its relation to Gebel Mousa from below was more suitable than it had seemed from above. This I did on the afternoon of the third day, and I came to the conclusion, that it could only be taken for the place if none other existed. It is rough, uneven, narrow. The only advantage which it has is, that the peak from a few points of view rises in a more commanding form than the Râs Sasâfeh. But the mountain never descends upon the plain. No! If we are to have a mountain without a wide amphitheatre at its base, let us have Serbâl; but, if otherwise, I am sure that if the monks of Justinian had fixed the traditional scene on the Râs Sasâfeh, no one would for an instant have doubted that this only could be the spot. . . . . Considering the almost total absence of such conjunctions of plain and mountain in this region, it is a really important evidence to the truth of the narrative, that one such conjunction can be found, and that within the neighbourhood of the traditional Sinai. Nor can I say that the degree of uncertainty, which must hang over it, materially diminished my enjoyment of it. In fact, it is a great safeguard for the real reverence due to the place, as the scene of the first great revelation of God to man. As it is, you may rest on your general conviction, and be thankful.

[This question between the two points of the range of Gebel Mousa assumes more importance on the spot than it deserves. On a careful consideration of the traditional statements, it seems very doubtful whether the scene of the Giving of the Law to the people as we now conceive it, ever entered into the minds of those who fixed the traditional site. The consecrated peak of Gebel Mousa was probably revered simply as the spot where Moses saw the vision of God, without reference to any more general event.] See Part I. pp. 32, 44, 58.

### X.—ASCENT OF ST. CATHERINE.

The next day we ascended the highest peak, not of the whole peninsula, but of the Sinai range. Its whole historical or legendary interest depends on the story from which it derives its name, that the

angels bore St. Catherine's body from Alexandria over the Red Sea and Desert, and placed it on this mountain-top.[1] It is a noble mountain, and glorious was the view from the top. It embraces not only the labyrinth of bare granite peaks which you see from Gebel Mousa, but a panorama over the whole peninsula. Once more we saw Serbâl itself; once more, and now nearer at hand, the masses of Um-Shômer; and (what we could not see from Serbâl), both the gulfs of the Red Sea, beautifully blue, with the high mountains of Egypt and Arabia beyond. Most complete, too, was the view of Gebel Mousa below; the reddish granite of its lower mass ending in the grey green granite of the peak itself.

[The points embraced in the several views from Gebel Mousa, Râs Sasâfeh, and St. Catherine have been so fully described by Dr. Robinson, that it would be superfluous to add any details of my own. I will confine myself to points which he has omitted, or which have been questioned. 1. Dr. Wilson, Miss Martineau, and Laborde, in contradiction to Dr. Robinson, assert that from one or both of the two former points Serbâl is visible. He is right, and they are wrong. What they took for Serbâl is the double peak of El-Banât (see p. 31). 2. Dr. Robinson does not notice the very high mountain visible from St. Catherine, south-west of Um-Shômer, and apparently calculated by Rüppell to be the highest in the Peninsula. We could not ascertain its name. It is possibly that called by Burckhardt (p. 576) "Thommân," or "El Koly." 3. No traveller has adequately described the beauty of the great ravine by which St. Catherine is ascended, under the name of "Shûk Mousa," "the Cleft of Moses." And Lepsius, in particular, has much underrated the amount of water produced generally by the springs of this cluster, especially by the spring in this cleft, which sends down a regular brook through the whole of the Lejâ.]

### XI.—ASCENT OF THE GEBEL-ED-DEIR.

[This mountain is the only one of the group immediately around the Convent which had never been explored.[2] For this reason, amongst others, we made the ascent, and for this reason I here give the account of it. It bears the various names of Gebel-ed-Deir, "the Mountain of the Convent," from the nunnery which once existed there—"Gebel Bestîn," from "St. Episteme," the first abbess of the nunnery,—"Solab," the Cross, from the cross which stands on its summit;—of "the Burning Bush," from the story already given.[3] "We went up with two Bedouin boys, belonging to the serfs of the Convent:—The name of the eldest was Sâleh, of the younger, Hamadân. Like all the young guides

[1] See Part I. p. 45.

[2] Ritter; Sinai, p. 544.

[3] Part I. p. 46.

attached to the monastery, they were remarkably intelligent; and though they had never been to the summit before, found their way with great sagacity. The ascent took three hours: it was steep, but the granite was sufficiently rough to afford hold and footing. In the recesses between the peaks was a ruined Bedouin village. On the highest level was a small natural basin, thickly covered with shrubs of myrrh,—of all the spots of the kind that I saw, the best suited for the feeding of Jethro's flocks in the seclusion of the mountain. From this, through the rock, a deep narrow cleft opens straight down upon the Convent, which lies far below, like a collection of houses of card or cork, with the leaden roof of the church standing athwart them. This, doubtless, is the explanation of the legend of the miraculous sun-beam. The highest point of all is a little above this, reached by clambering over blocks of granite,—and is covered by the rude wooden cross which gives the mountain its name, and stands out in the blue sky, a strange sight in the Arabian wilderness. From this point, St. Catherine and Gebel Mousa are both visible; also beyond St. Catherine, the long line of peaks, which we saw from thence; and amongst them rose the tall pyramidal mountain, of which we were still in doubt whether it was Um-Shômer. A light cloud veiled the summit of Râs Sasâfeh. This is the only spot which commands the view both of the Wâdy Seb'âyeh and of the Wâdy Er-Râheh. In other respects, it is inferior to any of the other four mountain views we saw: less extensive than Serbâl or St. Catherine, less wild than Gebel Mousa, and less imposing than Râs Sasâfeh. Thence we descended by a path on the south-west to the ruins of the nunnery, called 'Magarefeh' ('Security'), which was under a steep rock, and above a little spring, or stream. Steps of broken stones, like those on the ascent of Gebel Mousa, lead from thence to the Wâdy Ed-Deir. In the course of the descent, we came to a precipitous granite rock, so smooth as to render it almost impossible to pass down its surface; the boys, with much ingenuity, turned the difficulty by discovering a fissure, through which we could creep underneath it."]

## XII.—ROUTE FROM SINAI TO 'AKABA.

The approach to Sinai from the west has been so often described, that I have hitherto only given the general outline contained in the letters. But the descent to the east has been so seldom and so erroneously delineated both in books and maps, that I venture to add here a few words from my journal.

(1.) Tomb of Sheykh Sâlch.

[On leaving the Convent, the road soon falls into the crescent of the Wâdy Es-Sheykh,—which widens till it opens into a large plain. In the midst of this was a small chapel, with a white conical roof,

containing the tomb of Sheykh Sâlch, who gives his name to the wâdy. Round it are a collection of small gravestones. He was, according to the Bedouins with us, one of the Souâbis, or companions of the Prophet, 'in the time of Mousa and Mohammed,' and attended the latter, and was buried on the journey,—'as if—excuse me—one of you, masters, fell sick, and died, and was buried.' 'The tomb is still visited by all the Towâra Arabs, and by them alone.' 'The burial-place belongs to them.' 'Bedouins, not of the Towâra, however near, could not be buried here.' The Arabs who accompanied us (here and here only on the journey) began to mutter prayers as they approached. They (with our own Mohammed) stood for a few minutes, saying a few prayers or addresses to the dead saint, with a great appearance of solemnity, and then entered the hovel. The Saint is buried in the floor. His wooden coffin, with a wooden handle to mark the head, closed with a lid above,—is supposed to be above the grave. This is covered with cloth—and sticks are rudely put up round it, hung with old rags and shawls. 'If they were of Cashmere, no one would take them.' The one Bedouin who entered with us knelt down, and taking dust from the coffin, threw it on his head. One by one they all entered, but with a kind of delicacy waiting till we had left it.

From this point we struck off from the Wâdy Es-Sheykh, leaving it to pursue its winding course towards the Wâdy Feiran,—and went up the Wâdy Souwyrah,—near the spring of Abou Souwyrah, whence the Bedouins fetched water. Up the Nakb-Souwyrah,—an abrupt, but not high or difficult pass into the wâdy or wide broad plain of El-Wah, the watershed between the cluster of Sinai and 'Akaba. From this pass, and from this plain, the backward view of the Sinai mountains was very fine,—St. Catherine, and at times Gebel Mousa and Râs Sasâfeh towering above the rest; and in front a long bulwark of black and jagged peaks, like the Grampians.

From this plain we descended into the Wâdy Sayâl,—so called, apparently, from a few scattered acacias, the first we have seen since leaving the Wâdy Solab. This wâdy is a continuous descent, between high granite rocks, occasionally red—sometimes like the deep red of old brick. In this we encamped. The next day it widened, and the acacias increased into spreading, mazy thorns. A sharp storm of rain, the only one we experienced in our whole journey, swept from the Sinai range, during which we took shelter under a 'Retem,' or broom. The shrubs on the ground were myrrh (ser), a yellow flowering shrub, called "Abi-rathin," and a blue thorny plant, called "Silleh." The hills here are of a conical shape, curiously slanting across each other, and with an appearance of serpentine and basalt. The wâdy, still bearing the same name, then mounted a short rocky pass—of hills capped with sandstone—and entered on a plain of deep sand—the first we had encountered—over which

(2.) Wâdy Sayâl.

were scattered isolated clumps of sandstone, with occasional chalk—to which the Arabs gave the name of "'Adjerat-el-Farous." On two of these rocks were Sinaitic inscriptions; one with animals, one without. At the close of this plain, an isolated rock, called by the Bedouins "Herîmet Haggag," "Aboutig Suleman," "Kel'et 'Abdallah,"—its high tiers rising out of lower tiers, like a castle. Almost all round the lower tier are inscriptions, some Sinaitic, some Arab, two or three Greek,—many animals, some recent, but the greater part of the same colour as the inscriptions,—and chiefly ibexes, with enormous horns, overlapping the whole body like a rainbow;—also camels and ostriches.[1]

Leaving this rock,—and leaving also the level ranges of El-Tîh, which now rose in front,—we turned down from the Maharid-el-Huderâh,—the 'network,' so called from the extreme complication of small isolated masses—through a sandy desert, amidst fantastic sandstone rocks, mixed with lilac and dull green, as if of tufa. Here were some more inscriptions,—and here we encamped. Above the encampment was a crumbling sandstone ridge, which commanded the last great view, and almost equal in beauty to any that we had seen in the Sinaitic peninsula. On the south-west was the whole Sinai range. Um-Shômer and St. Catherine were veiled in cloud,—but Serbâl and El-Banât were just visible,—the first like one dot, the second, with its double peak, like two dots, on the far horizon. On the north-west were the level ridges of the Tîh: on the east was the vast and beautiful outline of Arabian mountains on the other side of the Gulf of 'Akaba, with yet another range beyond them, rising as if to a very great height. The near view was of sand, isolated sandstone hills, and the green and purple hill on which we stood.

At 7.30 A.M. we started through deep sand,[2]—and what Dr. Robinson well calls "fragments of the Tîh,"—over a flat plain, called by the Arabs Ridhân-es-Shuâ'aa. This presently contracted into a valley (Wâdy Ghazâleh), winding, like the Wâdy Sayâl, between high granite rocks. At 9.30, the Wâdy Huderâh fell into it from the north-west, and the Wâdy Ghazâleh now opened into another and a still more tortuous valley, which, from first to last, was called by the Arabs the Wâdy-el-'Ain—"of the Spring." The spring, or brook, which gives it its name, is a rill of clear fresh water, which descends into it, winding through a winding ravine from the west; its course marked by rushes, the large-leaved plant called "Esher," tamarisks, and wild palms. A venerable group of these last stands near the entrance of the brook into the Wâdy El-'Ain, the rough stems springing up from one vast shaggy root,—the branches, dead and living, hanging over in a tangled canopy. As it descends into the wâdy, it spreads out its stream with more rushes and more

[1] Compare Burckhardt, 505, 506. See Part I. p. 60.

[2] See Part I. p. 9.

palms. The rocks rise, red granite or black basalt, occasionally tipped as if with castles of sandstone, to the height of about 1000 feet. They are absolutely bare, except where the green "lasaf" or caper plant springs from the clefts. Occasionally they overlap and narrow the valley greatly. Finally they open on the sea—the high Arabian mountains rising beyond. At the mouth of the pass are many traces of flood—trees torn down, and strewed along the sand.

This pass is certainly one of the most striking scenes in the Peninsula. It is well described by Rüppell and by Miss Martineau, under the name of the Wâdy Wettîr, which is a name sometimes given to the lower portion of it, from a ravine of that name which falls into it from the north, shortly after the reception of the brook. Laborde also passed through it on his return from Petra, but, singularly enough, without a word of remark on its unparalleled beauty. In all the maps of Sinai—least so in that of Palmer—and in most of the descriptions of this route, there prevails considerable confusion on this point. The following statement, founded on our own observation, and on a careful examination of the Sheykh M'Dochal, who accompanied us, may be relied upon. The spring of Huderâh is distinct from the spring El-'Ain, and is at the head of the Wâdy Huderâh, a little to the N. of the great rock of Herîmet Haggag. Dr. Robinson came down the Wâdy Huderâh, crossed the Wâdy Ghurâlch, and passed through the Wâdy Sumghy, which enters on the sea shore about an hour south of the Wâdy El-'Ain. It is his statement, founded on hearsay, that the Wâdy El-'Ain was a day and a half distant, which has misled all modern maps into placing it much too far north.]

HAZEROTH.

Besides the interest of the physical peculiarities of this route is the faint probability that this beautiful valley and its neighbourhood may have been the scene of the first long halt after the departure from Sinai. After Taberah and Kibroth-Hattaavah, the people "*abode*" "for seven days," at least, in HAZEROTH.[1] Burckhardt, and most travellers after him, have, from the resemblance of the two radical letters in the two words, identified this with *Huderâh*. Such a conjecture must be very uncertain, the more so as the name of Hazeroth is one the least likely to be attached to any permanent or natural feature of the

[1] Numb. xi. 35; xii. 15, 16. The arguments are well stated in Ritter; Sinai, 251, 261, 270.

Desert. It means simply the "enclosures,"[1] such as may still be seen in the Bedouin villages, hardly less transitory than tents. Three points, however, may be mentioned, as slightly confirmatory of the hypothesis that the Israelite route lay in these valleys. First, the brook of El-'Ain, as its name implies, is emphatically "*the* water," "*the* spring," of this region of the Desert, and must therefore have attracted round it any nomadic settlements, such as are implied in the name of Hazeroth, and such as that of Israel must have been. If they descended at all to the western shores of the Gulf of 'Akaba, this is the most natural spot for them to have selected for a long halt. Secondly, in the murmurs previous to their arrival at Hazeroth, "the sea" is twice mentioned, in a manner which may indicate its proximity, and which is therefore certainly more appropriate to these valleys touching on the Gulf of 'Akaba, than to the more inland route over the Tîh. "Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish *of the sea* be gathered together, to suffice them?"[2] "There went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought quails *from the sea.*"[3] Thirdly, in connection with this incident of the "quails," may be mentioned the fact, that on the evening and the morning of our encampment, immediately before reaching the Wâdy Huderâh, the sky was literally darkened by the flight of innumerable birds, which proved to be the same large red-legged cranes, three feet high, with black and white wings, measuring seven feet from tip to tip, which we had seen in like numbers at the First Cataract of the Nile. It is remarkable that a similar flight was seen by Schubert near the very same spot. That any large flights of birds should be seen in those parts at any rate illustrates the Scripture narrative. But if a recent[4] explanation of the difficult passage in Numbers xi. 31, be correct, and the

[1] For the name, see *Appendix.*
[2] Numb. xi. 22; see Ritter, 327.
[3] Numb. xi. 31.
[4] Mr. Forster's Voice of Sinai, p. 108. I do not mean to guarantee the accuracy of his translation, or the applicability of his remarks to the especial subject of which he is there speaking. But I am unwilling to withhold this slight illustration of almost the only conclusion in that work which received any confirmation from my observations.

expression "two cubits high upon the face of the earth," be applied, not to the accumulation of the mass, but to the size of the individual birds; the flight of cranes, such as we saw, may be not merely an illustration, but an instance, of the incident recorded in the Pentateuch, and the frequency of the phenomenon in this locality may serve to show that Kibroth-Hattaavah and Huderâh were not far distant.

## XIII.—GULF OF 'AKABA.

Down this valley then, through these splendid rocks we rode, till at last, opening more widely than before, they disclosed the blue waters of the Gulf. Dromedaries, Bedouins, all set off in a race, each Bedouin urging on the dromedary of his master; and after half an hour's gallop we arrived on the shore. The next day, and the next, were along the shore of the sea almost the whole way. It is the Gulf of Elath and Ezion-Geber, up and down which the fleets of Solomon brought the gold of Ophir: the great channel of commerce till it was diverted by Alexandria to the Gulf of Suez. The two gulfs seem, like Castor and Pollux, to have risen and set alternately. Now there is not a single boat upon it from end to end. Once a year, and once only, boats come round from Suez to 'Akaba with provisions for the Mecca pilgrims; at all other times it is desolate as the wilderness. But what a sea! and what a shore!

From the dim silvery mountains on the further Arabian coast, over the blue waters of the sea, melting into colourless clearness as they roll up the shelly beach,—that beach red with the red sand, or red granite gravel that pours down from the cliffs above,—those cliffs sometimes deep red, sometimes yellow and purple, and above them all the blue cloudless sky of Arabia. And the sight of the shore at once reveals why this sea, in common with the Indian Ocean, was called Red by the Greeks, and the Sea of Weeds by the Hebrews. Of the red sand and rocks I have spoken; but, besides these, fragments of red coral are for ever being thrown up from the stores below, and it is these coralline forests which form the true "weeds"[1] of this fantastic sea. But, above all, never did I see such shells. Far as your eye can reach you see the beach whitening with them, like bleaching bones; and as you break them under your dromedary's feet, they are like the earthenware on Monte Testaccio, only, instead of broken pottery, like white porcelain. These are the larger ones; but there are smaller ones, of every size, and shape, and colour; sometimes, too, the trunks of trees of white coral,

[1] See Part I. pp. 5, 6.

shooting their roots through the sand, the upper branches gone, but still showing what these trees must be in the depths below. On the second day we had to leave the shore to cross a high mountain pass (Nakb-Muheymerat), by a very rugged path, the highest and roughest that we have seen; the line of camels, going in single file, extended almost from top to bottom. It is important, because, being the only means of reaching the head of the gulf, it proves *either* that the Israelites could not have come our route, *or* that no pass which we have seen in Sinai would have impeded their march to any point in the Peninsula.

It was about four P.M. that we reached 'Akaba. 'Akaba is a wretched village, shrouded in a palm-grove at the north end of the Gulf, gathered round a fortress built for the protection of the Mecca pilgrimage; into whose route we here again fell for the first time since we left it at 'Ajerûd, which is guarded by a fort like this. This is the whole object of the present existence of 'Akaba, which stands on the site of the ancient Elath,—"the Palm-Trees," so called from the grove.[1] Its situation, however, is very striking, looking down the beautiful gulf, with its jagged ranges on each side: on the west is the great black pass down which the pilgrimage descends, and from which 'Akaba ("the Pass") derives its name; on the north opens the wide plain, or Desert Valley, wholly different in character from anything we have seen, still called as it was in the days of Moses, "the 'Arabah." Down this came the Israelites on their return from Kadesh, and through a gap up the eastern hills they finally turned off to Moab. On this view they undoubtedly looked. It was a new Red Sea for them, and they little knew the glory which it would acquire when it became the channel of all the wealth of Solomon.

## XIV.—THE 'ARABAH.

Our journey for the first two days was along the wide and desert valley of the 'Arabah. It is one great peculiarity of the whole of the passage through the Desert, that every day you pass over a battle-field of historical or topographical controversy; not the Forum of Rome is more fertile in such disputes. In this great valley there is no more question of the course of the Israelites. It is indeed doubtful whether they passed up it on their way to Canaan, but no one can doubt that they passed down it, when the valleys of Edom were closed against them. But the geographical controversy, of which the 'Arabah is the scene, though it has or ought to have been set at rest in its essential points by the comparative levels

[1] See Part I. p. 22. There is nothing to fix the site of Ezion-Geber, "the Giant's Backbone."

of the Gulf of 'Akaba and the Lake of Gennesareth, still remains unsettled in its lesser details.

[For this reason it may be worth while to give a few notes of its general features, taken at the time. After leaving 'Akaba, we entered the Wâdy 'Arabah, over the mounds, supposed by Dr. Robinson to be the remains of Elath. On the east is a low gap in the hills with three low peaks visible beyond. This is the Wâdy Ithm, which turns the eastern range of the 'Arabah, and through which the Israelites must have passed on their way to Moab. It is still one of the regular roads to Petra, and in ancient times seems to have been the main approach from Elath or 'Akaba, as it is the only road from the south which enters Petra through the Sîk.[1] The only published account of it is that of Laborde. These mountains appear to be granite. On the west are the limestone ranges of the Tîh, horizontal as before. Two remarkable wâdys appeared in the eastern range, after leaving the Wâdy Ithm. First, the Wâdy Tubal, where, for the first time, red sandstone appeared in the mountains, rising, as in the 'Wâdy El-'Ain, architecture-wise, above gray granite. Of these mountains, the most prominent is Gebel Shebîbeh, with Wâdy Moâhil beneath. The next is Wâdy Ghurundel, a narrow gorge, with a slight brook forming small pools—rushes and dwarf palms around—innumerable goats and sheep crowded at the water, led by black-veiled Bedouin women. (This Wâdy must not be confounded with the more celebrated valley of the same name in the Peninsula of Sinai.)

It was about four hours after leaving the entrance of Wâdy Ghurundel, and one hour before arriving at the entrance of the Wâdy Abou-Sheykh (leading to Petra), that we arrived at what the Sheykh Mohammed[2] pointed out to us] as he had before, it seems, pointed out to Mr. Bartlett [what he considered as the division of the waters between the Gulf of 'Akaba and the Dead Sea. Two circumstances always make it difficult for travellers positively to ascertain this point. First, the slope in the level of the 'Arabah from east to west, which distorts the course of the torrents, and makes it almost impossible to distinguish whether they descend in a northerly or a southerly direction; secondly, the difficulty of traversing the 'Arabah (when in a caravan) directly from east to west. The ridge in question was a long line of hills, formed apparently of a detritus of stone and sand; called "Chragi-er-Rîshi" ("Saddlebags of feathers"),

[1] See p. 89.

[2] Sheykh Mohammed is the eldest son of the celebrated Sheykh of the Alouins, Hussayn. His father, now advancing in years, deputed his son to escort us; and I feel bound to mention the almost princely courtesy which he showed to us during the journey. I have purposely omitted all account of the often repeated, though to those concerned always interesting, negotiations with the old chief himself at 'Akaba.

which ran due west along the 'Arabah. Just before reaching these was the first view of Mount Hor, and on ascending them we looked back for the last time over the southern 'Arabah, which from this point looks like a waste of sand; whereas, when in it, the shrubs at times give it almost the appearance of a jungle. The wide opening to the sea is also visible from hence, though not the sea itself. In the midst of these hills, or rather of the undulations formed by their summits, all intersected by lesser watercourses, is one broad watercourse, running from east to west, called Wâdy Howâr, *i. e.*, "the division."

It is this which Sheykh Mohammed declares to be the watershed, and which, he maintains, "shuts out" the waters of the Gulf of 'Akaba from side to side.]

### XV.—APPROACH TO PETRA.

The whole prospect changes at this point. We lose the opening of the valley into the Gulf of 'Akaba, and we gain the view of Mount Hor,—the "Mountain of Aaron," as it is still called. Behind it lies Petra, and to Petra, through fantastic rocks, we turned aside, and encamped at last at the entrance of the pass, and waited for the morning. One isolated rock, with an excavation inside, in front of the hill, indicated the region we were approaching, apparently an outpost for a sentinel,—perhaps the very one which the Prophet had in his eye in that well-known text, "Watchman, what of the night?"[1]

And now arose the strange feeling of arriving at a place which it was possible we might be prevented by force from entering, or have by force to enter. Fifty years hence, when our friend Sheykh Mohammed has put down the surrounding tribes, Petra will have lost half its interest; but now the failures and dangers are sufficiently recent to form part of the first impression of the place. It is literally "paved with the good intentions" of travellers, unfulfilled. There, was Mount Hor, which Robinson and Laborde in vain wished to ascend; there, the plain half-way, where Burckhardt was obliged to halt without reaching the top; here the temple which Irby and Mangles only saw through their telescope; here the platform from which the Martineau party were unable to stir without an armed guard; and, lastly, on the very plain of our encampment, at the entrance of the pass, travellers with our own dragoman were driven back last year without even a glimpse of the famous city.

### XVI.—ASCENT OF MOUNT HOR.

We ascended the pass early in the morning; and leaving the

[1] Isaiah xxi. 11. "He calleth to me out of Seir."

camels and tents to go on to Petra, turned to climb the summit of Mount Hor.

It is one of the very few spots connected with the wanderings of the Israelites, which admits of no reasonable doubt.[1] There Aaron died in the presence of Moses and Eleazer; there he was buried; and there Eleazer was invested with the priesthood in his stead. The mountain is marked far and near by its double top, which rises like a huge castellated building from a lower base, and on one of these is the Mahometan chapel erected out of the remains of some earlier and more sumptuous building, over the supposed grave. There was nothing of interest within; only the usual marks of Mussulman devotion, ragged shawls, ostrich eggs, and a few beads. These were in the upper chamber. The great High-priest, if his body be really there, rests in a subterraneous vault below, hewn out of the rock, and in a niche now cased over with stone, wood, and plaster. From the flat roof of the chapel we overlooked his last view—that view which was to him what Pisgah was to his brother. To us the northern end was partly lost in haze; but we saw all the main points on which his eye must have rested. He looked over the valley of the 'Arabah, counterscted by its hundred watercourses, and beyond, over the white mountains of the wilderness they had so long traversed; and at the northern edge of it, there must have been visible the heights through which the Israelites had vainly attempted to force their way into the Promised Land. This was the western view. Close around him on the east were the rugged mountains of Edom, and far along the horizon the wide downs of Mount Seir, through which the passage had been denied by the wild tribes of Esau who hunted over their long slopes. A dreary moment, and a dreary scene,—such at any rate it must have seemed to the aged priest.

The peculiarity of the view was the combination of wide extension with the scarcity of marked features and points on which to observe. Petra itself is entirely shut out by the intervening rocks. But the survey of the Desert on one side, and the mountains of Edom on the other, is complete; and of these last the great feature is the mass of red bald-headed sandstone rocks, intersected, not by valleys, but by deep seams. In the heart of these rocks, itself invisible, lies Petra. Beyond spreads the range of yellow downs, tufted with vegetation, now called Sherâh. And now to Petra let us descend.

[1] The proofs of the identity of "Gebel Haroun," as it is now called, with Mount Hor, are (1). The situation "by the coast of the land of Edom," where it is emphatically "the mountain" (Hor). Numb. xx. 23. (2). The statement of Josephus (Ant. IV. iv. 7), that Aaron's death occurred on a high mountain enclosing Petra. (3). The modern name and traditional sanctity of the mountain as connected with Aaron's tomb.

## XVII.—PETRA.[1]

The first thing that struck me in turning out of the 'Arabah up the defiles that lead to Petra was, that we had suddenly left the Desert. Instead of the absolute nakedness of the Sinaitic valleys, we found ourselves walking on grass, sprinkled with flowers, and the level platforms on each side were filled with sprouting corn; and this continues through the whole descent to Petra, and in Petra itself.

The next peculiarity was when, after having left the summit of the pass, or after descending from Mount Hor, we found ourselves insensibly encircled with rocks of deepening and deepening red. Red indeed, even from a distance, the mountains of "Red" Edom appear, but not more so than the granite of Sinai; and it is not till one is actually in the midst of them that this red becomes crimson, and that the wonder of the Petra colours fully displays itself.

Two mistakes seem to me to have been made in the descriptions. All the describers have spoken of bright hues—scarlet, sky-blue, orange, &c. Had they taken courage to say instead, "*dull* crimson, indigo, yellow, and purple," their account would have lost something in effect, but gained much in truth. Nor really would it have lost much any way. For the colours, though not gaudy,—or rather because they are not gaudy,—are gorgeous. You are never, or hardly ever, startled by them. You could never mistake them for anything else but nature; they seem the natural clothing of the place.

Another mistake is, that the descriptions lead you—or, at least, they led me—to suppose that wherever you turn at Petra, you see nothing but these wonderful colours. I have already said, that from a distance one hardly sees them at all. One sees the general contrast only of the red sandstone cliffs standing out against the white limestone and yellow downs, which form their higher background. But when one comes in face of the very cliffs themselves, then they are, as I have said, a gorgeous, though dull crimson, streaked and suffused with purple. These are the two predominant colours,—"ferruginous," perhaps, they might best be called,—and on the face of the rocks the only colours. But one striking feature of the whole scenery is, that not merely the excavations and buildings, but the rocks themselves, are in a constant state of mouldering decay. You can scarcely tell where excavation begins and decay ends. It is in these caves, and roofs, and recesses, whether natural

[1] I have to apologise for adding another account of a place so well-known as Petra now is, through the descriptions of Burckhardt, Dr. Robinson, and Miss Martineau. But it was too important a stage in the journey to be altogether omitted; and two or three points in the previous descriptions seemed to me to require corrections or additions.

or artificial—very numerous it is true, but not seen till you are close within them—that there appears that extraordinary veining and intermixture of colours, in which yellow and blue are occasionally added—ribbon-like—to red and purple. Of the three comparisons usually made—mahogany, raw-flesh, and watered-silk—the last is certainly the best.

This brings me to the third great feature of Petra—its excavations. Here again the same error has been committed. I had expected to be surrounded by rocks honeycombed with caves. By no means. I do not doubt, that by calculation of all in the outlying ravines, you might count up thousands; but in the most populous part that I could select, I could not number in one view more than fifty, and generally much fewer. It is their immense ramifications, rather than their concentrated effect, that is remarkable, and this of course can no more be seen in one view than all the streets of London. The larger excavations are temples; the others may be divided between modern (*i. e.*, Roman or Arab) tombs, and Edomite or Horite[1] habitations. Round about, or rather east and west, are masses of crumbling rock, their faces immediately above this mass of ruins cut out into holes, and sometimes with Grecian façades. Of these, the most remarkable are in the eastern cliffs, where four of these great excavations, apparently not tombs or houses, but temples, stand close together with tiers of pillars one above another, giving to that cliff an embattled appearance, which, architecturally speaking, is the only remarkable feature in the basin of Petra, taken by itself. . . . .

But Petra, that is, the mere site of the city, is by far the least striking part of Petra. There any one, I think, with highly-raised expectations will feel disappointment. In the two points I am going to describe, I believe no one.

First there is the famous defile which, in ancient times, was the chief—the only usual—approach to Petra; and I feel so strongly the loss of interest which Petra suffers by the present gradual entrance, that I would strongly recommend all travellers—even at the cost of another day's journey—to come round by this eastern approach, through which, though we only saw it reversed, I mean now to conduct you, as if entering from the east.

You descend from those wide downs and those white cliffs which I have before described as forming the background of the Red City when seen from the west, and before you opens a deep cleft between rocks of red sandstone rising perpendicularly to the height of one, two, or three hundred feet. This is the *Sik*, or "cleft;" through this flows—if one may use the expression—the dry torrent, which, rising

[1] The name of the "Horim," who preceded the Edomites (Deut. ii. 22) signifies, 'dwellers in caves."

in the mountains half an hour hence, gives the name by which alone Petra is now known amongst the Arabs—Wâdy Mousa. "For,"—so Sheykh Mohammed tells us—"as surely as Gebel Hârûn (the Mountain of Aaron) is so called from the burial-place of Aaron, is Wâdy Mousa (the Valley of Moses) so called from the cleft being made by the rod of Moses when he brought the stream through into the valley beyond." It is, indeed, a place worthy of the scene, and one could long to believe it. Follow me, then, down this magnificent gorge—the most magnificent, beyond all doubt, which I have ever beheld. The rocks are almost precipitous, or rather, they would be, if they did not, like their brethren in all this region, overlap, and crumble, and crack, as if they would crash over you. The gorge is about a mile and a half long, and the opening of the cliffs at the top is throughout almost as narrow as the narrowest part of the defile of Pfeffers, which, in dimensions and form, it more resembles than any other of my acquaintance. At its very first entrance you pass under the arch which, though greatly broken, still spans the chasm—meant apparently to indicate the approach to the city. You pass under this along the bed of the torrent, now rough with stones, but once a regular paved road like the Appian Way, the pavement still remaining at intervals in the bed of the stream—the stream, meanwhile, which now has its own wild way, being then diverted from its course along troughs hewn in the rock above, or conducted through earthenware pipes, still traceable. These, and a few niches for statues now gone, are the only traces of human hand. What a sight it must have been, when all these were perfect!

A road, level and smooth, running through these tremendous rocks, and the blue sky just visible above, the green caper plant and wild ivy hanging in festoons over the heads of the travellers as they wind along, the flowering oleander fringing then, as now, this marvellous highway like the border of a garden-walk. You move on; and the ravine, and with it the road,—and with the road in old times the caravans of India,—winds as if it were the most flexible of rivers, instead of being in truth a rent through a mountain-wall. In this respect, in its sinuosity, it differs from any other like gorge I ever saw. The peculiarity is, perhaps, occasioned by the singularly friable character of the cliffs, the same character that has caused the thousand excavations beyond; and the effect is, that instead of the uniform character of most ravines, you are constantly turning round corners, and catching new lights and new aspects, in which to view the cliffs themselves. They are, for the most part, deeply red, and when you see their tops emerging from the shade and glowing in the sunshine, I could almost forgive the exaggeration that calls them scarlet. But in fact they are of the darker hues which in the shadow amount almost to black, and such is their

colour at the point to which I have brought you, after a mile or more through the defile—the cliffs over-arching in their narrowest contraction—when, suddenly through the narrow opening left between the two dark walls of another turn of the gorge, you see a pale pink front of pillars and sculptured figures closing your view from top to bottom. You rush towards it, you find yourself at the end of the defile, and in the presence of an excavated temple, which remains almost entirely perfect between the two flanks of dark rock out of which it is hewn; its preservation, and its peculiarly light and rosy tint being alike due to its singular position facing the ravine or rather wall of rock, through which the ravine issues, and thus sheltered beyond any other building (if one may so call it) from the wear and tear of weather, which has effaced, though not defaced, the features, and tanned the complexion, of all the other temples.

This I only saw by degrees, coming upon it from the west; but to the travellers of old times, and to those who, like Burckhardt in modern times, came down the defile, not knowing what they were to see, and meeting with this as the first image of the Red City, I cannot conceive anything more striking. There is nothing of peculiar grace or grandeur in the temple itself—(the Khazné, or Treasury, it is called)—it is of the most debased style of Roman architecture; but under the circumstances, I almost think one is more startled by finding in these wild and impracticable mountains a production of the last effort of a decaying and over-refined civilisation, than if it were something which, by its better and simpler taste, mounted more nearly to the source where Art and Nature were one.

Probably any one who entered Petra this way, would be so electrified by this apparition (which I cannot doubt to have been evoked there purposely, as you would place a fountain or an obelisk at the end of an avenue,) as to have no eyes to behold or sense to appreciate anything else. Still I must take you to the end. The Sîk, though it opens here, yet contracts once more, and it is in this last stage that those red and purple variegations, which I have before described, appear in their most gorgeous hues; and here also begins, what must have been properly the Street of Tombs, the Appian Way of Petra. Here they are most numerous, the rock is honeycombed with cavities of all shapes and sizes, and through these you advance till the defile once more opens, and you see—strange and unexpected sight!—with tombs above, below, and in front, a Greek Theatre (like that of Tusculum) hewn out of the rock, its tiers of seats literally red and purple alternately, in the native rock. Once more the defile closes with its excavations, and once more opens in the area of Petra itself; the torrent-bed passing now through absolute desolation and silence, though strewn with the fragments which

show that you once entered on a splendid and busy city gathered along its rocky banks, as along the quays of some great northern river.

The Sîk is unquestionably the great glory of Petra; but there is another point, on the other side, which struck me very much also, and which, if thoroughly explored, would, I think, be the most instructive and interesting spot in the place.[1] You turn up a torrent-bed in the western cliffs (for torrent-beds from all sides pour down into this area in the heart of the hills), but soon leave it to ascend a staircase hewn out of the rocks, steps not absolutely continuous now, though probably they once were; broad steps glowing with the native colours, which conduct you through magnificent rocks, and along the banks of an almost second Sîk, high up into the vast cluster of rocks which face Mount Hor on the north. This staircase is the most striking instance of what you see everywhere. Wherever your eyes turn along the excavated sides of the rocks you see steps, often leading to nothing; or to something which has crumbled away; often with their first steps worn away, so that they are now inaccessible; sometimes as mere ornaments in the façades, but everywhere seen even more than the caves themselves. High up in these rocks, withdrawn like the Khazné between two gigantic walls of cliff, with a green platform before it, is another temple of the same kind, though not of the same singular colour. In fact, it has the appearance of yellow stone, but in form it is more perfect than the Khazné, and its whole effect is so extremely modern, that I cannot better describe its impression on me than by comparing it to a London church of the last century. That is to say, you must imagine a London church, of the most debased style of ornament and taste, transplanted into a mountain nook as wild and solitary as the Splugen. I call it solitary—but it was not always so. The Arabic name, El-Deir, —"the Convent,"—implies their belief that it was a Christian church. Crosses are carved within it. The Sinaitic inscriptions are carved on the steps by which it is approached. Ruins lie above, below, and around it. Everything, in short, tends to indicate that this was a specially sacred spot, and that it was regarded so by Christians afterwards.

### KADESH.

With the departure from Sinai, or at least from Hazeroth, the geographical interest of the Israelite history almost ceases till the arrival in the table-lands of Moab, and the first beginning of the conquest. Not only is

[1] See p. 97.

the general course of their march wrapt in great obscurity, but even if we knew it, the events are not generally of a kind which would receive any special illustration from the scenes in which they occurred.

No attempt shall here be made to track their course in detail. It is possible that some future traveller may discover the stations recorded in the itinerary of the 33rd chapter of the Book of Numbers. At present none has been ascertained with any likelihood of truth, unless we accept the doubtful identification of *Hazeroth* with *Huderáh*,[1] of which I have already spoken. All that is clear is that they marched northward from Mount Sinai, probably over the plateau of the Tîh—which seems to be designated as "the wilderness of Paran"—then that they descended into the 'Arabah—designated, apparently, as "the wilderness of Zîn." Thence, on the refusal of the king of Edom to let them pass through his territory, they moved southward, encamped on the shores of the Gulf of 'Akaba, at Ezion-Geber, and then turned the corner of the Edomite mountains, at their southern extremity, and entered the table-lands of Moab at the "torrent of the willows," ("the brook Zared") at the south-east end of the Dead Sea.

In this general obscurity, one place stands out prominently. There can be no question, that next to Sinai, the most important of all the resting-places of the Children of Israel is Kadesh.[2] It is the only one dignified by the name of "a city." Its very name awakens our attention —the "Holy Place"—the same name by which Jerusalem itself is still called in Arabic, "El-Khods." It is

[1] A list of possible identifications may be seen in the Descriptive Geography of Palestine by Rabbi Joseph Schwarze, p. 212—214.

[2] Although Reland (Palæstina, p. 115, ff.) is probably mistaken in supposing that there were two halting-places of Israel called Kadesh, yet it does appear that in Gen. xvi. 14; xx. 1; Josh. xv. 23, another Kadesh may be intended on the northern plateau of the Tih; and, if so, this may be the one found by Mr. Rowlands (Williams' Holy City, vol. i. App. p. 466,) under the same name, in a place corresponding with those indications, but too far northward and westward to be identified with Kadesh-Barnea. The fact of the affix of "Barnea" may indicate that there was another. Whether Israel was twice at Kadesh seems extremely doubtful. The difficulty of reducing the second part of the wanderings of Israel to distinct chronological order, will be evident to any one who compares Numb. xxxiii. 30—36 with Deut. x. 6—7.

probably the old oracular "Spring of Judgment," mentioned as existing in the earliest times of Canaanite history ;[1] as if, like Mount Sinai itself, it had an ancient sanctity before the host of Israel encamped within its precincts. The encampment there is also distinct in character from any other in the wilderness, except the stay at Sinai or perhaps at Rephidim. The exact time is not given ; but it is stated generally that " they abode in Kadesh many days."[2] They were there at least forty days,[3] during the absence of the spies. In its neighbourhood, two battles were fought with the southern Canaanites—one a defeat, the other a victory.[4] There arose the demand for water, which gave to the place its new name of Meribah-Kadesh ;[5] there also the rebellion of Korah, and the death of the sister and the brother of Moses.

All these indications compel us to look for some more definite locality than can be found in the scattered springs and pools in the midst of the Desert, with which travellers have usually endeavoured to identify it—such, for example, as 'Ain El-Weibeh, on the eastern side of the 'Arabah, which Dr. Robinson selected as the spot, and which, but for the reasons just given, would not be an inappropriate scene.

The geographical notices of its situation are unfortunately too slight to be of much service. Yet thus much they fix, that it was " in the wilderness of Zîn,"[6] that it was " on the 'edge' of the border of Edom "[7]—that it was

[1] Gen. xiv. 7. " 'En-Mishpat (the spring of judgment), which is Kadesh." Compare for the combination, Exod. xv. 25, " He made for them (at Marah) a statute and a 'judgment' (mishpat)." Jerome, however, distinguishes Kadesh-'en-Mishpat from Kadesh-Barnea, making the former to be a spot in the Valley of Gerar, well known in his days as Beer-dan,—" the well of the judge." De Loc. Heb. voc. *Puteus judicis.*

[2] Deut. i. 46.

[3] Numb. xiii. 25.

[4] Numb. xiv. 45 ; xxi. 1.

[5] Deut. xxxii. 51.

[6] Numb. xxvii. 14; xxxiii. 36; Deut. xxxii. 51. In one passage, Kadesh appears to be placed in " the wilderness of Paran." Numb. xiii. 26. The spies returned " unto the wilderness of Paran to Kadesh," (cf. xii. 16.) It is possible that the other Kadesh (before noticed) may be here meant. But, however it is explained, a passage of this kind,—with the liability to mistakes which seems to have beset the whole text of the wanderings,—cannot avail against the emphatic contrast elsewhere drawn between the two wildernesses of Paran and of Zin, and the close connexion of Kadesh-Barnea with Zin.

[7] The 'edge,' Numb. xx. 16, is the same word as is used in Numb. xxxiii. 37, of Mount Hor. To represent Edom as extending west of the 'Arabah in the time of Moses is an anachronism, borrowed from the times after the Captivity, when the Edomites, driven from their ancient seats, occupied the " south " of Judæa as far as Hebron ; 1 Macc. v. 65.

near "Mount Hor,"—that it was at the southern point to which the territory of Judah afterwards reached.

Is there any place to which these indications correspond? Possibly, if the country were thoroughly explored, there might be found several in the deserted cities of Edom, known only to the very few travellers who have entered Edom by the Wâdy Ithm. At present one only is known, and that is Petra.

An oasis of vegetation in the desert hills; scenery only second in grandeur to that where the Law was delivered; a city of which the present ruins are modern, but of which the earlier vestiges reach back to the remotest antiquity —these are some of the points which give Petra a claim to be considered as the original sanctuary of the Idumean wilderness. It is moreover one of the few facts localised by anything like an authentic tradition,—in this case preserved by Josephus, the Talmudists, Eusebius,[1] and Jerome,[2]—that Kadesh was either identical, or closely connected with Petra. With this the existing names (though capable of another origin) remarkably harmonise. The mountain which overhangs the valley of Petra has been known as far back as the knowledge of travellers extends, as the "mountain of Aaron." The basin of Petra is known to the Arabs by no other name than "the Valley of Moses." The great ravine through which the torrent is admitted into the valley, is called "the Cleft of Moses"—in distinct reference to the stroke of the rod of Moses.[3]

[1] Josephus (Ant. IV. iv. 7) speaks of Mount Hor as lying above Arke, which he identifies with Petra. Arke is evidently the same word (perhaps with the prefix of 'Ar for "mountain"—as in Armageddon) as "Rekem," the Syriac name for Petra (Jerome, De Loc. Heb. voc. *Petra* and *Rekem*) and the Talmudist name for Kadesh,—see also the Syriac and Arabic versions,—derived (says Jerome, voc. *Rekem*, and Josephus, Ant. IV. vii. 1) from the Midianite chief *Rokan*. Abulfeda (Tabula Syriæ, p. 11,) speaks of Ar-Rakem as near Al Balkâ (the Arabic name of the country east of the Ghor), and remarkable for the houses cut in the rock. There may be other places on the east of the Ghor to which this description would apply, but none to which it would so well apply as Petra. The Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, and Jerusalem, call Kadesh-Barnea "Rekem Giah,"—'of the ravine,' probably alluding to the Sik. See Schwarze, p. 23, 24, who has, however, his own explanations.

[2] "Cades Barnea in deserto, quæ *conjungitur civitati Petræ* in Arabiâ." He notices the tomb of Miriam as still shown there, not that of Aaron. (De Loc. Heb.)

[3] See p. 90. This also agrees with Jerome's description of Mount Hor. "Or Mons, in quo mortuus est Aaron, *juxta civitatem Petram, ubi usque præsentem diem ostenditur rupes quâ percussâ* magnas aquas populo dedit. De Loc. Heb. voc. *Or*.

In accordance with these confirmations are the incidental expressions of the narrative itself. The word always used for "the rock" of Kadesh,[1] in describing the second supply of water, is "*sela*" or "*cliff*," in contradistinction to the usual word "*tzûr*"—"*rock*," which is no less invariably applied to "the rock" of Horeb—the scene of the first supply.[2] It may be difficult to determine the relative meaning of the two words. But it is almost certain that of the two, "*sela*," like our word "cliff," is the grander and more abrupt feature; which is of importance as excluding from the claimants to the name of Kadesh, such spots as 'Ain El-Weibeh, where the rocks are merely stony shelves of three or four feet in height. But the name "Sela" is also the same as that by which in later times the place now called "Petra" was designated. As the southern boundary of Judah is described as reaching over the "ascent of scorpions" to Kadesh, so the Amorite boundary is described as "from the ascent of scorpions, from 'the cliff' (*sela*), and upwards."[3] "Amaziah took 'the cliff' (*sela*) by war." "Other ten thousand did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them up to the top of 'the cliff'. (*sela*), and cast them down from the top of 'the cliff' (*sela*), that they were all broken into pieces."[4] The name of Kadesh almost entirely disappears from the Sacred Books before the name of Sela appears, and it is therefore possible that the latter, taken from its natural peculiarity, may have been given to it by the Edomites or later settlers, after the recollections of its earlier sanctity had passed away. That a sanctuary of this kind should have been gradually transformed into an emporium and thoroughfare of commerce, as was the case with Petra during the Roman empire, would be one out of many instances with which oriental and ancient history abounds.

[1] Numb. xx. 8—11. See Appendix.
[2] Exod. xvii. 6.
[3] Joshua xv. 3; Judg. i. 36.
[4] 2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 12. The use of this word in these passages makes it probable that the denunciation of Psalm cxxxvii. 9, is aimed not against the "daughter of Babylon," but against "the children of Edom."—"Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us; happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the 'cliff' (*sela*)."

If there be any ground for this conclusion, Petra assumes a new interest. Its rock-hewn caves may have served in part for the dwellings, in part for the graves of the Israelites; it is dignified as the closing scene of the life both of Miriam and Aaron; its sanctity may account for the elevation and seclusion of some of its edifices, perched high among almost inaccessible rocks, and evidently the resort of ancient pilgrims; its impressive scenery well accords with the language of the ancient hymns of Israel, in which Kadesh with the surrounding rocks of Edom is almost elevated to the rank of a second Sinai: "Lord, when thou wentest out of *Seir*, when thou marchedst out of the field of *Edom*"[1]—"God came from *Teman*, and the Holy One from *Mount Paran*."[2] "He brought them to Mount Sinai and *Kadesh-barnea*."[3] "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from *Mount Seir* unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran, and He came . . . . with ten thousands of saints,"[4] (if we take the Hebrew as followed in the Authorised Version—but more probably with the Septuagint)—"with the ten thousands of *Kadesh*;" or (perhaps more probably still, with Ewald,[5]) "from *Meribah-Kadesh*."

And if any point is to be selected in Petra, as especially the seat of this primeval sanctuary, it is that which I have just described, commonly known by the name of the "Deir," or "Convent." Its present form is of the same modern character as that which deprives all these monuments of any deep interest—a façade, with a vast urn on the summit; the interior, one large hall. But its situation and its accompaniments indicate the great importance, if not sanctity, with which it was invested at some period by the inhabitants of Petra. Removed as it is from the sight not only of the town, but of the numerous sepulchres or excavations with which the cliffs which surround the town are perforated, it must have had some special purpose of its own. The long ascent by which it is approached, mostly along the edge of a precipitous ravine, is carefully

[1] Judg. v. 4.
[2] Habak. iii. 3.
[3] Deut. xxxiii. 2.
[4] Jude 14.
[5] Geschichte, 2nd edit., ii. 257.

hewn, wherever the rocks admit, into a continuous staircase, of which the steps are in more than one instance marked by the unknown inscriptions in the so-called Sinaitic character. The walls of the interior of the Deir itself, as well as the steps, are sculptured with the usual accompaniments of these inscriptions,—crosses and figures of the wild goat, or ibex. Immediately opposite is a hill, with a large chamber below, partly natural, partly artificial; containing a sculptured niche at the end of it for a statue; and bases of columns lie strewed around. A staircase leads to the roof of the Deir, which is again inscribed with a rude character; and on the rocky platform with which the roof communicates,[1] is a circle of hewn stones, and again still beyond is a solitary cell hewn in an isolated cliff, and joined to this platform by a narrow isthmus of rock.

In the absolute dearth of records of Petra, it is impossible to decide the reason of the selection of this lonely spot for a sanctuary, thus visited, as it would appear, by the same pilgrims, who have left their traces so often elsewhere in the Peninsula. Yet its situation inevitably suggests some relation to Mount Hor. From the threshold, indeed, of the Deir, Mount Hor is not visible.[2] But the whole of the upper story, and the roof—to which, as I have said, a staircase ascends as if for the express purpose of commanding a wider view,—both look upon the sacred mount of the High Priest's tomb, and are seen from thence. It is in fact the only building of Petra included in the view from Mount Hor, through which alone, in its deep seclusion, it was first revealed to the eyes of travellers.

Is it too much to suppose that this point and Mount Hor were long regarded as the two sacred spots of Petra; that the scene of the death and sepulture of Aaron was designedly fixed in view of this, the innermost sanctuary of the Holy Place of "Kadesh;" that this sanctity was retained through the successive changes of Pagan and Christian worship; and that the pilgrims of the Desert

[1] This last feature I derive from Miss Martineau (Eastern Life, 2nd ed., p. 410), who is the only person who has left a record of its existence. From an oversight I omitted to see it on the spot.

[2] By a not unnatural confusion of an intervening mountain with Mount Hor, Dr. Robinson (ii. 536) has asserted the contrary. It is one of the very few inaccuracies he has committed.

mounted these time-worn steps, and traced their inscriptions upon the rock, on their way to the only spot, whence they could see the grave of Aaron?

## XVIII.—APPROACH TO PALESTINE.*

The day of leaving Petra was occupied in the passage of the mountains into the 'Arabah; the next in crossing the 'Arabah; on the other side we came to 'Ain El-Weibeh—three springs with palms under the low limestone cliffs which form the boundary of the mass of the mountains of the Tîh. This spot Dr. Robinson supposes to be Kadesh. . . . .

It was at 'Akaba that Mohammed, stretching out his hands in prayer after a few moments of silence, exclaimed, pointing over the palm trees, "There is the new moon,"—the new moon which gave me a thrill no new moon had ever wakened before, for, if all prospered, its fulness would be that of the Paschal moon at Jerusalem. At 'Akaba, too, we first came within the dominions of David and Solomon. And now we were already on the confines of the tribe of Judah, and the next day we crossed the difficult high pass of Sâfeh, thought to be that through which the Israelites were repulsed by the Amorites.[1] Unfortunately a thick haze hung over the mountains of Edom, so that we saw them no more again. It was on Palm Sunday that we descended on the other side, and from this time the approach to Palestine fairly began. How the name of Aaron rang with a new sound in the first and second lessons of that evening after the sight of Mount Hor.

The Approach to Palestine — nothing can be more gradual. There is no special point at which you can say the Desert is ended and the Land of Promise is begun. Yet there is an interest in that solemn and peaceful melting away of one into the other which I cannot describe. It was like the striking passage in Thalaba describing the descent of the mountains, with the successive beginnings of vegetation and warmth. The first change was perhaps what one would least expect—the disappearance of trees. The last palms were those we left at 'Ain el-Weibeh. Palm Sunday was the day which shut us out, I believe, with few rare exceptions, from those beautiful creations of the Nile and the Desert springs—Judæa knows them no more.[2] The next day we saw the last of our well-known Acacia—that consecrated and venerable tree of the Burning Bush and of the Tabernacle; and then, for the first time in the whole journey, we had to take our mid-day meal without shade. But meanwhile every other sign of life was astir. On

[1] Numb. xiv. 45; xxi. 1; Deut. i. 44.
[2] This is somewhat overstated as regards Palestine generally. See Chapter II. viii.

descending from the Pass of Sûfeh, one observed that the little shrubs, which had more or less sprinkled the whole 'Arabah, were more thickly studded; the next day they gave a gray covering to the whole hill-side, and the little tufts of grass threw in a general tint of green before unknown. Then the red anemones of Petra reappeared, and then here and there patches of corn. As we advanced, this thin covering became deeper and fuller; and daisies and hyacinths were mixed with the blood-drops[1] of the anemones. Signs of ancient habitations appeared in the ruins of forts and remains, which might have been either Çanaanitish temples or Christian churches, on the hill-sides; wells, too, deeply built with marble casings round their mouths, worn by the ropes of ages. East and west, under a long line of hills which bounded it to the north, ran a wide plain in which verdure, though not universal, was still predominant. Up this line of hills our Tuesday's course took us, and still the marks of ruins increased on the hill-tops, and long courses of venerable rock or stone, the boundaries or roads, or both, of ancient inhabitants; and the anemones ran like fire through the mountain glens; and deep glades of corn, green and delicious to the eye, spread right and left before us.

Most striking anywhere would have been this protracted approach to land after that wide desert sea—these seeds and plants, and planks, as it were, drifting to meet us. But how doubly striking, when one felt in one's inmost soul, that this was the entrance into the Holy Land—"Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozra?" Everything told us that we were approaching the sacred frontier. In that solitary ride—for all desert rides are more or less solitary—through this peaceful passing away of death into life, there was indeed no profanation of the first days of Passion Week. That wide plain of which I spoke, with its ruins and walls, was the wilderness of Beersheba; with wells such as those for which Abraham and Isaac struggled; at which, it may be, they had watered their flocks; the neutral ground between the Desert and the cultivated region which those shepherd-patriarchs would most naturally choose for their wanderings, before the idea of a more permanent home had yet dawned upon them. That long line of hills was the beginning of "the hill country of Judæa," and when we began to ascend it, the first answer to our inquiries after the route told that it was "Carmel," not the more famous mountain of that name, but that on which Nabal fed his flocks; and close below its long ranges, was the hill and ruin of "Ziph;" close above, the hill of "Maon."[2] That is to say, we were now in the heart of the wild country where David wandered from Saul like those

[1] It is these which are called "Blood-drops of Christ." See Chapter II. p. 138.
[2] 1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 24; xxv. 2.

very "partridges in the mountains,"[1] which we saw abounding in all directions. And in the extensive views which the tops of these hills commanded on the south, there was the long range of the Tîh, —faithful to the last to that same horizontal character which we saw from Suez,—and Serbâl; and to the east, towering high into the hazy sky, what looked like the Alps of Moab; and between us and them a jagged line of lower hills, the rocks of En-gedi; and, in the misty depths which parted these nearer and those further mountains, there needed no guide to tell that there lay, invisible as yet, the DEAD SEA.

From these heights, by gradual ascent and descent we went on. With Ziph the more desolate region ended. The valleys now began, at least in our eyes, almost literally "to laugh and sing." Greener and greener did they grow—the shrubs, too, shot up above that stunted growth. At last, on the summits of further hills, lines of spreading trees appeared against the sky.[2] Then came ploughed fields and oxen. Lastly, a deep and wide recess opened in the hills—towers and minarets appeared through the gap, which gradually unfolded into the city of "the Friend of God"—this is its Arabic name: far up on the right ran a wide and beautiful upland valley, all partitioned into gardens and fields, green fig-trees and cherry-trees, and the vineyards—famous through all ages; and far off, gray and beautiful as those of Tivoli, swept down the western slope the olive-groves of Hebron. Most startling of all was the hum through the air—hitherto "that silent air" which I described during our first encampment, but which had grown familiar as the sounds of London to those who live constantly within their range—the hum, at first, of isolated human voices and the lowing of cattle, rising up from these various orchards and corn-fields, and then a sound, which, to our ears, seemed like that of a mighty multitude, but which was only the united murmur of the population of the little town which we now entered at its southern end. They had come out to look at some troops which were going off to capture a refractory chief, and they still remained sitting on the mounds—old men, women, and children, in their various dresses, which, after the monotonous brown rags of the Bedouins, looked gay and bright—sitting, with their hands shading their faces from the rays of the afternoon sun, to see the long passage of the caravan, guarded on each side by the officers of the Quarantine. High above us, on the eastern height of the town—which lies nestled, Italian-like, on the slope of a ravine—rose the long black walls and two stately minarets of that illustrious mosque, one of the four sanctuaries of the Mahometan world, sacred in the eyes of all the world besides,

[1] 1 Sam. xxvi. 20.

[2] This was on the hills of Dhorayeh and of "Juta," the probable birth-place of John the Baptist. See Chapter II. viii.

[3] El Khalîl.

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which covers the Cave of Machpelah, the last resting-place of Abraham, Isaac,[1] and Jacob. We passed on by one of those two ancient reservoirs, where King David hanged the murderers of his rival,[2] up a slope of green grass, broken only by tombs and flocks of sheep, to the high gates of the Quarantine, which closed upon us, and where we are now imprisoned for the next three days, but with that glorious view of Hebron before us day and night. And now the second stage of our tour is finished.

### XIX.—RECOLLECTIONS OF THE FIRST DAY IN PALESTINE.

Let me say briefly what has chiefly impressed me during that first day in Palestine. After all the uncertainty of the Desert topography, it was quite startling, though I knew it beforehand, to find the localities so absolutely authentic, to hear the names of Carmel, Maon, Ziph, shouted out in answer to my questions from our Bedouin guides, and from the ploughmen in the fields, who knew no more of David's wanderings than of those of Ulysses. And now I am in Hebron, looking on the site of a sepulchre whose genuineness has never yet been questioned, and to that with equal certainty is to succeed Bethlehem, and to that Jerusalem. With this, how much of special localities may be spared again and again. Then I am struck with the vast number and extent and massiveness of the ruins of the deserted cities, each on its mountain height, like those of Italy. I had expected mere fragments of stones—I find solid walls, columns, towers. It is true they are all ascribed to Christian times. But any way, they give a notion of what the country was.

And I am struck by what is also noticed by Miss Martineau —the western, almost the English, character of the scenery. Those wild uplands of Carmel and Ziph are hardly distinguishable (except by their ruined cities and red anemones) from the Lowlands of Scotland or of Wales; these cultivated valleys of Hebron (except by their olives) from the general features of a rich valley in Yorkshire or Derbyshire. The absence of palms and the presence of daisies greatly contributes to this result, and, added to the contrast of the strange scenery which has been ours for the last month, gives a homelike and restful character to this first entrance which can never be effaced.

Lastly, the great elevation of this country above the level of the sea is most forcibly brought out by the journey we have made.[3] From the moment of leaving the 'Arabah has been almost a continual ascent. We mounted the great Pass of Sâfeh, and, having mounted, hardly descended at all—crossed the great

[1] Gen. xlix. 31. [2] 2 Sam. iv. 12. [3] See Chapter II. p. 129.

table-land of Beersheba—and then mounted the barrier of the hills of Judah—and thence have been mounting ever since. Hebron is, in fact, only five hundred feet lower than Snowdon. How well one understands the expression, "They went *down* into Egypt."

## XX.—HEBRON.

This afternoon (Good Friday) we walked, under the guard of the Quarantine, round the western hills of Hebron. There was little to add to the first impressions, except the deep delight of treading the rocks and drinking in the view which had been trodden by the feet and met the eyes of the Patriarchs and Kings. I observed, too, for the first time the enclosures of vineyards with stone walls, and towers at the corners for guards. This was the first exemplification of the Parables.[1] The hills, except where occupied by vineyards and olive-groves, are covered with disjointed rocks and grass, such as brought back dim visions of Wales. In that basin which lay amongst them, what well-springs of thought spring up; numerous as those literal wells and springs with which the whole ground of the hills themselves is penetrated. One that most strangely struck me, was, that here for the first time was heard that great funeral dirge over Abner, whose last echo I had heard in St. Paul's Cathedral over the grave of the Duke of Wellington. And marvellous, too, to think that within the massive enclosure of that Mosque, lies, possibly, not merely the last dust of Abraham and Isaac, but the very body—the mummy—the embalmed bones of Jacob, brought in solemn state from Egypt to this (as it then was) lonely and beautiful spot. And to the east was the height, the traditional spot whence Abraham saw the smoke of Sodom rising out of the deep gulf between the hills of Engedi and the mountains of Moab.

## XXI.—APPROACH TO JERUSALEM.

In a long line of horses and mules, we quitted Hebron.

Two more relics of Abraham we saw after leaving the mosque. The first was the beautiful and massive oak on its greensward, called by his name, and which, with two or three near it, at least enables one to figure the scene in Genesis xviii., and to understand why it is that the spot was called "the oaks" (mistranslated "the plain") of Mamre.[2] Whether this be the exact spot, or even the exact kind of tree, seems doubtful; for the next object we saw was one of those solid and vast enclosures, now beginning to be so familiar; which seems to coincide with the account of the place

[1] See Chapters II. and XIII. [2] Gen. xiii. 18; xviii. 1. See Chapter II. p. 141.

which Josephus mentions as the site of what he calls, not the oak, but the terebinth, of Abraham.[1] However, there was the wide scenery, the vineyards, too, with their towers, reaching down on every side of the valley of Eshcol, whence came the famous cluster; and the red anemones, and white roses on their briar-bushes. Next in one of those gray and green valleys—for these are the predominant colours—appeared, one below the other, the three pools of Solomon—I must again say "venerable," for I know no other word to describe that simple, massive architecture in ruin, yet not in ruin—the "pools of water that he made to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees," and there are the very gardens, not now, indeed, beautiful as when he came out in state as Josephus describes, with his gold-powdered servants,[2] to see them, but marked by the long winding defile of Urtas—green, and fresh, and winding as a river—which leads towards Jerusalem. And along the mountain side runs the water through the channel begun by him, but—strange conjunction—restored by Pontius Pilate.[3]

### XXII.—FIRST VIEW OF BETHLEHEM.

Far away to the east rises the conical hill where Herod died, and now we mount the ridge of which that hill is the eastern extremity, and crowning the crest of the opposite ridge is a long line of houses, with the massive and lofty convent. There was a shout which ran down the long file of horsemen, followed by deep silence —"BETHLEHEM." . . . . . .

It is a wild bleak hill, amidst hills equally bleak—if bleak may be applied to hills which are terraced with vineyards; in autumn, of course, rich and green, and which now in part wave with corn. One only green plain, I believe of grass, hangs behind the town. But what most arrests the eye is the elevation of the whole place, and, above all, that most striking feature, which was to me quite unexpected,—the immense wall of the mountains of Moab seeming to overhang the lower hills of Judah, from which they are only separated by that deep mysterious gulf of the Dead Sea. Well might Moses from their summits overlook the Promised Land. Well might Orpah return as to a near country—and Naomi be reminded of her sorrows. Well might her descendant David choose their heights as the refuge for his aged parents when Bethlehem was no longer safe for them.

Of the one great event of Bethlehem you are, of course, reminded by the enormous convent—or convents, Latin, Greek, and Armenian—clustering round the church, which is divided amongst them in different compartments. The original nave of Helena—which is the

[1] Bell. Jud. IV. ix. 7.

[2] Ant. VIII. vii. 3.

[3] See Ritter; Palästina, p. 276.

prototype of the Roman St. Paul's, and of St. Apollinaris of Ravenna —and the subterranean church, are alone in common. Whether the Cave of the Nativity be genuine or not, yet there is the deep interest of knowing that it is the oldest special locality fixed upon by the Christian Church. Before the Sepulchre, before the Church of the Ascension, before any of the other countless scenes of our Saviour's life had been localised, the famous passage in Justin Martyr proves that the cave of Bethlehem was already known and reverenced as the scene of the Nativity. And one of the most striking instances of this reverence exists in a cave, or rather in one of the many winding caves which form the vaults of the church, the cell where Jerome lived and died, that he might be near the sacred spot.[1] . . . .

I have said one is reminded of the Nativity by the convent. But, in truth, I almost think it distracts one from it. From the first moment that those towers, and hills, and valleys burst upon you, there enters the one prevailing thought that now, at last, we are indeed in the "Holy Land." It pervades the whole atmosphere—even David and Ruth wax faint in its presence. . . . . .

### XXIII.—FIRST VIEW OF JERUSALEM.

Next came Rachel's Tomb—a modern mosque, but the site must be the true one—and then, far on the top of the hill opposite Bethlehem, was the Convent of St. Elias, seen from Bethlehem, and from which I knew we should see Jerusalem. It is the one place which commands the view of both. We reached the spot from its broken ridge. I saw a wide descent and ascent, and a white line rising high—of I knew not what buildings—but I knew that it was Jerusalem. . . . What were the main features of the approach? First, there was still the mighty wall of Moab; secondly, there was the broad green approach of the valley of Rephaim,[2] so long, so broad, so green, that it almost seemed a natural entrance to the city, which still remained suspended, as it were, above it—for that white line kept increasing in height and length, as we neared it yet saw not the deep ravines which parted us from it. The first building which catches the eye is the palace of the Armenian Patriarch, then the castle, then the minaret over the mosque of David. The Mosque of Omar and even the Mount of Olives were for a long time shut out by the Hill of Evil Counsel, which, with its solitary tree[3]

[1] See Chapter XIV.

[2] I give this broad approach the name which is now usually given to it by travellers. But, in fact, it is hardly a "valley,"—being much more what is meant by its Arabic name "El-Beká'a," —the plain,—the same which is given to the plain of Cœle-Syria. (Ritter; Jordan, p. 184. See Josh. xi. 17; xii. 7.) And there are some reasons for finding the "Valley of Rephaim" further west. See Tobler's Umgebungen, 402.

[3] This is the traditional tree on which Judas hanged himself.

before us, intercepted all to the east. High beyond towered Ramah (of Benjamin). At last the deep descent of the Valley of Hinnom appeared, opening into that of Jehoshaphat. What struck me as new and unexpected was the rush, so to speak, of both the valleys to the south-west corner of the city. We entered the Jaffa gate about 4.30 P.M.

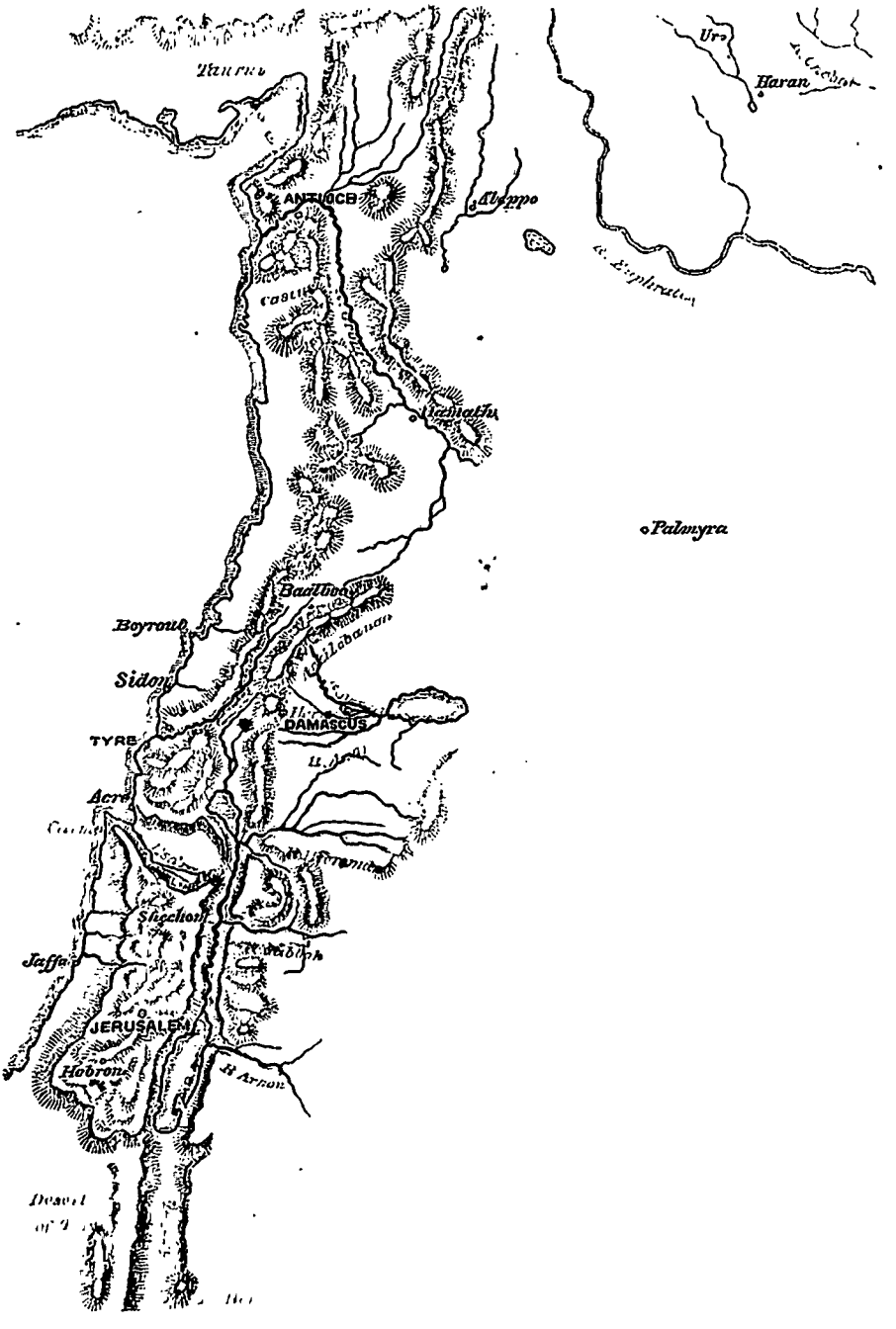
# CHAPTER II.

## PALESTINE.

Numbers xiii. 17—20. "And Moses sent them to spy out the land of Canaan, and said unto them, Get you up this way southward, and go up into the mountain: and see the land, what it is; and the people that dwelleth therein, whether they be strong or weak, few or many; and what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad; and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether in tents, or in strongholds; and what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein, or not. And be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land."

Deut. i. 7. "Turn you, and take your journey, and go to the mount of the Amorites, and unto all the places nigh thereunto, in the 'desert,' in the 'mountains,' and in the 'low country,' and in the south, and by the sea side, to the land of the Canaanites, and unto Lebanon, unto the great river, the river Euphrates."

# MAP OF SYRIA.


Ur
Haran
ANTIOCH
Aleppo
Palmyra
Boyrout
Sidon
DAMASCUS
TYRE
Acre
Jaffa
JERUSALEM
Hebron

# PALESTINE.

General features.—The four Rivers of Syria: the Orontes, the Leontes, the Barada, the JORDAN.—General aspect of Palestine.—I. Seclusion of Palestine. II. Smallness and narrowness of its territory. III. Central situation. IV. Land of ruins. V. "Land of milk and honey." VI. Variety of climate and structure. VII. Mountainous character. VIII. Scenery: hills and valleys; flowers; trees: cedars, oaks, palms, sycamores. IX. Geological features: 1. Springs and wells; 2. Sepulchres; 3. Caves; 4. Natural curiosities. X. General conclusion.

The High Land of Syria.

BETWEEN the great plains of Assyria and the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, a high mountain tract is interposed, reaching from the Bay of Issus to the Desert of Arabia. Of this the northern part, which consists of the ranges known in ancient geography under the names of Amanus and Casius, and which includes rather more than half the tract in question, is not within the limits of the Holy Land; and, though belonging to the same general elevation, is distinguished from the southern division by strongly marked peculiarities, and only enters into the sacred history at a later time, when its connection with any local scenes was too slight to be worth dwelling upon in detail. It is with the southern division that we are now concerned.

Lebanon.

The range divides itself twice over into two parallel chains. There is first, the main chain of Lebanon, separated by the broad valley commonly called Cœle-Syria; the western mountain reaching its highest termination in the northern point of Lebanon; the eastern, in the southern point of Hermon. This last point—itself the

loftiest summit of the whole range—again breaks into two ranges, of which the western, with the exception of one broad depression, extends as far as the Desert of Sinai; the eastern, as far as the mountains of Arabia Petræa.

The Four Rivers; From this chain,[1] flow four rivers of unequal magnitude, on which, at different times, have sprung up the four ruling powers of that portion of Asia. Lebanon is, in this respect, a likeness of that primeval Paradise, to which its local traditions have always endeavoured to attach themselves.

The Orontes, The Northern River, rising from the fork of the two ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and forming the channel of life and civilisation in that northern division of which we have just spoken, is the Orontes,—the river of the Greek kingdom of Antioch and Seleucia.

The Litâny, The Western, is the Litâny,[2] rising from the same watershed between the two ranges, near Baalbec, and falling into the Mediterranean, close to Tyre,—the river of Phœnicia.

The Barada. The Eastern, rising from Anti-Lebanon and joined by one or two lesser streams, is the modern Barada, the Abana or Pharpar of the Old Testament—the river of the Syrian kingdom of Damascus.

The kingdoms which have risen in the neighbourhood or on the banks of these rivers, have flourished not simultaneously, but successively. The northern kingdom was the latest, and is only brought into connection with the Sacred History, as being that from which the "Kings of the North" made their descent upon Palestine, and in which were afterwards founded the first Gentile churches. It was, as it were, the halting-place of Christianity, before it finally left its Asiatic home—beyond the limits of the Holy Land, yet not in another country or climate; naturally resting on the banks of the Orontes, on the way from the valley of the Jordan, before (to use the Roman poet's expression in

[1] For the sketch of the Four Rivers, see the instructive note on Syria in Napoleon's *Mémoires*, vol. ii., 297, 298. The detailed characteristics of each will be given in Chapters VII. and XII.

[2] Often in modern geography called the *Leontes*, from a notion that this was its ancient name. This notion, as Ritter has shown, is doubly mistaken. 1. The Litâny has *no* ancient name, except "the Tyrian river." 2. The name of *Leontes* never occurs in ancient writers, and is a confusion with the genitive case of the river Leon (*Λέοντος ποτάμου ἐκβολὰς*), which is the name given by Ptolemy (v. 15) to a river between Sidon and Beyrout, either the Bostrenus (Aulay), or the Tamyras (Tamar). See Ritter; Lebanon, p. 122.

another and a better sense) it joined "the flow of the Orontes into the Tiber." The eastern kingdom of Damascus on one side, the western kingdom of Phœnicia on the other, claim a nearer connection with the history of the chosen people from first to last; the one, as the great opening of communication with the distant Eastern deserts, the other with the Mediterranean coasts. The Fourth and Southern river, which rises in the point where Hermon splits into its two parallel ranges, is the River of Palestine—The JORDAN.

The Jordan, with its manifold peculiarities, must be reserved for the time when we come to speak of it in detail. Yet it must be remembered throughout, that this river, the artery of the whole country, is unique on the surface of the globe. The ranges of the Lebanon are remarkable; the courses of the Orontes, the Leontes, and the Barada, are curious; but the deep depression of the Jordan has absolutely no parallel. No other valley in the world presents such extraordinary physical features, none has been the subject of such various theories as to its origin and character. How far this strange conformation of the Holy Land has had any extensive influence on its history may be doubtful. But it is perhaps worth observing at the outset, that we are in a country, of which the geography and the history each claims to be singular of its kind:—the history, by its own records, unconscious, if one may so say, of the physical peculiarity; the geography, by the discoveries of modern science, wholly without regard, perhaps even indifferent or hostile, to the claims of the history. Such a coincidence may be accidental; but, at least, it serves to awaken the curiosity, and strike the imagination; at least, it lends dignity to the country, where the Earth and the Man are thus alike objects of wonder and investigation. THE JORDAN.

It is around and along this deep fissure that the hills of western and eastern Palestine spring up, forming the link between the high group of Lebanon on the north, and the high group of Sinai on the south; forming the mountain-bridge, or isthmus, between the ocean of the Assyrian Desert, and the ocean (as it seemed to the ancient world) PALESTINE.

of the Mediterranean, or "Great Sea" on the west. On the one side of the Jordan these hills present a mass of green pastures and forests melting away, on the east, into the red plains of the Haurân. On the other side they form a mass of gray rock rising above the yellow Desert on the south, bounded on the west by the long green strip of the maritime plain; cut asunder on the north by the rich plain of Esdraelon; rising again beyond Esdraelon into the wild scenery of mountain and forest in the roots of Lebanon.

Each of these divisions has a name, a character, and, to a certain extent, a history of its own, which will best appear as we proceed. But there are features more or less common to the whole country, especially to that portion of it which has been the chief seat of the national life; and these, so far as they illustrate the general history, must be now considered. "The Vine" was "brought out of Egypt:" what was the land in which God "prepared room before it, and caused it to take deep root," and "cover the 'mountains' with its shadow"? [1]

Seclusion from the rest of the ancient world.

I. The peculiar characteristic of the Israelite people, whether as contemplated from their own sacred records, or as viewed by their Gentile neighbours, was that they were a nation secluded, set apart, from the rest of the world; "haters," it was said, "of the human race," and hated by it in return. Is there anything in the physical structure and situation of their country which agrees with this peculiarity? [2] Look at its boundaries. The most important in this respect will be that on the east. For in that early time, when Palestine first fell to the lot of the chosen people, the East was still the world. The great empires which rose on the plains of Mesopotamia, the cities of the Euphrates and the Tigris, were literally then, what Babylon is metaphorically in the Apocalypse, the rulers and corrupters of all the kingdoms of the earth. Between these great empires and the people of Israel, two obstacles were interposed. The first was the eastern Desert, which formed a barrier in front even of the outposts of Israel—the nomadic

[1] Psalm lxxx. 8—10.

[2] See Ritter; Jordan, pp. 1—22.

V. *face p. 113.*

# PALESTINE.

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tribes on the east of the Jordan; the second, the vast fissure of the Jordan valley, which must always have acted as a deep trench within the exterior rampart of the Desert and the eastern hills of the Trans-Jordanic tribes.

Next to the Assyrian empire in strength and power, superior to it in arts and civilisation, was Egypt. What was there on the southern boundary of Palestine, to secure that "the Egyptians whom they saw on the shores of the Red Sea, they should see no more again?" Up to the very frontier of their own land stretched that "great and terrible wilderness," which rolled like a sea between the valley of the Nile and the valley of the Jordan. And this wilderness itself—the platform of the Tîh—could be only reached on its eastern side by the tremendous pass of Akaba at the southern, and of Sâfeh[1] at the northern end of the Arabah. On these, the two most important frontiers, the separation was most complete.

The two accessible sides were the west and the north. But the west was only accessible by sea, and when Israel first settled in Palestine, the Mediterranean was not yet the thoroughfare — it was rather the boundary and the terror of the eastern nations. It is true that from the north-western coast of Syria, the Phœnician cities sent forth their fleets. But they were the exception of the world, the discoverers, the first explorers of the unknown depths,—and in their enterprises Israel never joined. In strong contrast, too, with the coasts of Europe, and especially of Greece, Palestine has no indentations, no winding creeks, no deep havens, such as in ancient, even more than in modern times, were necessary for the invitation and protection of commercial enterprise. One long line, broken only by the bay of Acre, containing only three bad harbours, Joppa, Acre, and Caipha—and the last unknown in ancient times—is the inhospitable front that Palestine opposed to the western world. On the northern frontier the ranges of Lebanon formed two not insignificant ramparts. But the gate between them was open, and

[1] See Chapter I. Part ii. pp. 84, 99.

through the long valley of Cœle-Syria, the hosts of Syrian and Assyrian conquerors accordingly poured. These were the natural fortifications of that vineyard which was "hedged round about" with tower and trench, sea and desert, against the "boars of the wood," and "the beast of the field."

Smallness and narrowness of territory.

II. In Palestine, as in Greece, every traveller is struck with the smallness of the territory. He is surprised, even after all that he has heard, at passing, in one long day, from the capital of Judæa to that of Samaria; or at seeing, within eight hours, three such spots, as Hebron, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. The breadth of the country from the Jordan to the sea is rarely more than fifty miles. Its length from Dan to Beersheba is about a hundred and eighty miles. The time is now gone by, when the grandeur of a country is measured by its size, or the diminutive extent of an illustrious people can otherwise than enhance the magnitude of what they have done. The ancient taunt, however, and the facts which suggested it, may still illustrate the feeling which appears in their own records. The contrast between the littleness of Palestine and the vast extent of the empires which hung upon its northern and southern skirts, is rarely absent from the mind of the Prophets and Psalmists. It helps them to exalt their sense of the favour of God towards their land by magnifying their little hills and dry torrent-beds into an equality with the giant hills of Lebanon and Hermon and the sea-like rivers of Mesopotamia.[1] It also fosters the consciousness, that they were not always to be restrained within these earthly barriers—"The place is too strait for me; give me place where I may dwell." Nor is it only the smallness but the narrowness of the territory which is remarkable. From almost every high point in the country, its whole breadth is visible, from the long wall of the Moab hills on the east, to the Mediterranean sea on the west. Whatever may

[1] Compare Ps. lxviii. 15; — "The 'Mount' of God is a high 'mountain,' as the 'mountain' of Bashan" (*i. e.*, of Anti-Libanus). Isa. ii. 2;—"The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established on the top of the mountains." Ps. xlvi. 4;—"There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God."

be the poverty or insignificance of the landscape, it is at once relieved by a glimpse of either of these two boundaries.

> "Two voices are there—one is of the sea,
> One of the mountains,"—

and the close proximity of each—the deep purple shade of the one, and the glittering waters of the other—makes it always possible for one or other of those two voices to be heard now, as they were by the Psalmists of old. "The strength of the '*mountains*' is his also—The *sea* is his, and He made it." [1]

Thus, although the Israelites were shut off by the southern and eastern deserts from the surrounding nations, they yet were always able to look beyond themselves. They had no connection with either the eastern empires or the western isles—but they could not forget them. As in the words and forms of their worship they were constantly reminded how they had once been strangers in the land of Egypt; so the sight of the hills beyond the Jordan, and of the sea beyond the Philistine plain, were in their daily life a memorial that they were there secluded not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the world in whose centre they were set. The mountains of Gilead, and on the south, the long ridges of Arabia, were at hand to remind them of those distant regions from which their first fathers Abraham and Jacob had wandered into the country,—from which "the camels and dromedaries of Midian and Ephah" were once again to pour in. The sea, whitening then as now with the ships of Tarshish, the outline of Chittim or Cyprus [2] just visible in the clear evening horizon, must have told them of the western world where lay the "isles of the Gentiles," which "should come to their light, and kings to the brightness of their rising. . . . .Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows? Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first." [3] The

[1] Ps. xcv. 4, 5.

[2] See Chapter XII.

[3] Isa. lx. 3, 8, 9.

very name of the "west" was to them "the sea;"[1] and it is not merely a poetic image, but a natural reflex of their whole history and situation, that the great revelation of the expansion of the Jewish system to meet the wants of all nations should have been made to the Apostle on the house-top at Jaffa—

> "When o'er the glowing western main
> His wistful brow was upward raised;
> Where, like an Angel's train,
> The burnished water blazed."[2]

Central Situation.

III. This leads us to another point of view, in which the situation of Palestine is remarkably bound up with its future destinies. "I have set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her." In later times this passage was taken in the literal sense that Palestine, and Jerusalem especially, was actually the centre of the earth[3]—a belief of which the memorial is yet preserved in the large round stone still kissed devoutly by Greek pilgrims, in their portion of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[4] It is one of the many instances in which the innocent fancy of an earlier faith has been set aside by the discoveries of later science. In the East probably there are still many points of this kind which have been long surrendered in the more stirring West. But there was a real truth in it at the time that the Prophet wrote, which the subsequent course of history makes it now difficult for us to realise. Palestine, though now at the very outskirts of that tide of civilisation which has swept far into the remotest West, was then the vanguard of the eastern, and therefore, of the civilised world; and, moreover, stood midway between the two great seats of ancient Empire, Babylon and Egypt. It was on the high road from one to the other of these mighty powers, the prize for which they contended, the

[1] The Hebrew "Jam," is both "the sea" and "the west."

[2] Christian Year. Monday in Easter week. See Chapter VI.

[3] Ezek. v. 5. See the quotations from Jerome, Theodoret, and Kimchi, in Reland's Palestine, cap. x. p. 52.

[4] The same belief is seen in the old mediæval maps of the world—such as that of the 14th century, preserved in Hereford Cathedral.

battlefield on which they fought—the high bridge,[1] over which they ascended and descended respectively into the deep basins of the Nile and Euphrates. Its first appearance on the stage of history is as a halting-place for a wanderer from Mesopotamia,[2] who "passed through the land," and "journeyed going on still toward the south," and "went down into Egypt." The first great struggle which that wanderer had to maintain, was against the host of Chedorlaomer, from Persia and from Babylon. The battle in which the latest hero of the Jewish monarchy perished, was to check the advance of an Egyptian king on his way to contest the empire of the then known world with the king of Assyria at Carchemish.[3] The whole history of Palestine, between the return from the Captivity and the Christian æra, is a contest between the "kings of the north and the kings of the south"[4] —the descendants of Seleucus and the descendants of Ptolemy,—for the possession of the country. And when at last the West begins to rise as a new power on the horizon, Palestine as the nearest point of contact between the two worlds, becomes the scene of the chief conflicts of Rome with Asia.[5] There is no other country in the world which could exhibit the same confluence of associations, as that which is awakened by the rocks which overhang the crystal stream of the Dog River,[6] where it rushes through the ravines of Lebanon into the Mediterranean Sea; where side by side are to be seen the hieroglyphics of the great Rameses, the cuneiform characters of Sennacherib, and the Latin inscriptions of the Emperor Antoninus.[7]

Land of Ruins.

IV. This is the most convenient place for noticing a peculiarity of the present aspect of Palestine, which though not, properly speaking, a physical feature, is so closely connected both with its outward imagery and with its general

[1] See Ritter's interesting Lecture on the Jordan and the Dead Sea, Berlin, 1850, p. 8.

[2] Genesis xii. 6, 9, 10.

[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—24.

[4] Dan. xi. 6, ff.

[5] This resistance of Palestine alternately to the conquerors from the East and from the West, is well put in Salvador's *Domination Romaine*, vol. i. p. 53.

[6] The Nâhr-el-Kelb, just above Beyrout. See Chapter VI.

[7] See Ritter, Lebanon, pp. 531—546.

situation, that it cannot be omitted. Above all other countries in the world, it is a *Land of Ruins*. It is not that the particular ruins are on a scale equal to those of Greece or Italy, still less to those of Egypt. But there is no country in which they are so numerous, none in which they bear so large a proportion to the villages and towns still in existence. In Judæa it is hardly an exaggeration to say that whilst for miles and miles there is no appearance of present life or habitation, except the occasional goat-herd on the hill side, or gathering of women at the wells, there is yet hardly a hill-top of the many within sight which is not covered by the vestiges of some fortress or city of former ages. Sometimes they are fragments of ancient walls, sometimes mere foundations and piles of stone, but always enough to indicate signs of human habitation and civilisation. Such is the case in Western Palestine. In Eastern Palestine, and still more if we include the Haurân and the Lebanon, the same picture is continued, although under a somewhat different aspect. Here the ancient cities remain, in like manner deserted, ruined, but standing; not mere masses and heaps of stone, but towns and houses, in amount and in a state of preservation which have no parallel except in the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, buried under the eruption of Vesuvius. Not even in Rome or Athens, hardly in Egyptian Thebes, can ancient buildings be found in such magnitude and such profusion as at Baalbec, Jerash, and Palmyra. No where else, it is said, can all the details of Roman domestic architecture be seen so clearly as in the hundreds of deserted villages which stand on the red desert of the Haurân. This difference between the ruins of the two regions of Palestine arises no doubt from the circumstance, that whereas Eastern Syria has been for the last four hundred years entirely, for the last fifteen hundred years nearly, deserted by civilised, almost by barbarian, man, Western Palestine has always been the resort of a population which, however rude and scanty, has been sufficiently numerous and energetic to destroy and to appropriate edifices which in the less frequented parts beyond the Jordan have escaped through neglect and isolation.

But the general fact of the ruins of Palestine, whether erect or fallen, remains common to the whole country; deepens and confirms, if it does not create, the impression of age and decay, which belongs to almost every view of Palestine, and invests it with an appearance which can be called by no other name than *venerable*. Moreover, it carries us deep into the historical peculiarities of the country. The ruins we now see are of the most diverse ages; Saracenic, Crusading, Roman, Grecian, Jewish, extending perhaps even to the old Canaanitish remains, before the arrival of Joshua. This variety, this accumulation of destruction, is the natural result of the position which has made Palestine for so many ages the thoroughfare and prize of the world. And although we now see this aspect brought out in a fuller light than ever before, yet as far back as the history and language of Palestine reaches, it was familiar to the inhabitants of the country. In the rich local vocabulary of the Hebrew language, the words for sites of ruined cities occupy a remarkable place. Four separate designations are used for the several stages of decay or of destruction, which were to be seen even during the first vigour of the Israelite conquest and monarchy. There was the rude "cairn," or pile of stones, roughly rolled together.[1] There was the mound or heap of ruin,[2] which, like the Monte Testaccio at Rome, was composed of the rubbish and débris of a fallen city. There were the forsaken villages,[3] such as those in the Haurân, when "the cities were wasted without inhabitant and the houses without man,"—"forsaken, and not a man to dwell therein." There are lastly true ruins, such as those to which we give the name—buildings standing, yet shattered, like those of Baalbec or Palmyra.[4]

[1] *Gal*, "rolling." Such were the cairns over Achan and the King of Ai; Joshua, vii. 26; viii. 29.

[2] *Tel*, "heap." Such were the cities so-called in the neighbourhood of Babylon:—Tel-abib (Ezek. iii. 15), Telharsa, or haresha (Ezr. ii. 59. Neh. vii. 61), Tel-melah (do. do.), Telassar (Isa. xxxvii. 12). The word has thence passed into Arabic as the common name for a "hill,"—in which sense it seems to be used in Joshua, xi. 13, "the cities that stood still on their 'heaps' (telim)."

[3] *Asubah*, "forsaken." Isa. vi. 12; xvii, 2, 9; lxii. 12. Jer. iv. 29. Zeph. ii. 4.

[4] *Ai*. Three towns at least were so called from this circumstance. 1. Ai,

What, therefore, we now see, must to a certain extent have been seen always—a country strewed with the relics of an earlier civilisation; a country exhibiting even in the first dawn of history the theatre of successive conquests and destructions—"giants dwelling therein of old time . . . . a people great, and many, and tall, . . . . but the Lord destroyed them before those that came after; and they succeeded them and dwelt in their stead."[1]

V. But this aspect of the land, whilst it reminds us in some respects of the identity of its present appearance with that of the past, reminds us still more forcibly of its difference.

The countless ruins of Palestine, of whatever date they may be, tell us at a glance that we must not judge the resources of the ancient land by its present depressed and desolate state. They show us not only that "Syria might support tenfold its present population, and bring forth tenfold its present produce,"[2] but that it actually did so. And this brings us to the question which Eastern travellers so often ask, and are asked on their return, "Can these stony hills, these deserted valleys, be indeed the Land of Promise, the land flowing with milk and honey?"

"The land of milk and honey."

There are two answers to this question. First, as has just been observed, the country must have been very different when every hill was crowned with a flourishing town or village, from what it is since it ceased to be the seat not only of civilisation, but in many instances even of the population and habitations which once fertilised it.

Josh. vii. (compare viii. 28); 2. Ijeabarim, or Iim, 'in the border of Moab;' (Numb. xxxiii. 44; and 3. Iim, in the south of Judah (Josh. xv. 29). The "Avites," or Avim, the earliest inhabitants of Philistia (Deut. ii. 23), seem to have derived their name from this word—"The dwellers in ruins." To what an antiquity does this carry us back. Ruins before the days of those who preceded the Philistines!

[1] Deut. ii. 10, 12, 20, 21, 22, 23.

[2] Report of Mr. Moore, Consul-General of Syria, appended to Dr. Bowring's Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria, presented to both Houses of Parliament. (London, 1840.) Pp. 90—111. It is needless to adduce proofs of a fact so well attested, both by existing vestiges, and by universal testimony, as the populousness of Syria, not only in the times of the Jewish monarchy, but of the Greek kingdom, the Roman empire, and the middle ages. But any one who wishes to see the argument drawn out in detail, will find it in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th chapters of Keith's Land of Israel,—a book disfigured indeed by an extravagant and untenable theory, but containing much useful information.

"The entire destruction of the woods which once covered the mountains, and the utter neglect of the terraces which supported the soil on steep declivities, have given full scope to the rains, which have left many tracts of bare rock, where formerly were vineyards and cornfields." [1] It is probable too that, as in Europe generally, since the disappearance of the German forests, and in Greece, since the fall of the plane-trees which once shaded the bare landscape of Attica, the gradual cessation of rain produced by this loss of vegetation has exposed the country in a greater degree than in early times to the evils of drought. This at least is the effect of the testimony of residents at Jerusalem, within whose experience the Kedron has recently for the first time flowed with a copious torrent, evidently in consequence of the numerous enclosures of mulberry and olive groves, made within the last few years by the Greek convent, and in themselves a sample of the different aspect which such cultivation more widely extended would give to the whole country. The forest of Hareth, and the thicket-wood of Ziph, in Judæa; [2] the forest of Bethel; [3] the forest of Sharon; [4] the forests which gave their name to Kirjath-jearim, "the city of forests," [5] have long disappeared. Palm-trees, which are now all but unknown on the hills of Palestine, formerly grew, as we shall presently see, with myrtles and pines, on the now almost barren slopes of Olivet; and groves of oak and terebinth, though never frequent, must have been certainly more common than at present. The very labour which was expended on these barren hills of Palestine in former times, has increased their present sterility. The natural vegetation has been swept away, and no human cultivation now occupies the terraces which once took the place of forests and pastures. [6]

Destruction of wood.

Secondly, even without such an effort of imagination as is required to conceive an altered state of population

Contrast with the Desert;

[1] Dr. Olin's Travels in the East, vol. ii. 428. The whole passage is worth perusal, as a calm and clear statement of a somewhat entangled and delicate question.

[2] 1 Sam. xxii. 5; xxiii. 15.

[3] 2 Kings ii. 24; 1 Sam. xiv. 25.

[4] See Chap. VI. ii.

[5] Compare 1 Sam. vi. 21, vii. 1. and 1 Chron. xiii. 5, with Ps. cxxxii. 6.

[6] This is well put in Keith's Land of Israel, p. 425.

and civilisation, it is enough to remember the actual situation of Palestine, in its relation to the surrounding countries of the East. We do not sufficiently bear in mind that the East, that is the country between the Mediterranean and the table-lands of Persia, between the Sahara and the Persian gulf, is a waterless desert, only diversified here and there by strips and patches of vegetation.[1] Such green spots or tracts,—which are in fact but oases on a large scale,—are the rich plains on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the long strips of verdure on the banks of the Nile, the occasional centres of vegetation in Arabia Felix and Idumæa; and, lastly, the cultivated though narrow territory of Palestine itself. It is true that as compared with the depth of soil and richness of vegetation on the banks of the Nile, or with the carpet of flowers described[2] on the banks of the Chebar, Palestine seems poor and bare. But as compared with the whole surrounding country in the midst of which it stands, it is unquestionably a fertile land in the midst of barrenness. The impression on entering it from the south has been already described.[3] The Desert often encroaches upon it—the hills of Anti-Libanus which overhang the plain of Damascus, and those which bound Judæa on the east, are as truly parts of the wilderness as Sinai itself. But the interior of the country is never entirely destitute of the signs of life, and the long tracts of Esdraelon, and the sea-coast and the plain of Gennesareth, are, or might be, as rich with gardens and with cornfields as the most favoured spots in Egypt. And there is, moreover, this peculiarity which distinguishes Palestine from the only countries with which it could then be brought into comparison. Chaldæa and Egypt—the latter of course in an eminent degree—depend on the course of single rivers. Without the Nile, and the utmost use of the waters of the Nile, Egypt would be a desert.

with Assyria;

and with Egypt.

[1] The Emperor Napoleon, in his remarks on the short-lived character of Asiatic dynasties, ascribes it to the fact that Asia is surrounded by deserts, which furnish a never-ceasing supply of barbarian hordes to overthrow the seats of civilised power reared within their reach. (*Memoires.* Eng. Tran. vol. ii. 265.)

[2] Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 269, 273, 308.

[3] See Chapter I. Part ii. p. 100.

But Palestine is well distinguished not merely as "a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates, of oil-olive and honey," but emphatically as "a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of 'plains' and 'mountains'"—"not as the land of Egypt, where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but as a land of 'mountains' and 'plains,' which drinketh water of the rain of heaven."[1] This mountainous character—this abundance of water both from natural springs and from the clouds of heaven, in contradistinction to the one uniform supply of the great river; this abundance of "milk" from its "cattle on a thousand hills," of "honey" from its forests and its thymy shrubs, was absolutely peculiar to Palestine amongst the civilised nations of the East. Feeble as its brooks might be,—though, doubtless, they were then more frequently filled than now—yet still it was the only country where an Eastern could have been familiar with the image of the Psalmist: "He sendeth the springs into the valleys, which run among the 'mountains.'"[2] Those springs, too, however short-lived, are remarkable for their copiousness and beauty. Not only not in the East, but hardly in the West, can any fountains and sources of streams be seen so clear, so full-grown even at their birth, as those which fall into the Jordan and its lakes through its whole course from north to south. Wales or Westmoreland are, doubtless, not regarded as fertile regions; and the green fields of England, to those who have come fresh from Palestine, seem, by way of contrast, to be indeed "a land of promise." But transplant Wales or Westmoreland into the heart of the Desert, and they would be far more to the inhabitant of the Desert than to their inhabitants are the richest spots of England. Far more: both because the contrast is in itself greater, and because the phenomena of a mountain country, with wells and springs, are of a kind almost unknown to the dwellers in the deserts or river-plains of the East.

Palestine therefore, not merely by its situation, but by

[1] Deut. viii. 7, 8; xi. 10, 11.

[2] Ps. civ. 10.

its comparative fertility, might well be considered the prize of the Eastern world, the possession of which was the mark of God's peculiar favour; the spot for which the nations would contend: as on a smaller scale the Bedouin tribes for some "diamond of the desert"—some "palm-grove islanded amid the waste." And a land of which the blessings were so evidently the gift of God, not, as in Egypt,[1] of man's labour, which also, by reason of its narrow extent, was so constantly within reach and sight of the neighbouring Desert, was eminently calculated to raise the thoughts of the nation to the Supreme Giver of all these blessings, and to bind it by the dearest ties to the land which He had so manifestly favoured.[2]

Variety of structure and climate.

VI. What has been already said is enough to indicate the extraordinary variety of structure and temperature exhibited in the Holy Land. It is said by Volney,[3] and apparently with justice, that there is no district on the face of the earth which contains so many and such sudden transitions. Such a country furnished at once the natural theatre of a history and a literature, which was destined to spread into nations accustomed to the most various climates and imagery. There must of course, under any circumstances, be much in the history of any nation, eastern or western, northern or southern, which, to other quarters of the world, will be more or less unintelligible. Still it is easy to conceive that whatever difficulty is presented to European or American minds by the sacred writings, might have been greatly aggravated had the Bible come into existence in a country more limited in its outward imagery than is the case with Palestine. If the Valley of the Nile or the Arabian Desert had witnessed the whole of the sacred history, it is impossible not to feel how widely separated it would have been from the ordinary European mind; how small a portion of our feelings and imaginations would have

[1] Compare the remarks of the Emperor Napoleon on Egypt. *Memoirs*, vol. ii. 211. (Eng. Tran.) "The plains of Beaune and Brie in Champagne are fecundated by regular waterings from the rains. Government has, in this respect, no influence there. But in Egypt, where the irrigations can only be artificial, government is everything."

[2] See Ewald, Geschichte, 2nd Edit. vol. i. p. 296.

[3] See Ritter; Jordan, p. 350.

been represented by it. The truths might have been the same, but the forms in which they were clothed would have affected only a few here and there, leaving the great mass untouched. But as it is, we have the life of a Bedouin tribe, of an agricultural people, of seafaring cities; the extremes of barbarism and of civilisation; the aspects of plain and of mountain; of a tropical, of an eastern, and almost of a northern climate. In Egypt there is a continual contact of desert and cultivated land; in Greece, there is a constant intermixture of the views of sea and land; in the ascent and descent of the great mountains of South America there is an interchange of the torrid and the arctic zones; in England, there is an alternation of wild hills and valleys with rich fields and plains. But in Palestine all these are combined. The Patriarchs could here gradually exchange the nomadic life for the pastoral, and then for the agricultural, passing almost insensibly from one to the other as the Desert melts imperceptibly into the hills of Palestine. Ishmael and Esau could again wander back into the sandy waste which lay at their very doors.[1] The scape-goat could still be sent from the temple-courts into the uninhabited wilderness.[2] John, and a greater than John, could return in a day's journey from the busiest haunts of men into the solitudes beyond the Jordan.[3] The various tribes could find their several occupations of shepherds, of warriors, of traffickers, according as they were settled on the margin of the Desert, in the mountain fastnesses, or on the shore of the Mediterranean. The sacred poetry, which was to be the delight and support of the human mind and the human soul in all regions of the world, embraced within its range the natural features of almost every country. The venerable poet of our own mountain regions used to dwell with genuine emotion on the pleasure he felt in the reflection that the Psalmists and Prophets dwelt in a mountainous country, and enjoyed its beauty as truly as himself. The devotions of our great maritime empire find a natural expression

[1] See Chapter I. Part ii. p. 100.
[2] Lev. xvi. 22.
[3] See Chapters X. and XIII.

in the numerous allusions, which no inland situation could have permitted, to the roar of the Mediterranean sea, breaking over the rocks of Acre and Tyre,—"the floods lift up their voice, the floods lift up their waves," —the "great and wide sea," whose blue waters could be seen from the top of almost every mountain, "wherein are things creeping innumerable." There go the Phœnician "ships" with their white sails, and "there is that Leviathan," the monster of the deep, which both Jewish and Grecian fancy was wont to place in the inland ocean, which was to them all, and more than all, that the Atlantic is to us. Thither "they went down" from their mountains, and "did their business in ships," in the "great waters," and saw the "wonders" of the "deep"; and along those shores were the "havens," few and far between, "where they would be" when "the storm became calm, and the waves thereof were still."[1] And with these milder, and to us more familiar images, were blended the more terrible, as well as the more beautiful forms, of tropical and eastern life. There was the earthquake and possibly the volcano. "He looketh on the earth and it trembleth—He toucheth the mountains and they smoke."[2] "The mountains shall be molten under Him, and the valleys shall be cleft as wax before the fire, and as the waters that are poured down a steep place."[3] There was the hurricane, with its thick darkness, and the long continuous roll of the oriental thunderstorm. "He bowed the Heavens and came down, and there was darkness under His feet. . . . He rode upon the wings of the wind: . . . The Lord thundered out of heaven, and the Highest gave His voice, hailstones and coals of fire. . . . The voice of the Lord divideth the flames of fire."[4] Hermon, with his snowy summit always in sight, furnished the images which else could hardly have been looked for,—"snow and vapours,"—"snow like wool," "hoar-frost like ashes"—"ice like morsels."[5] From the jungle of the Jordan valley and the wild mountains of Judah, came the "lions roaring after their prey."[6] And then

[1] Ps. civ. 26; cvii. 23—30.
[2] Ps. civ. 32.
[3] Micah, i. 4.
[4] Ps. xviii. 9; xxix. 7.
[5] Ps. cxlvii. 16; cxlviii. 8.
[6] Ps. civ. 21; Jer. xlix. 19; 1 Sam. xvii. 34.

again, the upland hills experienced all the usual alternations of the seasons; the "rain descending on the mown grass," the "early and the latter rain," the mountains "watered from His chambers, the earth satisfied with the fruit of His works;"[1] which, though not the same as the ordinary returns of a European climate, were yet far more like it than could be found in Egypt, Arabia, or Assyria.

Such instances of the variety of Jewish experience in Palestine, as contrasted with that of any other country, might easily be multiplied. But enough has been said to show its fitness for the history or the poetry of a nation with a universal destiny, and to indicate one at least of the methods by which that destiny was fostered; the sudden contrasts of the various aspects of life and death, sea and land, verdure and desert, storm and calm, heat and cold, which, so far as any natural means could assist, cultivated what has been well called the "variety in unity," so characteristic of the sacred books of Israel; so unlike those of India, of Persia, of Egypt, of Arabia.

Palestine, a mountain-country.

VII. Amidst this great diversity of physical features, undoubtedly the one which most prevails over the others is its mountainous character. As a general rule, Palestine is not merely a mountainous country, but a mass of mountains, rising from a level sea-coast on the west, and from a level desert on the east, only cut asunder by the valley of the Jordan from north to south, and by the valley of Jezreel from east to west. The result of this peculiarity is, that not merely the hill-tops, but the valleys and plains of the interior of Palestine, both east and west, are themselves so high above the level of the sea, as to partake of all the main characteristics of mountainous history and scenery. Jerusalem is of nearly the same elevation as Skiddaw, and most of the chief cities of Palestine are several hundred feet above the Mediterranean Sea.

"Aram."

1. Many expressions of the Old and New Testaments have immediate reference to this configuration of the country, the more remarkable from its contrast with the

[1] Ps. lxxii. 6, civ. 13. Compare Deut. xi. 14, xxxii. 2.

flat from which it rises on the east and south. This probably is at least one signification of the earliest name by which not Palestine alone, but the whole chain of mountains of which it is an offshoot, was called,—"Aram," or the "highlands," as distinguished from "Canaan," "the lowlands" or plain of the seacoast on the west, and the "Beka" or great plain of the Mesopotamian deserts on the east. "Aram,"[1] (or *Syria*, the word by which the Greeks translated the word into their own language,) seems to have been the general appellation of the whole sweep of mountains which enclose the western plains of Asia, and which were thus designated, like the various ranges of Maritime, Graian, Pennine, and Julian Alps, by some affix or epithet to distinguish one portion from another.

However this may be, there can be no doubt that in Palestine we are in the "Highlands" of Asia. This was the more remarkable in connection with the Israelites, because they were the only civilised nation then existing in the world, which dwelt in a mountainous country. The great states of Egypt, of Assyria, of India,[2] rose in the plains formed by the mighty rivers of those empires. The mountains from which those rivers descended were the haunts of the barbarian races who, from time to time, descended to conquer or ravage these rich and level tracts. But the Hebrew people was raised above the other ancient

[1] "Aram-Naharaim," "the highlands of the two rivers," (the word translated "Mesopotamia" by the Greek, the Latin, and the English versions), Gen. xxiv. 10, Deut. xxiii. 4, Judges iii. 8, 1 Chron. xix. 6, is applied to the mountains from which the Euphrates and Tigris issue into the plain. It is also described, in Numb. xxiii. 7, as "*Aram*, the *mountains* of the East." "Padan-Aram" is "the cultivated field of the highlands," Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 2, 5, 6, 7, xlviii. 7; apparently either an upland vale in the hills, or a fertile district immediately at their feet. That this is the meaning of "Padan," appears both from its derivation from "Padah" ="plough"—(see Gesenius, *in voce*)—and from the equivalent "Sadeh"= "cultivated field"—*arvum*,—used for it in Hosea xii. 12 (though here translated 'country'). "Aram of Damascus," (2 Sam. viii. 6) is "the highlands above Damascus," to which, in later times, the word "Aram," ("Syria") became almost entirely restricted, as in Isa. vii. 1, 8; Amos i. 5; 1 Kings xv. 18; and so the lesser principalities of the same region are called "Aram Zobah," "Aram Maachah," "Aram Beth-Rehob." To Palestine itself it is never applied in the Scriptures, but the constant designation of the country by Greek writers (see Reland, cap. viii.), is "Syria Palæstina," which, in its Hebrew equivalent, would be "Aram Philistim." For the meaning of *Syria*, see Chapter VI.

[2] See the fact well given in Hegel's Philosophy of History, c. 1.

states, equally in its moral and in its physical relations. From the Desert of Arabia to Hebron is a continual ascent, and from that ascent there is no descent of any importance except to the plains of the Jordan, Esdraelon, and the coast.[1] To "go down into Egypt," to "go up into Canaan," were expressions as true as they are frequent in the account of the Patriarchal migrations to and fro between the two countries. From a mountain sanctuary, as it were, Israel looked over the world. "The mountain of the Lord's house,"—"established on the tops of the mountains,"—"exalted above the hills,"—to which "all nations should go up,"[2] was the image in which the prophets delighted to represent the future glory of their country. When "the Lord had a controversy with his people," it was to be "before the mountains and the hills," and "the strong foundations of the earth."[3] When the messengers of glad tidings returned from the captivity, their feet were "beautiful upon the mountains."[4] It was to the "mountains" of Israel that the exile lifted up his eyes, as the place "from whence his help came."[5] To the oppressed it was "the mountains" that brought "judgment, and the hills righteousness."[6] "My mountains"—"my holy mountain,"[7]—are expressions for the whole country.[8]

The views of Sacred History.

One striking consequence of this elevation of the whole mass of the country is that every high point in it commands a prospect of greater extent than is common in ordinary mountain districts. On almost every eminence there is an opportunity for one of those wide views or surveys which abound in the history of Palestine, and which, more than anything else, connect together our impression of events and of the scene on which they were enacted. There are first the successive views of Abraham; as when on "the mountain east of Bethel," "Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan,"—

Of Lot,

[1] See Chapter I. Part ii. p. 102.
[2] Isa. ii. 2, 3.
[3] Micah. vi. 1, 2.
[4] Isa. lii. 7.
[5] Ps. cxxi. 1.
[6] Ps. lxxii. 3.
[7] Isa. xi 9; xiv. 25; lvii. 13; lxv. 9.
[8] This whole aspect of the country is caught by Rauwulf with intelligence remarkable for so early a traveller (Travels, p. 220, 221).

Abraham, and Abraham "lifted up his eyes, and looked from the place where he was, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward;"[1] or again, when "Abraham looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah . . . and beheld, and lo the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace;" or yet again, when "he lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off in the land of Moriah."[2] In the later history there is unfolded still more distinctly the view of Balaam from the "high places of Moab," where Balaam, "from the top of the rocks he saw," "from the hills he beheld," not only "the tents of Jacob" and the "tabernacles of Israel," with their future greatness rising far in the distance, but the surrounding nations also, whose fate was interwoven with theirs—and he thought of Edom and Seir, and "looked on Amalek," and "looked on the Kenite."[3] And close upon this follows the view—the most famous in all time, the proverb of all languages—when from that same spot—"the field of Zophim on the top of Pisgah,"[4]—Moses, from "the mountain of Moses; Nebo, the top of Pisgah," saw "all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Naphthali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar."[5] Such, too, in vision, was the "very high mountain, in the land of Israel," from which Ezekiel saw the "frame of the city," and "the waters issuing to the east country," "the desert," and "the sea."[6] Such—in vision, also—was the mountain "exceeding high," which and of the Temptation. revealed on the day of the Temptation "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them."[7] Such—not in vision, but in the most certain reality, was that double view of Jerusalem from Mount Olivet—the first, when, at the sudden turn of the road from Bethany, "He beheld the city, and wept over it," the second, when "He sat on the

[1] Gen. xiii. 10, 14. See Chapter IV.
[2] Gen. xix. 28; xxii. 4. See Chapters V. VI.
[3] Numb. xxii. 41; xxiii. 9; xxiv. 5. 17, 18, 20, 21. See Chapter VII.
[4] Numb. xxiii. 14.
[5] Deut. xxxiv. 1—3. See Chapter VII.
[6] Ezek. xl. 2; xlvii. 8. See Chapter VII.
[7] Matt. iv. 8. See Chapter VIII.

Mount of Olives, over against the Temple," and saw those "great buildings." [1]

Other prospects such as of Jacob from Mahanaim, of Deborah from Mount Tabor, of Solomon from Gibeon, though not detailed, can well be imagined; others, again, though belonging to later times, are yet full of interest—the view, whether historical or legendary, of Mahomet [2] over Damascus; the view of Jerusalem, as Titus saw it from the heights of Scopus, or as it burst, eleven centuries later, on the Crusading armies at the same spot, or as the pilgrims beheld it from "Montjoye." [3]

To all these I shall return in detail as we come to them in their several localities. No other history contains so many of these points of contact between the impressions of life and the impressions of outward scenery. But, besides this imaginative result, if one may so say, the mountainous character of Palestine is intimately connected with its history, both religious and political.

2. The infinite multiplication of these hills renders intelligible two points constantly recurring in the history of the Jewish people—the "fenced cities" and the "high places." From the earliest times of the occupation of the country by a civilised and stationary people, we hear of the cities great and "walled *up to heaven*," which terrified the Israelite spies; of the "fenced cities" attacked by Sennacherib, of the various hill-forts, Jotapata, Masada, Bether, which in the last Jewish wars held out against the Roman forces. This is still the appearance of the existing villages or ruined cities, chiefly indeed in Judæa, but also throughout the country, in this respect more like the towns of the aboriginal inhabitants of Italy—"præruptis oppida saxis"—than those of any other country. A city in a valley, instead of being as elsewhere the rule, is here the exception; every valley has its hill, and on that hill a city is set that "cannot be hid." From still earlier times, the same tendency is observable in their religious history. These multiplied heights were so

The Fenced cities:

[1] Luke xix. 41; Mark xiii. 2. See Chapter III.

[2] See Chapter XII.

[3] See Chapter IV.

and High Places.

many natural altars: at Bethel,[1] on Moriah,[2] at Dan,[3] at Gibeon,[4] on Mount Zion,[5] on Olivet,[6] altars were successively erected. The national worship down to the time of Hezekiah may almost be said to have been a religion of high places. There was no one height of itself sufficient to command universal acquiescence. In this equality of mountains, all were alike eligible.

Political divisions and conquests.

3. Again, the combination of this mass of hills with its border plains and with the deserts from which it rises, has deeply affected its political and military history. The allocation of the particular portions of Palestine to its successive inhabitants, will best appear as we proceed. But the earliest and most fundamental distributions of territory are according to the simple division of the country into its highlands and lowlands. "The Amalekites," that is, the Bedouin tribes, "dwell in the land of the south," that is, on the desert frontier,—"and the Hittites and the Jebusites and the Amorites dwell in the mountains," that is, the central mass of hills—"and the Canaanites dwell by the sea and by the 'side' of Jordan,"[7] that is, on the western and eastern plains. And of the early inhabitants thus enumerated, those who at least by their names are brought into the sharpest geographical contrast, are the Amorites or "dwellers on the summits," and the Canaanites or "lowlanders."[8]

Highlands and lowlands.

But it is in the history of the conquest of Palestine, that this peculiarity is most strongly brought out. In most countries which consist of mountains and lowlands, two historical results are observable; first, that, in the case of invasion, the aboriginal inhabitants are driven to the mountains, and the plains have fallen into the hands of the conquerors; secondly, that, in the case of semi-barbarous countries so situated, the plains are the secure, the mountains the insecure parts of the region. In Palestine, both these results are reversed. Although some few of the

[1] Gen. xii. 8.
[2] Gen. xxii. 4.
[3] Judges xviii. 30.
[4] 1 Kings iii. 4; 2 Chron. i. 3.
[5] 2 Sam. vi. 17.
[6] 2 Sam. xv. 32; 1 Kings xi. 7.
[7] Numb. xiii. 29. Compare Joshua xi. 3.
[8] See Ewald (2nd edit.), i. 315; and Gesenius, *in vocibus*. Compare Deut. i, 7, 19, 20, 44, "The mountain of the Amorites."

ancient Amorite tribes, such as the Jebusites, retained their strongholds in the hills for many years after the first conquest of Joshua, yet by far the majority of instances recorded as resisting the progress of the conquerors are in the plains. The hills of Judah and Ephraim were soon occupied, but "Manasseh could not drive out the inhabitants of Bethshan, . . nor Taanach, . . nor Dor, . . . nor Ibleam, . . . nor Megiddo, . . [from the plains of Esdraelon and Sharon], but the Canaanites would dwell in the land. Neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho, . . nor of Zidon, . . nor . . of Achzib . . [in the bay of Acre, and the coast of Phœnicia] . . but the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land, for they did not drive them out."[1] "And the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the mountain, for they would not suffer them to come down into the valley. But the Amorites would dwell in Mount Heres in Aijalon and Shaalbim, yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributaries."[2] We are not left to conjecture as to one at least of the reasons. "The Lord was with Judah, and he drave out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley—*because they had chariots of iron.*"[3] The Israelites were a nation of infantry. Their nomadic life, in this respect, differing from that of the modern Bedouins, was without horses; and even after their settlement in Palestine, horses and chariots were unknown as a national possession until the reign of Solomon. The Canaanites, on the contrary, were famous for their chariots. One chief alone is described as possessing "nine hundred;"[4] and even after the partial introduction of them during the Jewish monarchy, the contrast between the infantry of the Israelites and the chariots of the armies from Damascus, suggested the same comparison that might have been made by the Canaanites in the days of Joshua. "Their gods are gods of the 'mountains;' therefore they are stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the 'level,' and surely we shall

[1] Judges i. 27—32.
[2] Ibid. 34.
[3] Judges i. 19. See also Josh. xvii. 16.
[4] Jabin: Judges, iv. 3.

be stronger than they." A glance at the description of Palestine given above, will show how exactly this tallies with the actual results. Roads for wheeled vehicles are now unknown in any part of Palestine; and in the earlier history they are very rarely mentioned as a general means of communication. The "chariots"[1] of Jehu and of Ahab are only described as driven along the plain of Esdraelon. Under the Romans, indeed, the same astonishing genius for road-making which carried the Via Flaminia through the Apennines, and has left traces of itself in the narrow pass of the Scironian rocks, may have increased the facilities of communication in Palestine, and hence, perhaps, the mention of the chariot-road through the pass from Jerusalem to Gaza,[2] where the Ethiopian met Philip. But under ordinary circumstances, they must have always been more or less impracticable in the mountain regions. It was in the plains, accordingly, that the enemies of Israel were usually successful.

Another cause, not indeed for the success of the Canaanites' resistance, but for the tenacity with which they clung to the plains, is to be seen in their great superiority both for agricultural and nomadic purposes to anything in the hills of Judæa or Ephraim. "Judah," we are told, at first "took Gaza, and Askelon, and Ekron." But these cities, with their coasts, soon fell again into the hands of the Philistines, whether the old inhabitants, or, as there is some reason to think, a new race of settlers, subsequent to the first conquest. And then, for more than four centuries, a struggle was maintained till the reign of David. It was the richest portion of the country, and the Philistines might well fight for it to the last gasp. In the same way, Tyre and Sidon, Accho and Gaza, cared but little for the new comers, if they could but retain their hold on the corn-fields and the sea.[3]

Distinction between

And this brings us to the other peculiarity which distinguishes Palestine at the present day, from other half-

[1] The only exceptions are the chariots in which the royal corpses were carried to Samaria and Jerusalem. 1 Kings xxii. 38; 2 Kings ix. 28, xxiii. 30.

[2] Acts viii. 28. [3] See Chapter VI.

civilised regions. In Greece and Italy and Spain, it is the mountainous tract which is beset with banditti—the level country which is safe. In Palestine, on the contrary, the mountain tracts are comparatively secure, though infested by villages of hereditary ruffians here and there; but the plains, with hardly an exception, are more or less dangerous. Perhaps the most striking contrast is the passage from the Haurân and plain of Damascus, to the uplands of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, with their quiet villages, and fruit-gardens, breathing an atmosphere almost of European comfort and security. The cause is soon told. Palestine, as we have before seen, is an island in a desert waste—but from this very fact it is also an island in the midst of pirates. The Bedouin tribes are the corsairs of the wilderness; the plains which run into the mountains are the creeks into which they naturally penetrate. Far up the plains of Philistia and Sharon come the Arabs of the Tîh; deep into the centre of Palestine, into the plain of Esdraelon, especially when the harvest has left the fields clear for pasturage, come the Arabs of the Haurân and of Gilead. The same levels which of old gave an opening to the chariots of the Canaanites, now admit the inroad of these wandering shepherds. On one occasion, even in ancient times, there was a migration of Bedouins into Palestine on a gigantic scale; when the Midianites and Amalekites, and children of the east, encamped against the Israelites in the maritime plain, "with their cattle and their tents," and "pitched" their tents in Esdraelon, and "lay along the valley like grasshoppers for multitude."[1] This, doubtless, was a great exception, and in the flourishing times of the Jewish Monarchy and of the Roman Empire, the hordes of the Desert were kept out, or were, as in the case of the tribes of Petra in the time of the Herods, brought within the range of a partial civilisation. But now, like the sands of their own deserts which engulf the monuments of Egypt, no longer defended by a watchful and living population, they have broken in upon the country far and near;

Palestine and other half civilised countries.

[1] Judges vi. 3, 5, 33; vii. 12. See Chapter IX.

and in the total absence of solitary dwelling-places—in the gathering together of all the settled inhabitants into villages,—and in the walls which, as at Jerusalem, enclose the cities round, with locked gates and guarded towers—we see the effect of the constant terror which they inspire. It is the same peculiarity of Eastern life, as was exhibited in its largest proportions in the vast fortifications with which Nineveh and Babylon shut themselves in against the attacks of the Bedouins of the Assyrian Desert, and in the great wall which still defends the Chinese empire against the Mongolian tribes, who are to the civilisation of northern Asia, what the Arabs are to that of the south.

Scenery of Palestine.

VIII. What has already been said of the physical configuration of the country, must to a great extent have anticipated what can be said of its scenery. Yet the character of scenery depends so much on its form and colour, as well as its material—on its expression as well as its features—that, unless something more is said, we shall have but a faint image of what was presented to the view of Patriarch or Prophet, King or Psalmist. Those who describe Palestine as beautiful must have either a very inaccurate notion of what constitutes beauty of scenery, or must have viewed the country through a highly coloured medium. As a general rule, not only is it without the two main elements of beauty—variety of outline and variety of colour—but the features rarely so group together as to form any distinct or impressive combination. The tangled and featureless hills of the lowlands of Scotland[1] and North Wales are perhaps the nearest likeness accessible to Englishmen, of the general landscape of Palestine south of the plain of Esdraelon.

Character of hills.

1. Rounded hills, chiefly of a gray colour[2]—gray partly from the limestone of which they are all formed, partly from the tufts of gray shrub with which their sides are thinly clothed, and from the prevalence of the olive—

[1] Compare Miss Martineau, Eastern Life, Part III. c. 1. Dr. Richardson compares the approach from Jaffa to the road between Sanquhar and Leadhill (ii. 223).

[2] This gray colour is exchanged for white in the hills immediately eastward of Jerusalem. See Chapter I. Part ii. p. 102.

their sides formed into concentric rings of rock, which must have served in ancient times as supports to the terraces, of which there are still traces to their very summits; valleys, or rather the meetings of these gray slopes with the beds of dry watercourses at their feet —long sheets of bare rock [1] laid like flagstones, side by side, along the soil—these are the chief features of the greater part of the scenery of the historical parts of Palestine.[2] In such a landscape the contrast of every exception is doubly felt. The deep shade of the mountain wall beyond the Jordan,—or again the level plains of the coast and of Esdraelon, each cut out of the mountains as if with a knife,—become striking features where all else is monotonous. The eye rests with peculiar eagerness on the few instances in which the gentle depressions become deep ravines, as in those about Jerusalem, or those leading down to the valley of the Jordan; or in which the mountains assume a bold and peculiar form, as Lebanon and Hermon at the head of the whole country, or Tabor, Nebi-Samuel, and the "Frank mountain," in the centre of the hills themselves.

Vegetation.

2. These rounded hills, occasionally stretching into long undulating ranges, are for the most part bare of wood. Forest and large timber (with a few exceptions, hereafter to be mentioned,) are not known. Cornfields and, in the neighbourhood of Christian populations as at Bethlehem,[3] vineyards creep along the ancient terraces. In the spring, the hills and valleys are covered with thin grass and the aromatic shrubs which clothe more or less almost the whole of Syria and Arabia. But they also glow with what is peculiar to Palestine, a profusion of wild flowers, daisies, the white flower called the Star of Bethlehem, but especially with a blaze of scarlet flowers of all kinds, chiefly anemones, wild tulips, and poppies.[4] Of all the ordinary aspects of the country,

[1] Well described by Richardson, ii. 374.

[2] Keith, in his Land of Israel, has exactly caught this character. "The rounded and rocky hills of Judæa swell out in empty, unattractive, and even repulsive barrenness, with nothing to relieve the eye or captivate the fancy." (P. 429.) See Appendix, in v. *Gibeah*.

[3] Well described in Lynch's Expedition, p. 225.

[4] See Chap. I. Part ii. p. 100.

this blaze of scarlet colour is perhaps the most peculiar; and, to those who first enter the Holy Land, it is no wonder that it has suggested the touching and significant name of "the Saviour's blood-drops."

It is this contrast between the brilliant colours of the flowers and the sober hue of the rest of the landscape, that gives force to the words,—"Consider the lilies of the field. . . For I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."[1] Whatever was the special flower designated by the lily of the field, the rest of the passage indicates that it was of the gorgeous hues which might be compared to the robes of the great king. The same remark applies, though in a less degree, to the frequent mention of the same flower in the Canticles,—"I am the rose of Sharon, the lily of the valleys," "as the lily among thorns," "he feedeth among the lilies," "he is gone to gather lilies."[2]

Trees. The same general bareness and poverty sets off in the same way the rare exceptions in the larger forms of vegetable life. The olive, the fig, and the pomegranate, which form the usual vegetation of the country, are so humble in stature, that they hardly attract the eye till the spectator is amongst them. Then indeed the twisted stems and silver foliage of the first, the dark broad leaf of the second, the tender green and scarlet blossoms of the third, are amongst the most beautiful of sights, even when stripped of the associations which would make the tamest of their kind venerable. On the lower slopes of the hills Olives. olives especially are more or less thickly scattered, with that peculiar colour and form which they share in common with those of Greece and of Italy; to English eyes, best represented by aged willows.[3] But there are a few trees which emerge from this general obscurity. Foremost Cedars: stand the cedars[4] of Lebanon. In ancient times the sides

[1] See Chapter XIII.

[2] Cant. ii. 1, 2, 16; vi. 2, 3.

[3] Those who have never seen an olive tree, must read the description in Ruskin's Stones of Venice. Vol. iii. p. 175—177.

[4] With the exception of the cedars, I have confined myself in this enumeration strictly to the trees of Palestine. But it is worth while to notice that the foliage of Anti-Libanus is chiefly that of the light poplar, so frequent on the table-lands of Spain; of Lebanon, that of the pine—whether the mountain pine, or

of that mountain were covered with them. Now, they are only found in one small hollow on its north-western slope. But there can be little doubt that they were always confined to the range of Lebanon, and therefore, properly speaking, were not trees of Palestine at all.[1] The expression of Keble,— Confined to Lebanon.

"Far o'er the cedar shade some tower of giant old,"

never could have been true of the woods and ruins of Judæa. It was the very remoteness of this noble tree, combined with its majestic height and sweeping branches, that made it, one may almost say, an object of religious reverence. It is hardly ever named without the addition, either of the lofty mountain where it grew,—"the cedars of Lebanon,"—or of some epithet implying its grandeur and glory,—"the trees of the Lord," the "cedars which He hath planted," "the tall cedars," "the cedars high and lifted up," "whose height is like the height of the cedars," "spread abroad like the cedar," "with fair branches," "with a shadowing shroud," "of an high stature," "his top among the thick boughs," "his height exalted above all the trees of the field," "his boughs multiplied, his branches long," "fair in his greatness," "in the length of his branches," "by the multitude of his branches."[2] These expressions clearly indicate that to them the cedar was a portent, a grand and awful work of God. The words would never have been used had it been a familiar sight amongst their ordinary gardens, as it is in ours. It is said that the clergy of the Greek Church still offer up mass under their branches, as though they formed a natural temple, and that the Arabs call them the "trees of God." This may now be a homage to the

the stone pine, such as the forest on the plains of Beyrout. See Keith's Scripture Lands. There is a beautiful passage in M. Van de Velde's Travels, describing the cypresses of Lebanon, which are occasionally mentioned in the Old Testament.

[1] It is not clear from the account in 1 Kings v. whether the cedars of Lebanon which Hiram's workmen cut down for Solomon, and sent on rafts to Joppa for the building of the temple, were within the Jewish dominions at that time or not. But the stress laid on the skill of the Sidonians as wood-cutters, and the fact that Solomon sent his own tax-gatherers there, perhaps implies that they were.

[2] Isa. ii. 13; xxxvii. 24; Amos, ii. 9 Ezek. xxxi. 3—10; Ps. xxix. 5; xcii. 13, civ. 16.

extreme antiquity of those which are left; but it may also be a continuation of the ancient feeling towards them which filled the hearts of the poets of Israel. Another more practical indication of their size, as compared to any Palestine timber, is the fact, that from the earliest times they have always been used for all the great works of Jewish architecture. They were so employed for Solomon's Temple, and again for the Temple of Zerubbabel, when nothing but sheer necessity could have induced the impoverished people to send so far for their timber.[1] They were used yet once again, probably for the last time, in Constantine's Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. When the ceiling of that ancient edifice was last repaired, the rafters were no longer from the forests of Lebanon, but gifts from our own oaks by King Edward IV.

Oaks.

Passing from these trees, which, secluded as they are in their retired nook on the heights of Lebanon, could therefore illustrate the scenery of Palestine only by contrast, we come to those, which must always have presented striking objects in the view, wherever they appeared. The first were those to which the Hebrews in Palestine emphatically gave the name of "the tree," or "the strong tree,"[2] namely, the "Turkish oak" ("el" or "elah," in Arabic *Sindian*,) and those to which the same name was given by a very slight variation of inflexion ("allon")

Terebinths.

—the turpentine or terebinth,—in Arabic *Butm*. The trees are different in kind; but their general appearance is so similar, as well as the name which the Hebrews (doubtless from this similarity) applied to both, that they may both be considered together.[3] Probably the most remarkable specimen of the oak which the traveller sees, is that called "the oak of Abraham," near Hebron, and of which an elaborate account is given by Dr. Robinson.[4] A familiar example of the terebinth is that at the north-west corner of the walls of Jerusalem,

Abraham's oak.

[1] Ezra iii 7.

[2] The same word, which in the Desert, is applied to the *Palm*; as in the proper names *Elim* and *Elath* (See Chapter I. p. 29), and in Chaldee to the tree of Daniel's vision.

[3] They are once expressly distinguished "as the terebinth (elah) and the oak" (allon). Isaiah vi. 13. But, on the other hand, they are also confounded; the same tree, apparently, which is called *elah* in Josh. xxiv. 26, being called *allon* in Gen. xxxv. 4.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 443.

which forms a marked object in any view including that portion of the city. They are both tall and spreading trees, with dark evergreen foliage; and by far the largest in height and breadth of any in Palestine. But these, too, are rare; and this also is indicated by the allusions to them in the Old Testament. In a less degree than the cedars of Lebánon, but more frequently, from their being brought into closer contact with the history of Israel, they are described as invested with a kind of religious sanctity, and as landmarks of the country, to a degree which would not be possible in more thickly wooded regions. Each successive step of the first patriarchal migration is marked by a halt under one or more of these towering trees. Under the oak of Moreh at Shechem, and the oak of Mamre at Hebron, was built the altar and pitched the tent of Abraham. And each of these aged trees became the centre of a long succession of historical recollection. Underneath the oak of Moreh, or its successor,[1] Jacob buried, as in a consecrated spot, the images and the ornaments of his Mesopotamian retainers. In the same place, as it would seem, did Joshua set up the "great stone" that was "by the sanctuary of the Lord;[2] and the tree, or the spot, appears to have been known in the time of the Judges, as the traditional site of these two events, by the double name of the "oak of the enchantments," and "the oak of the pillar."[3] Still more remarkable was the history of the "oak of Mamre." There are here indeed two rival claimants. The LXX, translating the word "allon" by δρῦς, evidently regards it as identical with *elah*, and therefore, as an oak; and it is curious that the only large tree now existing in the neighbourhood, is that already alluded to as the chief of a group of ilexes in the valley of Eshcol, about a mile from Hebron; and is, in all probability, the same, or in the same

Sacred trees:

Oak of Moreh,

of Mamre,

[1] Gen. xxxv. 4.

[2] Joshua xxiv. 26.

[3] Judges ix. 6, 37. In each case mistranslated 'plain,' from the Vulgate (*convallis*). In the second case Meonenim, signifies "enchantments," in allusion to Gen. xxxv. 4, where the earrings appear to have been amuleta, to prevent the entrance of ill-omened words, according to a practice reproved by St. Augustine amongst the Christians of Africa.

situation, as that alluded to in the twelfth century by Sæwulf, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth by Mandeville and Sanutus, as possessed of extraordinary virtues, and the subject of a singular legend. But the tradition in the time of Josephus was attached to a terebinth.[1] None such now remains; but there can be little doubt that it stood within the ancient enclosure which he mentions, and of which ruins still remain to the north of Hebron, under the name of "Abraham's house." It was a gigantic tree, supposed to be coeval with the creation. In the time of Constantine[2] it was hung with images and with a picture representing the Entertainment of the Angels—and underneath its shade was held a fair, in which Christians, Jews, and Arabs assembled every summer to traffic, and to honour, each with his own rites, the sacred tree and its accompanying figures. Constantine abolished the worship and the images, but the tree, with the fair, remained to the time of Theodosius.[3] It gave its name to the spot, and was still standing within the church which was built around it, till the seventh century; and in later times marvellous tales were told of its having sprung from the staff of one of the angelic visitants, and of its blazing with fire yet remaining always fresh.[4] It is said to have been burnt down in the seventeenth century.[5]

of Bethel, and of 'The wanderers.'

These are the two most remarkable of the trees mentioned. But there are also others: the "oak of Bethel," under which Deborah, the nurse of Jacob, was interred, known by the name of the "terebinth of tears;"[6] the "oaks of the wanderers," under which the nomad tribe of the Kenites was encamped in the north.[7] And in all these cases, as they had at first been marked out as natural resting-places for the patriarchal or Arab encampments, so they were afterwards in all probability the sacred trees and the sacred groves under which altars were built,

[1] Josephus, Bell. Jud. iv. 9, 7.
[2] Eusebius, Vit. Const. 81; Demonst. Ev. v. 9.
[3] Socrates, i. 18; Sozomen, Jud. xi. (Reland, pp. 713, 714.)
[4] Eustathius and Julius Africanus. (Reland, p. 712.)
[5] Mariti.
[6] Allon-Bachuth. Gen. xxxv. 8. where "*an* oak," should be "*the* oak."
[7] "The plain (oaks) of Zaanaim." Judges, iv. 11.

partly to the True God, partly to Astarte. One such grove, apparently with the remains of a sacred edifice, exists at Hazori, near Baneas; another, of singular beauty, on the hill of the lesser sources of the Jordan, at the ancient sanctuary of Dan.[1]

These instances are all more or less isolated There is one district, however, where the oaks flourished and still flourish in such abundance as to constitute almost a forest. On the table-lands of Gilead are the thick oak-woods of Bashan, often alluded to in the Prophets,[2] as presenting the most familiar image of forest scenery—famous in history, as the scene of the capture and death of Absalom, when he was caught amongst their tangled branches.

Another tree, which breaks the uniformity of the Syrian landscape by the rarity of its occurrence, no less than by its beauty, is the Palm. It is a curious fact that this stately tree, so intimately connected with our associations of Judæa by the Roman coins, which represent her seated in captivity under its shade, is now almost unknown to her hills and valleys. Two or three in the garden of Jerusalem, some few perhaps at Nablous, one or two in the plain of Esdraelon—comprise nearly all the instances of the palm in central Palestine. In former times it was doubtless more common. In the valley of the Jordan, one of the most striking features used to be the immense palm-grove, seven miles long, which surrounded Jericho;—of which large remains were[1] still visible in the seventh century and the twelfth, some even in the seventeenth;[3] and of which relics are still to be seen, in the trunks of palms washed up on the shores of the Dead Sea,[4]—preserved by the salt with which a long submersion in those strange waters has impregnated them. En-gedi, too, on the western side of the same lake, was known in early times as Hazazon-Tamar,[5] "the felling of palm-trees." Now not one[6] is to be seen in the deep thicket which surrounds its spring, and at Palms.

[1] See Chapter XI.
[2] Isa. ii. 13; Ezek. xxvii. 6.
[3] Arculf. (Early Travellers, p. 7.) Sæwulf (ibid. p. 23.) Shaw. p. 370.
[4] Macmichael's Journey, p. 207. See Chapter VII.
[5] Gen. xiv. 7; 2 Chr. xx. 2.
[6] Robinson, vol. ii. p. 211.

Jericho even the solitary palm, for many years observed by travellers as the only remnant of its former glory, has disappeared. On Olivet, too, where now nothing is to be seen, but the olive and the fig-tree, there must have been at least some palms in ancient days. In the time of Ezra they went forth unto the mount to fetch for the Feast of Tabernacles "olive-branches, and pine-branches, and myrtle-branches, and palm-branches, and branches of thick trees."[1] "Bethany" in all probability derives its name, "the house of dates," from the same cause, and with this agrees the fact that the crowd which escorted our Lord to Jerusalem from Bethany "took branches of palm-trees."[2] Still, it is probable that even then the palm was rarely found on the high land which forms the main portion of historical Palestine. It is emphatically, as we have seen in the account of Sinai, the "tree" of the Desert. It is always spoken of in Rabbinical writers as a tree of the valleys,[3] not of the mountains. It grows naturally, and were it cultivated, might doubtless grow again in the tropical climate of the Valley of the Jordan. It is still found in great abundance on the maritime plains of Philistia and Phœnicia; and doubtless from the palm-groves, which still strike the eye of the traveller in the neighbourhood of Jaffa and Beyrout, and which there probably first met the eye of the Western world, whether Greek, Roman, or Mediæval, came the name of Phœnicia or "the Land of Palms."[4] Hence too, at least in recent times, came the branches, which distinguished the pilgrims of Palestine, from those of Rome, Compostella and Canterbury, by the name of "Palmer." But the climate of the hill country must always have been too cold for their frequent growth.[5] Those on Olivet most likely were in gardens; the very fact of the name of the "City of Palm-trees," applied as a distinguishing epithet to Jericho—the allusion to the palm-tree of En-gedi, as though found there and not

[1] Nehemiah, viii. 15. For the myrtle trees on or near the same spot at the same period compare the "myrtle trees that were in the bottom," Zech. i. 8, 10, 11.

[2] John, xii. 13.

[3] See Reland's Palestine, 306, 868.

[4] See Chapter VI.

[5] Buckingham, p. 217.

elsewhere—the mention of the palm-tree of Deborah at Bethel,[1] as a well-known and solitary landmark—probably the same spot as that called Baal-Tamar,[2] "the sanctuary of the palm"—all indicate that the palm was on the whole then, as now, the exception and not the rule.

Sycomores.

Combined with the palm in ancient times was the Sycomore. This too was a tree of the plain,[3]—chiefly of the plain of the sea-coast—also, as we know by one celebrated instance,[4] in the plains of Jericho. As Jericho derived its name from the palms, so did Sycominopolis—the modern Caipha,—from the grove of sycomores, some of which still remain in its neighbourhood.

Oleanders.

There is one other tree, which is only to be found on the tropical banks of the Jordan, but too beautiful to be omitted; the Oleander, with its bright blossoms and dark-green leaves, giving the aspect of a rich garden to any spot where it grows. It is, however, never alluded to in the Scriptures, unless, as has been conjectured, it is the "tree planted by *the 'streams' of water*, which bringeth forth his fruit in due season," and "whose *leaf shall not wither*."[5]

Geological features of Palestine.

IX. The geological structure of Palestine, as of Greece, is almost entirely limestone. The few exceptions are in the Valley of the Jordan, which must be considered in its own place. This rocky character of the whole country has not been without its historical results.

Wells,

1. Not only does the thirsty character of the whole East give a peculiar expression to any places where water may be had; but the rocky soil preserves their identity, and the wells of Palestine serve as the links by which each successive age is bound to the other, in a manner which at first sight would be thought almost incredible. The name by which they are called of itself indicates their permanent character. The "well" of the Hebrew and the Arab is carefully distinguished

[1] Judges iv. 5. [2] Judges xx. 33.

[3] "Cedars made he as the sycomore trees in the vale (Shefela: *i.e.* the low country of Philistia) for abundance:" 1 Kings x. 27, and 2 Chr. i. 15; ix. 27; also 1 Chr. xxvii. 28. See also the Mishna quoted in Reland's Palestine, pp. 306, 368.

[4] Luke xix. 4.

[5] Ps. i. 3. See Ritter, Jordan, p. 301.

and Springs.

from the "spring." The *spring* (*'ain*) is the bright, open source—the "*eye*" of the landscape—such as bubbles up amongst the crags of Sinai, or rushes forth in a copious stream from En-gedi or from Jericho. But the *well* (*beer*) is the deep hole *bored* far under the rocky surface by the art of man—the earliest traces of that art which these regions exhibit. By these orifices at the foot of the hills, surrounded by their broad margin of smooth stone or marble—a rough mass of stone covering the top—have always been gathered whatever signs of animation or civilisation the neighbourhood afforded. They were the scenes of the earliest contentions of the shepherd-patriarchs with the inhabitants of the land; the places of meeting with the women who came down to draw water from their rocky depths—of Eliezer with Rebecca, of Jacob with Rachel, of Moses with Zipporah, of Christ with the woman of Samaria. They were the natural halting-places of great caravans, or wayfaring men, as when Moses gathered together the people to the well of Moab, which the princes dug with their sceptered staves,[1] and therefore the resort of the plunderers of the Desert, of "the noise of archers in the places of drawing water."[2] What they were ages ago in each of these respects they are still. The shepherds may still be seen leading their flocks of sheep and goats to their margin; the women still come with their pitchers and talk to those "who sit by the well;" the traveller still looks forward to it as his resting-place for the night, if it be in a place of safety; or, if it be in the neighbourhood of the wilder Bedouins, is hurried on by his dragoman or his escort without halting a moment; and thus, by their means, not only is the image of the ancient life of the country preserved, but the scenes of sacred events are identified, which under any other circumstances would have perished. The wells of Beersheba in the wide frontier-valley of Palestine are indisputable witnesses of the life of Abraham.[3] The well of Jacob, at Shechem, is a monument of the earliest and of the latest events

[1] Numb. xxi. 16, 18. [2] Judges v. 11. [3] See Chapter I. Part ii. p. 100.

of sacred history, of the caution of the prudent patriarch, no less than of the freedom of the Gospel there proclaimed by Christ.[1]

Sepulchres.

2. Next to the wells of Syria, the most authentic memorials of past times are the Sepulchres, and partly for the same reason.

The tombs of ancient Greece or Rome lined the public roads with funeral pillars or towers. Grassy graves and marble monuments fill the churchyards and churches of Christian Europe. But the sepulchres of Palestine were, like the habitations of its earliest inhabitants, hewn out of the living limestone rock, and therefore indestructible as the rock itself. In this respect they resembled, though on a smaller scale, the tombs of Upper Egypt, and as there the traveller of the nineteenth century is confronted with the names and records of men who lived thousands of years ago, so also, in the excavations of the valleys which surround or approach Shiloh, Shechem, Bethel, and Jerusalem, he knows that he sees what were the last resting-places of the generations contemporary with Joshua, Samuel, and David. And the example of Egypt shows that the identification of these sepulchres even with their individual occupants is not so improbable as might be otherwise supposed. If the graves of Rameses and Osirei can still be ascertained, there is nothing improbable in the thought that the tombs of the patriarchs may have survived the lapse of twenty or thirty centuries. The rocky cave on Mount Hor must be at least the spot believed by Josephus to mark the grave of Aaron. The tomb of Joseph must be near one of the two monuments pointed out as such in the opening of the vale of Shechem. The sepulchre which is called the tomb of Rachel exactly agrees with the spot described as "a little way" from Bethlehem.[2] The tomb of David, which was known with certainty at the time of the Christian era, may perhaps still be found under the mosque which bears his name on the modern Zion.[3] Above all, the Cave

[1] See Chapter V.
[2] Gen. xxxv. 16. There is a cave underneath it. See Schwarze, p. 110.
[3] See Chapter XIV.

of Machpelah is concealed, beyond all reasonable doubt, by the mosque at Hebron.[1] But with these exceptions, we must rest satisfied rather with the general than the particular interest of the tombs of Palestine. The proof of identity in each special instance depends almost entirely on the locality. Instead of the acres of inscriptions which cover the tombs of Egypt, not a single letter has been found in any ancient sepulchre of Palestine; and tradition is, in this class of monuments, found to be unusually fallacious. Although some of those which are described as genuine by Jewish authorities can neither be rejected nor received with positive assurance, such as the alleged sepulchres of Deborah, Barak, Abinoam, Jael, and Heber, at Kedesh;[2] and of Phinehas, Eleazar, and Joshua, in the eastern ranges of Shechem;[3] yet the passion of the Mussulman conquerors of Syria for erecting mosques over the tombs of celebrated saints (and such to them are all the heroes of the Old Testament) has created so many fictitious sepulchres, as to throw doubt on all. Such are the tombs of Seth and Noah, in the vale of the Lebanon; of Moses, on the west of the Jordan, in direct contradiction to the Mosaic narrative; of Samuel, on the top of Nebi-Samuel; of Sidon and Zebulon near Zidon and Tyre; of Hoshea, in Gilead; of Jonah, thrice over, in Judæa, in Phœnicia, and at Nineveh.

Even the most genuine sepulchres are received as such by the highest Mussulman authorities on grounds the most puerile. The mosque of Hebron is justly claimed by them as the sanctuary of the tomb of Abraham, but their reason for believing it is thus gravely stated in the "Torch of Hearts," a work written by the learned Ali, son of Jafer-ar-Rayz, "on the authenticity of the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." "I rely," he says, "on the testimony of Abu Horäirah, who thus expresses himself:—It was said by the Apostle of God. 'When the angel Gabriel made me take the nocturnal flight to Jerusalem, we passed over the tomb of Abraham, and he said, Descend, and make a prayer with two genuflexions,

[1] See Chapter I. Part ii. p. 103. [2] Schwarze, 183. [3] Ibid. 147, 150, 151.

for here is the sepulchre of thy father Abraham. Then we passed Bethlehem, and he said, Descend, for here was born thy brother Jesus. Then we came to Jerusalem.' "[1]

It may be well to notice the probable cause of this uncertainty of Jewish, as contrasted with the certainty of Egyptian and, we might add, of European tradition on the subject of tombs. However strongly the reverence for sacred graves may have been developed in the Jews of later times, the ancient Israelites never seem to have entertained the same feeling of regard for the resting-places or the remains of their illustrious dead, as was carried to so high a pitch in the earlier Pagan and in the later Christian world. "Let me bury my dead out of my sight"—"No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day,"[2]—express, if not the general feeling of the Jewish nation, at least the general spirit of the Old Testament. Every one knows the most signal instance in which this indifference was manifested. Somewhere, doubtless, near the walls of the old Jerusalem, or buried under its ruins, is the "new sepulchre hewn in the rock," where "the body of Jesus was laid," but the precise spot, never indicated by the Evangelists, was probably unknown to the next generation, and will, in all likelihood, remain a matter of doubt always.[3] In this respect the controversy regarding the Holy Sepulchre is an illustration of a general fact in sacred topography. Modern pilgrims are troubled at the supposition that such a locality should have been lost. The Israelites and the early Christians would have been surprised if it had been preserved.

3. But the tombs are only one class of a general peculiarity, resulting from the physical structure of Palestine.

Like all limestone formations, the hills of Palestine abound in caves. How great a part the caverns of Greece played in the history and mythology of that country is well known. In one respect, indeed, those of Palestine were never likely to have been of the same importance, because, not being stalactitic, they could not so forcibly suggest to the Canaanite wanderers the images of sylvan

Caves.

[1] Ibn Batouhah, 116.

[2] Gen. xxiii. 4; Deut. xxxiv. 6.

[3] See Chapter XIV.

in ancient times.

deities, which the Grecian shepherds naturally found in the grottoes of Parnassus and Hymettus. But from other points of view we never lose sight of them. In these innumerable rents, and cavities, and holes, we see the origin of the sepulchres, which still, partly natural, and partly artificial, perforate the rocky walls of the Judæan valleys; the long line of tombs, of which I have just spoken, beginning with the cave of Machpelah and ending with the grave of Lazarus, which was "a cave, and a stone lay upon it," and "the sepulchre hewn in the rock, wherein never man before was laid." We see in them also, the hiding-places which served sometimes for defence of robbers and insurgents, sometimes for the refuge of those "of whom the world was not worthy;" the prototype of the catacombs of the early Christians, of the caverns of the Vaudois and the Covenanters. The cave of Lot at Zoar; the cave of the five kings at Makkedah; the "caves and dens and strongholds," and "rocks" and "pits" and "holes," in which the Israelites took shelter from the Midianites in the time of Gideon,[1] from the Philistines in the time of Saul;[2] the cleft[3] of the cliff Etam, into which Samson went down to escape the vengeance of his enemies; the caves[4] of David at Adullam, and at Maon, and of Saul at En-gedi; the cave in which Obadiah hid the prophets of the Lord[5]; the caves of the robber-hordes above the plain of Gennesareth[6]; the sepulchral caves of the Gadarene demoniacs[7]; the cave of Jotapata,[8] where Josephus and his countrymen concealed themselves in their last struggle,—continue from first to last what has truly been called the "cave-life" of the Israelite nation. The stream of their national existence, like the actual streams of the Grecian rivers, from time to time disappears from the light of day, and runs under ground in

[1] Judges vi. 2.
[2] 1 Sam. xiii. 6; xiv. 11.
[3] Judges xv. 8. So it should be rendered. The passage is interesting, as illustrating the peculiar character of some of the hiding-places—not what we should call caves—but holes sunk in the earth. "Behold the Hebrews come forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves." See Chapter IV.
[4] 1 Sam. xxii. 1; xxiii. 25; xxiv. 3.
[5] 1 Kings, xviii. 4, 13; see Chapter IX.
[6] Josephus, Bell. Jud. I. xvi. 2—4.
[7] Mark v. 3.
[8] Josephus, Vita, 74, 75.

these subterraneous recesses,—to burst forth again when the appointed moment arrives,[1]—a striking type, as it is a remarkable instance, of the preservation of the spiritual life of the Chosen People, "burning, but not consumed," "chastened, but not killed."

In older times, there is no proof that these ancient grottoes were used for worship, either Canaanitish or Israelite. The "green trees," the "high places," served alike for the altars of the Lord, and for those of Baal and Ashtaroth. The free and open heavens for the one worship, the unrestricted sight of the sun and the host of heaven for the other, were alike alien to the sepulchral darkness of the holes and caverns of the rocks. The one instance of a cave, dedicated to religious worship before the fall of the Jewish nation, is that at the sources of the Jordan, consecrated by foreign settlers as a sanctuary of their own Grecian Pan.[2] But the moment that the religion of Palestine fell into the hands of Europeans, it is hardly too much to say that, as far as sacred traditions are concerned, it became "a religion of caves"—of those very caves which in earlier times had been unhallowed by any religious influence whatever. Wherever a sacred association had to be fixed, a cave was immediately selected or found as its home. First in antiquity is the grotto of Bethlehem, already in the second century regarded by popular belief as the scene of the Nativity. Next comes the grotto on Mount Olivet, selected as the scene of our Lord's last conversations before the Ascension. These two caves, as Eusebius emphatically asserts, were the first seats of the worship established by the Empress Helena, to which was shortly afterwards added a third—the sacred cave of the Sepulchre. To these were rapidly added the cave of the Invention of the Cross, the cave of the Annunciation at Nazareth, the cave of the Agony at Gethsemane, the cave of the Baptist in the "wilderness of St. John," the cave of the shepherds of Bethlehem. And then again, partly perhaps the cause, partly the effect of this consecration of grottoes, began the caves of

Caves in modern times.

[1] See Hengstenberg on Psalm lvii. 1; Ewald's Geschichte, vol. v. p. 25.
[2] See Chapter XI.

hermits. There was the cave of St. Pelagia on Mount Olivet, the cave of St. Jerome, St. Paula, and St. Eustochium at Bethlehem, the cave of St. Saba in the ravines of the Kedron, the remarkable cells hewn or found in the precipices of the Quarantania or Mount of the Temptation above Jericho. In some few instances this selection of grottoes would coincide with the events thus intended to be perpetuated, as for example the hiding-places of the prophets on Carmel, and the sepulchres of the patriarchs and of our Lord. But in most instances the choice is made without the sanction, in some instances, in defiance, of the sacred narrative. No one would infer from the mention of the "inn" or "house" of the Nativity, or of the entrance of the Angel of the Annunciation to Mary, that those events took place in caves. The very fact that, in the celebrated legend, it is a house, and not a grotto, which is transplanted to Loretto, is an indication of what would be the natural belief. All our common feelings are repugnant to the transference of the scenes of the Agony and Ascension from the free and open sides of the mountain to the narrow seclusion of subterraneous excavations. It is possible, as we are often reminded, that the very fact of caverns being so frequently used for places of dwelling and resort in Palestine, would account for the absence of a more specific allusion to them; for grottoes are stables at Bethlehem still; and the lower stories of houses at Nazareth are excavated in the rock. But the more probable explanation is to be found in the fact, that after the devastating storm of the Roman conquest had swept away the traces of sacred recollections in human habitations, the inhabitants or pilgrims who came to seek them, would seek and find them in the most strongly marked features of the neighbourhood. These, as we have seen, would be the caves. Helena, by the consecration of two of the most remarkable, would set the example; the practice of the hermits, already begun in the rock-hewn tombs of Egypt, would encourage the belief of this sanctity. And thus the universality of the connection between grottoes and sacred events, which in later times provokes suspicion, in early times would only

render the minds of pilgrims more callous to the improbabilities of each particular instance.[1]

Legendary curiosities.

4. I have dwelt at length on the history of the caves, because it is the only instance of a close connection between the history or the religion of Palestine, and any of its more special natural features. In some few cases, the local legends may be traced to similar peculiarities.

(1.) The stones called "Elijah's melons," on Mount Carmel, and "the Virgin Mary's peas," near Bethlehem, are instances of crystallisation well known in limestone formations. They are so called, as being the supposed produce of those two plots turned into stone, from the refusal of the owners to supply the wants of the prophet and the saint. Another celebrated example may be noticed in the petrified lentils of the workmen at the great Pyramid, as seen by Strabo at its base.[2] In all three instances the traces of these[3] once well-known relics have now almost entirely disappeared.

(2.) Another peculiarity of the limestone rock has given birth to the legendary scene of the destruction of Sennacherib's army. Two pits were formerly pointed out near Bethlehem as the grave of the Assyrian host. One still remains. It is an irregular opening in the rocky ground, exactly similar to those which may be seen by hundreds, in the wild limestone district, called the Karst, above Trieste. The real scene of the event is probably elsewhere.[4]

(3.) The limestone, which is usually white or grey, is occasionally streaked with red. It is in these reddish veins that the pilgrims fancied they saw the marks of the drops of blood in the so-called Scala-Santa; or on the rock near Jerusalem, of late years pointed out as the scene of the martyrdom of Stephen.

(4.) The black and white stones—usually called volcanic—found along the shores of the sea of Galilee, have been

[1] See Chapter XIV.

[2] Strabo, xvii. These petrified lentils were probably the same as the petrified fruits said to have been in the possession of Omar Ibn Abd-al Aziz, Caliph of Egypt, in the 99th year of the Hejira. In this version of the story, they were supposed to be the relics of the general petrifaction of those which had supported Pharaoh at the time of the Exodus. Weil's Legends, p, 121, 122.

[3] Clarke, v. 182. "Those on Mount Carmel were carried off by Djezzar Pasha for cannon-balls." Clarke, iv. 117.

[4] See Chapter IV.

transformed by Jewish fancy into the traces of the tears of Jacob in search of Joseph.[1]

(5.) It is not of the nature of limestone rocks to assume fantastic forms, and in this respect the contrast between the legends of Palestine and Sinai is most apparent. Some few however there are; their very slightness indicating that they have not been the occasion, but only the handles of the stories appended to them. The cavity of the footmark on Mount Olivet; the fissures in the rocks "that were rent," and the supposed entombment of Adam's skull, in Golgotha; the petrifaction of the ass at Bethany; the sinuous mark of the Virgin's girdle by Gethsemane; the impression of Elijah's form on the rocky bank by the roadside, near the convent of Mar Elias, between Bethlehem and Jerusalem,[2] are perhaps the only objects in which the form of the rocks can be supposed to have suggested the legends. But another place will occur for speaking of these more particularly.[3]

It is worth while to enumerate these instances, trifling as they are, in order to illustrate the slightness of foundation which the natural features of Palestine afford for the mythology, almost inevitably springing out of so long a series of remarkable events. And this is in fact the final conclusion which is to be drawn from the character, or rather want of character, presented by the general scenery. If the first feeling be disappointment, yet the second may well be thankfulness. There is little in these hills and valleys on which the imagination can fasten. Whilst the great seats of Greek and Roman religion—at Delphi and Lebadea, by the lakes of Alba and of Aricia,—strike even the indifferent traveller as deeply impressive—Shiloh and Bethel on the other hand, so long the sanctuaries and oracles of God, almost escape the notice even of the zealous antiquarian in the maze of undistinguished hills which encompass them. The first view of Olivet impresses us chiefly by its bare matter-of-fact appearance; the first approach to the hills of Judæa reminds the English

[1] See Sandys, p. 191. Van Egmont, 364.

[2] See Quaresmius, vol. II.; vi. 8.

[3] See Chapter XIV.

traveller not of the most but of the least striking portions of the mountains of his own country. Yet all this renders the Holy Land the fitting cradle of a religion which expressed itself not through the voices of rustling forests, or the clefts of mysterious precipices, but through the souls and hearts of men,—which was destined to have no home on earth, least of all in its own birthplace,—which has attained its full dimensions only in proportion as it has travelled further from its original source, to the daily life and homes of nations as far removed from Palestine in thought and feeling, as they are in climate and latitude—which alone, of all religions, claims to be founded not on fancy or feeling, but on Fact and Truth.

# CHAPTER III.

## JUDÆA AND JERUSALEM.

Gen. xlix. 9, 11, 12. "Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?—Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes: his eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk."

Psalm lxxvi. 2. "In Salem is his 'covert,' and his 'lair' in Zion."

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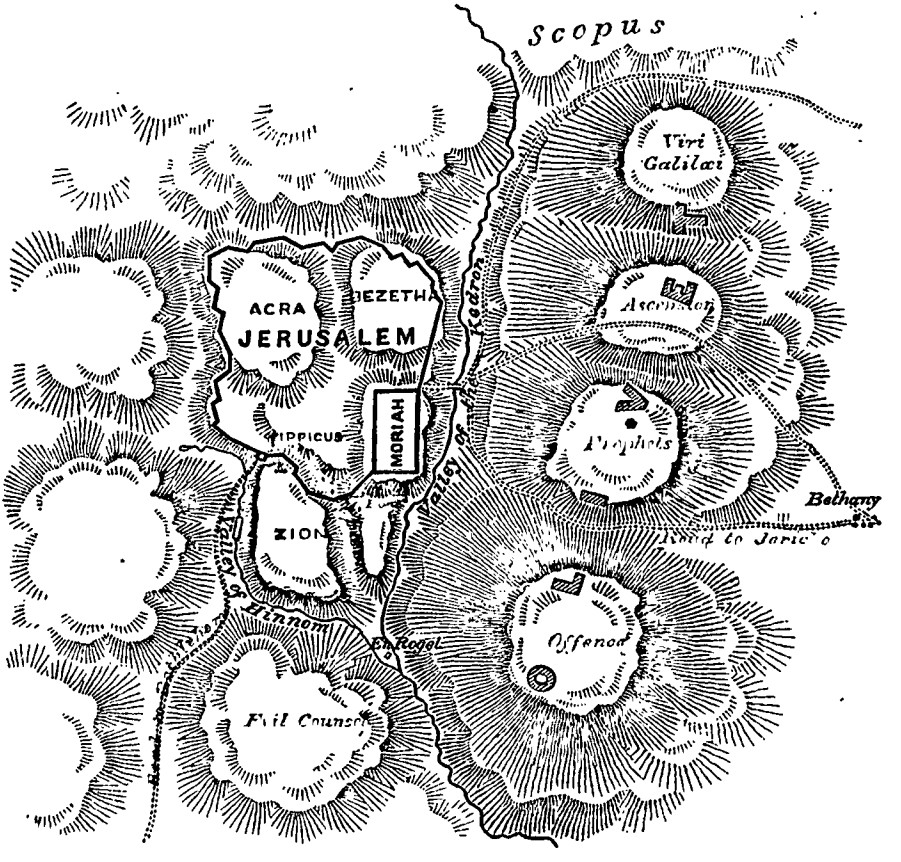
JUDÆA:—I. The "'south" frontier—Simeon.—II. Mountain country of Judah—Lion of Judah—Vineyards—Fenced cities—BETHLEHEM—Capital cities—Hebron—Jerusalem.

JERUSALEM:—I. Exterior aspect. 1. Long obscurity—Jebus—Mountain fastness. 2. Ravines of Kedron and Hinnom. 3. Compactness. 4. Surrounding mountains. 5. Central situation.—II. Interior aspect. 1. Hills of the city. 2. Temple-mount—Rock of the Sakrah—Spring. 3. Walls—Palaces—Ruins.—III. Mount of Olives—Slight connection with the earlier history—Presence of Christ—Bethany—Scene of triumphal entry—Conclusion.

# MAP OF JERUSALEM.



# JUDÆA AND JERUSALEM.



The "South" Frontier.

THE southern frontier of Palestine almost imperceptibly loses itself in the desert of Sinai. It is sometimes called the land of "Goshen,"[1] or the "frontier," doubtless from the same reason as the more famous tract between the cultivated Egypt and the Arabian desert, in which the Israelites dwelt before the Exodus. But it is more commonly known as "the south," "the south country." Abraham "went up out of Egypt *into the south*," "He went on his journeys *from the south* even unto Bethel." "Isaac dwelt in the *south country*." Here, in the wide pastures between the hills and the actual Desert, the Patriarchs fed their flocks; here were the wells,—the first regular wells that are met by the traveller as he emerges from the wilderness—Moladah, Lahai-Roi, and, above all, Beersheba.[2] The exact limits of this "southern frontier" are, of course, difficult to be determined. Its main sweep, however, was through the vast undulating plain which contains the greater part of these wells, immediately under the hills of Judæa, now known as the Wâdy Kibab, probably what in former times was called the "valley," *i. e.* the 'torrent-bed' or Wâdy of Gerar.[3] After the Patriarchal times, it has but few recollections. It was indeed the first approach of the Israelites to their promised home, when the spies ascended from Kadesh "by the south,"[4] but not that by which they finally entered. It was then still what it had

[1] Josh. x. 41, xi. 16.

[2] Robinson (i. 300) describes two, Van de Velde (ii. 136) *five* wells.

[3] Gen. xxvi. 17, 19, "Nachal," (see Appendix). Numb. xiv. 25; 1 Sam. xv. 5; 1 Chr. iv. 39 (LXX "Gerar" for "Gedor.") See Chapter I. Part ii. p. 100.

[4] Numb. xiii. 22.

been in the days of Abraham—a nomadic country, though with less illustrious sheykhs; "the Amalekites dwelt in the land of the south,"[1] and after the occupation of Canaan by Joshua, "the children of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law," with a true Bedouin instinct, "went up into the wilderness of Judah, which lieth in the south of Arad,"[2] and between them the country was shared. And the latest notices of this region agree with the earliest. The Amalekites of the Desert were still there, in the reign of Saul, with the Kenites amongst them, "with their sheep, and oxen, and lambs;"[3] and again, in the close of his reign, they broke in once more upon the country from which he had driven them, upon "the south of the Cherethites and the south of Caleb, and burned Ziklag with fire."[4] Most of the habitable places in these parts are called "*Hazer*;" that is, they were merely the unwalled villages of Bedouins. The names of some indicate that they were stations of passage, like those which now are to be seen on the great line of Indian transit between Cairo and Suez. In "Beth-marcaboth," "the house of chariots," and "Hazar-Susim," "the village of horses," we recognise the depôts and stations for the "horses" and "chariots" such as those which in Solomon's time went to and fro between Egypt and Palestine.[5]

Simeon. To Simeon, the fierce and lawless tribe, the dry "south" was given, for "out of the portion of Judah was the inheritance of the children of Simeon; for the part of the children of Judah was too much for them; therefore the children of Simeon had *their inheritance within the* inheritance of them."[6] In the prophecy of Jacob he is "divided and scattered;" in that of Moses he is omitted altogether. Amongst these Bedouin villages his lot was cast; and as time rolled on, the tribe gradually crossed the imperceptible boundary between civilisation and barbarism, between Palestine and the Desert; and, in "the days of Hezekiah," they wandered forth to the east to seek pasture for their flocks, and "smote the tents"

[1] Numb. xiii. 29; xiv. 25.
[2] Judges i. 16. Compare Kinah, Josh. xv. 22; also, for Arad, see Numb. xxi. 1; Josh. xii. 14.
[3] 1 Sam. xv. 6, 9.
[4] 1 Sam. xxx. 14.
[5] Josh. xix. 5; 1 Kings x. 28.
[6] Joshua xix. 9.

of the pastoral tribes who "had dwelt there of old;" and roved along across the Arabah till they arrived at the Mount Seir—the range of Petra—and "smote the rest of the Amalekites, and dwelt there unto this day."[1]

In the midst of this wild frontier ruins still appear on the rising grounds as if of ancient cities; such as may have been Arad, the abode of the southernmost Canaanite king, and Kirjath-sannah, so called, doubtless, from its palm-trees, the lingering traces of the Desert; though also known by the appellation of Debir, or Kirjath-sephir, the "city of the Oracle," or the "Book." It was in the capture of this fortress that Othniel performed the feat of arms which won for him the daughter of Caleb.[2] But the speech of Achsah to her father, was the best reason for the slight notice of this Desert tract in later times, and is the best introduction to the real territory of Judah, on which we are now to enter—"Give me a blessing, *for* thou hast given me a *south* land; give me also springs of water." The wells of Beersheba were enough for the Patriarchs, the Amalekites, and the Kenites, but they were not enough for the daughter of Judah, and the house of the mighty Caleb.

II. The "hill country,"—"the mountain country," as it is called—of "Judah" in earlier, of "Judæa" in later times, is the part of Palestine which best exemplifies its characteristic scenery—the rounded hills, the broad valleys, the scanty vegetation, the villages or fortresses—sometimes standing, more frequently in ruins—on the hill tops; the wells in every valley, the vestiges of terraces, whether for corn or wine. Here the "Lion of Judah" entrenched himself, to guard the southern frontier of the Chosen Land, with Simeon, Dan, and Benjamin nestled around him. Well might he be so named in this wild country, more than half a wilderness, the lair of the savage beasts,[3] of which the traces gradually disappear as we advance into the interior. Fixed there, and never dislodged, except by the ruin of

Mountain country of Judah.

The Lion of Judah.

[1] 1 Chron. iv. 39—43.

[2] Josh. xv. 15—17, 49; Judges i. 11—13.

[3] The "lions" of Scripture occur usually in or near those mountains—for example, that of Samson, and that of the Prophet of Bethel, and "the lion and the bear" of David's shepherd-youth.

the whole nation, "he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion—who shall rouse him up?" Throughout the troubled period of the Judges, from Othniel to Samson, Judah dwelt undisturbed within those mountain fastnesses. In these gray hills, and in their spacious caverns, David hid himself, when he fled to the mountains like one of their own native partridges, and, with his band of freebooters, maintained himself against the whole force of his enemy. The tribes of the east and of the north were swept away by the Assyrian kings, Galilee and Samaria fell before the Roman conquerors, whilst Judah still remained erect—the last, because the most impregnable, of the tribes of Israel.

Vineyards.

As in the general, so also in the detailed features of the country, the character of Judah is to be traced. Here, more than elsewhere, are to be seen on the sides of the hills, the vineyards, marked by their watch-towers and walls, seated on their ancient terraces—the earliest and latest symbol of Judah. The elevation of the hills and table-lands of Judah is the true climate of the vine,[1] and at Hebron, according to the Jewish tradition, was its primeval seat. He "bound his foal to the vine, and his ass' colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes."[2] It was from the Judæan valley of Eshcol—"the torrent of the cluster"—that the spies cut down the gigantic cluster of grapes.[3] "A vineyard on 'a hill of olives,'" with the "fence," and "the stones gathered out," and "the tower in the midst of it,"[4] is the natural figure which, both in the prophetical and evangelical records, represents the kingdom of Judah. The "vine" was the emblem of the nation on the coins of the Maccabees, and in the colossal cluster of golden grapes which overhung the porch of the second

Compare, too, the frequency of names derived from wild beasts in those parts — "Shual" — "Shaalbim" (foxes and jackals,) Jos. xv. 28, xix. 3, 42; Jud. i. 35; compare also Jud. xv. 4: "Lebaoth" (lionesses), Jos. xv. 32, xix. 6; the Ravine of Hyenas (Zeboim) 1 Sam. xvii. 18; Valley of Stags (Ajalon), Jud. i. 35; Josh. xix. 42. They re-appear, ("the lions' dens, and the mountains of the leopards,") in Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, Cant. iv. 8.

[1] See Humboldt's "Asie Centrale," iii. pp. 125—136; Cosmos, i. 125—126; Ritter, iii. p. 220.

[2] Gen. xlix. 11.

[3] Numb. xiii. 23—24.

[4] Isa. v. 1; "a very fruitful hill" is "a horn the son of oil." Matt. xxi. 33. See Chapter XIII.

Temple; and the grapes of Judah still mark the tombstones of the Hebrew race in the oldest of their European cemeteries, at Prague.

Fenced cities of Judah.

But, further, on these mountain tops were gathered all the cities and villages of Judah and Benjamin; in this respect contrasted, as we shall see, with the situation of the towns of the more northern tribes. The position of each is so like the other, that it is difficult to distinguish them when seen; useless to characterise them in description. Hence, although when the names are preserved, their identification is certain; when the name is lost, as in the case of Modin,[1] we must be satisfied with the selection of any one of the many heights which, according to the description of the monument of the Maccabees, can be seen from the sea.[2] The only eminence which stands out from the rest, marked by its peculiar conformation, is the square-shaped mountain east of Bethlehem, known by the name of "the Frank Mountain," from the baseless story that it was the last refuge of the Crusaders, or "the Hill of the Little Paradise," (Gebel-el-Fureidis), from its vicinity to the gardens of the Wâdy Urtas.[3] But of this the only historical recollection is the fact of its characteristic selection as the burial-place of Herod the Great.

Herodion.

Amidst this host of "fenced cities of Judah," it is enough to mention one, not only on account of its surpassing interest, but because its very claim to notice is founded on the fact that it was but the ordinary type of a Judæan village, not distinguished by size or situation from any amongst "the thousands of Judah."[4] All the characteristics of BETHLEHEM are essentially of this nature. Its position on the narrow ridge of the long gray hill which would leave "no room" for the crowded travellers to find shelter; the vineyards, kept up along its slopes with greater energy, because its present inhabitants are

BETHLEHEM.

[1] 1 Macc. xiii. 25—30.

[2] Such a point may be found on any of the hills westward of the plateau of Jerusalem. Schwarze (96) fixes on one of the name of Midan, near Kustul.

[3] See Kitto's Land of Promise, p. 28. This name slightly confirms the supposition, that for the same reason it may in earlier times have borne the name of "Beth-hac-Cerem" (the *house of the vineyard*), which is once mentioned (Jer. vi. 1) as a well-known beacon station in Judæa. "Set up a sign of fire in Beth-hac-Cerem." See Chapter I part ii.

[4] Micah v. 2.

Christian; the corn-fields below, the scene of Ruth's adventure, and from which it derives its name, "the house of bread;" the well close by the gate, for whose water David longed; the wild hills eastward, where the flocks of David and of "the shepherds abiding with their flocks by night" may have wandered; all these features are such as it shares more or less in common with every village of Judah.[1]

But, as in every country, so in Palestine and Judæa, there is a peculiar interest attaching to the situation of its capital cities.

HEBRON. The earliest seat of civilised life, not only of Judah but of Palestine, was HEBRON. It was the ancient city of Ephron the Hittite, in whose "gate" he and the elders received the offer of Abraham,[2] when as yet no other fixed habitation of man was known in Central Palestine. It was the first home of Abraham and the Patriarchs; their one permanent resting-place when they were gradually exchanging the pastoral for the agricultural life.[3] It was the city of Arba—the old Canaanite chief, with his three giant sons[4]—under whose walls the trembling spies stole through the land by the adjacent valley of Eshcol. Here Caleb chose his portion, and gave it the new name of "Hebron,"[5] when, at the head of his valiant tribe, he drove out the old inhabitants, and called the whole surrounding territory after his own name;[6] and there, under David, and at a later period under Absalom, the tribe of Judah always rallied when it asserted its independent existence against the rest of the Israelite nation.[7] It needs but few words to give the secret of this early selection, of this long continuance, of the metropolitan city of Judah. Every traveller from the Desert will have been struck by the sight of that green vale, with its orchards and vineyards, and numberless wells, and in earlier times we must add the grove of terebinths or oaks, which then attracted from far the eye of the wandering tribes. This fertility was in part owing to its elevation

[1] See Chapter II. part ii.
[2] Gen. xxiii. 10.
[3] Gen. xxxv. 27; xxxvii. 14.
[4] Josh. xv. 13; xxi. 11; Numb. xiii. 22, 33.
[5] Judg. i. 10.
[6] 1 Sam. xxx. 14. "Upon the South of Caleb."
[7] 2 Sam. ii. 11.; xv. 9—10.

into the cooler and the more watered region, above the dry and withered valleys of the rest of Judæa.[1] Commanding this fertile valley, rose Hebron on its crested hill. Beneath was the burial-place of the founders of their race. Caleb must have marked out the spot for his own, when with the spies, he had passed through this very valley. When David returned from the chase of the Amalekite plunderers on the Desert frontier, and doubted "to which of the cities of Judah he should go up" from the wilderness, the natural features of the place, as well as the oracle of God, answered clearly and distinctly, "Unto Hebron."[2]

III. But Hebron was not the permanent capital. The metropolis of Judah — of the Jewish monarchy — of Palestine—(in one sense) of the whole world—is JERUSALEM. It will be convenient first to give its general aspect expressed as nearly as possible in words written from the spot. JERUSALEM.

Exterior aspect.

Jerusalem is one of the few places of which the first impression is not the best. No doubt the first sight—the first moment when from the ridge of hills which divide the valley of Rephaim from the valley of Bethlehem one sees the white line crowning the horizon, and knows that it is Jerusalem—is a moment never to be forgotten. But there is nothing in the view itself to excite your feelings. Nor is there even when the Mount of Olives heaves in sight, nor when "the horses' hoofs ring on the stones of the streets of Jerusalem." Nor is there in the surrounding outline of hills on the distant horizon. Nebi-Samuel is indeed a high and distinguished point, and Ramah and Gibeah both stand out, but they and all the rest in some degree partake of that featureless character which belongs to all the hills of Judæa, as does Olivet itself. In one respect no one need quarrel with this first aspect of Jerusalem. So far as localities have any concern with religion, it is well to feel that Christianity, even in its first origin, was nurtured in no romantic scenery; that the discourses in the walks to and from Bethany, and in earlier times the Psalms and Prophecies of David and Isaiah, were not as in Greece the offspring of oracular cliffs and grottos, but the simple outpouring of souls which thought of nothing but God and man. It is not, however, inconsistent with this view to add, that though not romantic—though at first sight bare and prosaic in the extreme—there does at last grow up about Jerusalem a beauty as poetical as that which hangs over Athens

[1] Chapter I. part ii. p. 101.

[2] 2 Sam. ii. 1.

and Rome. First, it is in the highest degree *venerable*. Modern houses it is true there are; the interiors of the streets are modern; the old city itself (and I felt a constant satisfaction in the thought) lies buried twenty, thirty, forty feet below these wretched shops and receptacles for Anglo-Oriental conveniences. But still, as you look at it from any commanding point, within or without the walls, you are struck by the gray ruinous masses of which it is made up; it is the ruin, in fact, of the old Jerusalem on which you look,—the stones, the columns, the very soil on which you tread, is the accumulation of nearly three thousand years. And as with the city, so it is with the view of the country round it. There is, as I have said, no beauty of form or outline, but there is nothing to disturb the thought of the hoary age of those ancient hills; and the interest of the past, even to the hardest mind, will in spite of themselves invest them with a glory of their own. . . . . .

But besides this imaginative interest there are real features which would, even taken singly, be enough to redeem the dullest of prospects. In the first place there is the view of the Moab mountains; I always knew that I should see them from Olivet, but I was not prepared for their constant intermingling with the views of Jerusalem itself. From almost every point, there was visible that long purple wall, rising out of its unfathomable depths, to us even more interesting than to the old Jebusites or Israelites. They knew the tribes who lived there; they had once dwelt there themselves. But to the inhabitants of modern Jerusalem, of whom comparatively few have ever visited the other side of the Jordan, it is the end of the world,—and to them, to us, these mountains almost have the effect of a distant view of the sea; the hues constantly changing, this or that precipitous rock coming out clear in the morning or evening shade—there, the form dimly shadowed out by surrounding valleys of what may possibly be Pisgah—here the point of Kerak, the capital of Moab and fortress of the Crusaders—and then at times all wrapt in deep haze—the mountains overhanging the valley of the shadow of death, and all the more striking from their contrast with the gray or green colours of the hills and streets and walls through which you catch the glimpse of them. Next, there are the ravines of the city. This is its great charm. The Dean of St. Paul's once observed to me that he thought Luxembourg must be like Jerusalem in situation. And so to a certain extent it is. I do not mean that the ravines of Jerusalem are so deep and abrupt as those of Luxembourg, but there is the same contrast between the baldness of the level approach, the walls of the city appearing on the edge of the table-land, and then the two great ravines of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat opening between you and the city; and again, the two lesser ravines, rival claimants to the name of Tyropœon, intersecting the city itself. In this respect I never saw a town so situated, for here it is not

merely the fortress, but the city, which is thus surrounded and entangled with natural fosses; and this, when seen from the walls, especially from the walls on the northern side, and when combined with the light and shade of evening, gives the whole place a variety of colour and of level fully sufficient to relieve the monotony which else it would share with other eastern cities. And, thirdly, it must be remembered that there is one approach which is really grand, namely, from Jericho and Bethany. It is the approach by which the army of Pompey advanced,—the first Western army that ever confronted it,—and it is the approach of the Triumphal Entry of the Gospels. Probably the first impression of every one coming from the north, west, and the south, may be summed up in the simple expression used by one of the modern travellers,—"I am strangely affected, but greatly disappointed." But no human being could be disappointed who first saw Jerusalem from the east.[1] The beauty consists in this, that you then burst at once on the two great ravines which cut the city off from the surrounding table-land, and that then only you have a complete view of the Mosque of Omar. The other buildings of Jerusalem which emerge from the mass of gray ruin and white stones are few, and for the most part unattractive. The white mass of the Armenian convent on the south, and the dome of the Mosque of David—the Castle, with Herod's tower on the south-west corner—the two domes, black and white, which surmount the Holy Sepulchre and the Basilica of Constantine—the green corn-field which covers the ruins of the Palace of the Knights of St. John —the long yellow mass of the Latin convent at the north-west corner, and the gray tower of the Mosque of the Dervishes on the traditional site of the palace of Herod Antipas, in the north-east corner—these are the only objects which break from various points the sloping or level lines of the city of the Crusaders and Saracens. But none of these is enough to elevate its character. What, however, these fail to effect, is in one instant effected by a glance at the Mosque of Omar. From whatever point that graceful dome with its beautiful precinct emerges to view, it at once dignifies the whole city. And when from Olivet, or from the Governor's house, or from the north-east wall, you see the platform on which it stands, it is a scene hardly to be surpassed. A dome graceful as that of St. Peter's, though of course on a far smaller scale, rising from an elaborately finished circular edifice—this edifice raised on a square marble platform rising on the highest ridge of a green slope, which descends from it north, south, and east to the walls surrounding the whole enclosure —platform and enclosure diversified by lesser domes and fountains,

[1] It is this which causes Lieutenant Lynch's surprise at the magnificence of his first view. He, coming up from his adventurous expedition in the Jordan valley, approached it first, as probably no other modern traveller has, from the east.

by cypresses, and olives, and planes, and palms—the whole as secluded and quiet as the interior of some college or cathedral garden—only enlivened by the white figures of veiled women stealing like ghosts up and down the green slope—or by the turbaned heads bowed low in the various niches for prayer—this is the Mosque of Omar: the Haram-es-Sherif, "the noble sanctuary," the second most sacred spot in the Mahometan world,—that is the next after Mecca; the second most beautiful mosque,—that is the next after Cordova . . . . . I for one felt almost disposed to console myself for the exclusion by the additional interest which the sight derives from the knowledge that no European foot, except by stealth or favour, had ever trodden within these precincts since the Crusaders were driven out, and that their deep seclusion was as real as it appeared. It needed no sight of the daggers of the black Dervishes who stand at the gates, to tell you that the Mosque was undisturbed and inviolably sacred.

I. This is, in its main points, the modern aspect of the Holy City. Let us take these features in detail, and draw from them whatever light they throw on its long history.

1. It is one of the peculiarities of Jerusalem, that it became the capital late in the career of the nation. Rome, Athens, Egyptian Thebes; the other ancient centres of national life in Palestine itself, Hebron, Bethel, Shechem —extend back to the earliest periods of their respective history. But in those times Jerusalem was still an unknown and heathen fortress in the midst of the land. There is something striking in the thought, how many of those earlier events took place around it; how often Joshua, and Deborah, and Samuel, and Saul, and David must have passed and repassed the hills, and gazed on the towers of the city, unconscious of the fate reserved for her in all subsequent time. "Thy birth and thy nativity," such is the language of the bitter retrospect of Ezekiel, "is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite; and as for thy nativity, in the day thou wast born . . . thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all. None eye pitied thee, to do any of these unto thee, to have compassion upon thee; but thou wast cast out in the open field, to the loathing of thy person, in the day that thou wast born."[1]

Its long obscurity.

[1] Ezek. xvi. 3, 4, 5.

Yet the same circumstance, which afterwards contributed to the eminence of Jerusalem, in some degree accounts for its long previous obscurity. It was the only exception, so far as we know, to the rule, otherwise universal, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine lingered not in the hills, but in the plains. After every other part of the mountains of Ephraim and Judah had been cleared of its Canaanite population, Jebus still remained in the hands of the ancient tribe which probably took its name from the dry rock on which their fortress stood. And the causes, which for so many centuries preserved this remnant of the early inhabitants of the country, were in great part the same as those which made it both the first object of David's conquest when he found himself seated on the throne at Hebron, and the capital of his kingdom for all future generations. Jebus.

The situation of Jerusalem is in several respects singular amongst the cities of Palestine. Its elevation[1] is remarkable, occasioned, not from its being on the summit of one of the numerous hills of Judæa, like most of the towns and villages, but because it is on the edge of one of the highest table-lands of the country.[2] Hebron, indeed, is higher still, by some hundred feet; and from the south, accordingly, the approach to Jerusalem is by a slight descent. But from every other side, the ascent is perpetual; and, to the traveller approaching Jerusalem from the west or east, it must always have presented the appearance, beyond any other capital of the then known world—we may add, beyond any important city that has ever existed on the earth—of a mountain city; breathing, as compared with the sultry plains of the Jordan or of the coast, a mountain air; enthroned, as compared with Jericho or Damascus, Gaza or Tyre, on a mountain fastness. In this respect, it concentrated in itself the character of the whole country of which it was to be the capital—the "mountain throne," the "mountain sanctuary," of God. "The 'mount' of Mountain Fastness.

[1] This is given with great liveliness and force by Rauwulf, 271.

[2] It is needless to describe this peculiar aspect of its geographical position at greater length after the excellent account of it in Robinson's Researches, vol. i. pp. 280—383.

God is as the 'mount' of Bashan; an high mount as the mount of Bashan. Why leap ye so, ye high 'mountains'? this is the 'mountain' which God desireth to dwell in."[1] "Thou hast ascended up on high, thou hast led captivity captive."[2] "His foundation is in the holy mountains."[3] "They that trust in the Lord shall be as the mount Zion, which may not be removed, but standeth fast for ever."[4] "God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed."[5] It was emphatically the lair of the lion of Judah, of "Ariel," the Lion of God.[6] "In Judah is God known; his name is great in Israel. In Salem is his 'leafy covert,' and his 'rocky den' in Zion.[7] . . . Thou art more glorious and excellent than the 'mountains of the robbers.'"[8] And this wild and fastness-like character of Jerusalem was concentrated yet again in the fortress, the "stronghold" of Zion. That point, the highest in the city, the towering height[9] which most readily catches the eye from every quarter, is emphatically the "hill-fort," the "rocky hold"[10] of Jerusalem—the refuge where first the Jebusite, and then the Lion of God, stood at bay against the hunters.

Ravines of the Kedron and of Hinnom.

2. This brings us to the second feature which tends to account for its early selection or future growth as the capital of Palestine. As the traveller advances toward Jerusalem, from the west and south, over the featureless undulating plain, two deep valleys suddenly disclose themselves before us, one on the south, the larger and deeper on the north, which then sweeping round the eastern side of the city to meet the southern ravine,[11] passes on by still

[1] Ps. lxviii. 15, 16. [2] Ps. lxviii. 18.
[3] Ps. lxxxvii. 1.
[4] Ps. cxxv. 1. [5] Ps. xlvi. 5.
[6] Isa. xxix. 1, 2.
[7] Ps. lxxvi. 1, 2. Such seems the full expression of the words "sucah" and "maonah." See Appendix.
[8] Ps. lxvi. 4.
[9] This would be equally the case whether Zion be the south-western hill commonly so called, or the peak now levelled on the north of the Temple Mount, as is supposed, not without considerable grounds, by Mr. Fergusson (Essay, p. 55, ff.), and Mr. Thrupp (Ancient Jerusalem, p. 17, ff.)
[10] The word "matzad" or "metzod" is, like the words in the preceding note, taken from the cover into which wild beasts are *hunted*, and was used and specially applied to the "holds" in the wilderness of Judæa, 1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 19; 1 Chr. xii. 8, 16; Jud. vi. 2; Ezek. xxxiii. 27; Job xxxix. 28. It is the usual word for designating Mount Zion, 2 Sam. v. 7, 9; 1 Chr. xi. 5, 7, and (in express conjunction with Ariel), Isa. xxix. 7.
[11] Josh. xv. 8. In the Mohammedan traditions the name of "Gehenna" is applied to the Valley of the Kedron. Ibn Batuhah, 124.

narrower clefts through its long descent to the Dead Sea. The deepest and darkest of the two defiles was, doubtless, for that reason, known as "The Black Valley" (Kedron); the other, wider and greener, was "the ravine" (Ge), in which probably some ancient hero had encamped,—"the son of Hinnom;" and from the name thus compounded, "Ge-Ben-Hinnom," "Ge-Hinnom," was formed the word "Gehenna," which in later times caused what Milton truly calls "the pleasant valley of Hinnom," to become the representative of the place of future torment. These deep ravines, which thus separate Jerusalem from the rocky plateau of which it forms a part, are a rare feature in the general scenery of the Holy Land. Something of the same effect is produced by those vast rents which, under the name of "Tajo," surround or divide Ronda, Alhama, and Granada, on the table-lands which crown the summits of the Spanish mountains. But in Palestine, Jerusalem stands alone, and from this cause derives, in great measure, her early strength and subsequent greatness. When David appeared under the walls of Jebus, the "old inhabitants of the land," the last remnant of their race that clung to their mountain home, exulting in the strength of those ancient "everlasting gates"[1] which no conqueror had yet burst open, looked proudly down on the army below, and said, "Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither; thinking, David cannot come in hither." The blind and the lame, they thought, were sufficient to maintain what nature had so strongly defended. It was the often repeated story of the capture of fortresses through what seemed their strongest, and therefore became their weakest, point, "*Præruptum, eòque neglectum.*" Such was the fate of Sardis, and of Rome, and such was the fate of Jebus. David turned to his host below, and said, "Whoever smiteth the Jebusites first, 'and dasheth them on the precipice,' . . . . and the lame and the blind that are hated of David's soul, he shall be chief and captain."[2] Joab first climbed that

[1] Ps. xxiv. 7.

[2] 2 Sam. v. 8; 1 Chr. xi. 6. "Dasheth them against the precipice," seems on the whole the safest rendering of the passage obscurely translated and transposed, "Getteth up to the gutter."

steep ascent, and won the chieftainship of David's hosts; and the "ancient everlasting gates" "lifted up their heads," and "David dwelt in the stronghold of Zion, and called it the City of David."

Compactness.

3. What these ravines were in determining its earliest defences, they have been ever since. It is needless to go through the sieges of later times; but it is obvious that the deep depressions which thus secured the city must have always been a natural trench, much as the Valley of the Jordan, on a larger scale, was to the whole country. They acted as its natural defence; they also determined its natural boundaries. The city, wherever else it spread, could never overleap the valley of the Kedron or of Hinnom; and those two fosses, so to speak, became accordingly, as in the analogous case of the ancient towns of Etruria, the Necropolis of Jerusalem. This distinction made it again doubly impossible for the city of the living to protrude itself into the city of the dead; and, as the southern ravine had already given a name to the infernal fires of the other world, so in Mussulman and Mediæval traditions, the Valley of the Kedron was identified with the Valley of Jehoshaphat,[1] or of the "Divine Judgment;" and long regarded by the pilgrims of both religions as the destined scene of the Judgment of the World. The compression between these valleys probably occasioned the words of the Psalmist, "Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself."[2] It is an expression not inapplicable even to the modern city, as seen from the east. But it was still more appropriate to the original city, if, as seems probable, the valley of Tyropœon formed in earlier times a fosse within a fosse, shutting in Zion and Moriah into one compact mass, not more than half a mile in breadth.[3]

Growth.

But this compactness and smallness—though in itself a

[1] Joel iii. 2.

[2] Psalm cxxii. 3.

[3] This would be still more the case, if we could suppose that *Zion*—the original city of David—occupied part of what is called *Moriah*, the oblong mass of rock which supports the Mosque of Omar, and which must have been shut in by the Tyropœon on the north, by the ravine of Hinnom on the south, and by the Kedron on the north and east. (See the Essays of Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Thrupp.)

fitting characteristic of the capital of that territory which, as we have seen, was remarkable for the same reason amongst the nations of the then known world—was not such as to exclude its future growth. Hemmed in as it was on three sides by the ravines, on the western side it was comparatively open. A slight depression, indeed, runs beneath what is now its wall on that side; still, to speak generally, it is joined by its western and north-western sides to the large table-land which rises in the midst of Judæa, extending from the ridge of St. Elias on the south to the ridge of Bireh on the north, from the hills of Gibeon on the west to the Mount of Olives on the east. In this point, again, its situation is peculiar. Almost all the other cities of Palestine were placed, like Hebron, or Samaria, or Jezreel, on the crest of some hill, or like Shechem, within some narrow valley which admitted of little expansion. But Jerusalem had always an outlet on the west and north, and though it was not till the latest period of her existence that the walls, under Herod Agrippa, were pushed far beyond their ancient limits in those directions, yet the gardens, and orchards, and suburbs must even in the reign of Solomon, have stretched themselves over the plain. And this plain was encompassed with a barrier of heights, which shut out the view of Jerusalem till within a very short distance of the city, and must always have acted as a defence to it.

Mountains round Jerusalem.

4. It is probable that these must be the heights alluded to in the well-known verse, "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about His people."[1] It is true that this image is not realised, as most persons familiar with our European scenery would wish and expect it to be realised. Jerusalem is not literally shut in by mountains, except on the eastern side, where it may be said to be enclosed by the arms of Olivet, with its outlying ridges on the north-east and south-east. Any one facing Jerusalem westward, northward, or southward, will always see the city itself on an elevation higher than the hills in its immediate neighbourhood, its towers and walls standing out against the sky, and not against any high background

[1] Psalm cxxv. 2.

such as that which encloses the mountain towns and villages of our own Cambrian or Westmorcland valleys. Nor, again, is the plain on which it stands enclosed by a continuous though distant circle of mountains, like that which gives its peculiar charm to Athens and Innspruck. The mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem are of unequal height, and only in two or three instances—Nebi-Samuel, Er-Ram, and Tel-el-Fulil—rising to any considerable elevation. Even Olivet is only a hundred and eighty feet above the top of Mount Zion. Still, they act as a shelter; they must be surmounted before the traveller can see, or the invader attack, the Holy City; and the distant line of Moab would always seem to rise as a wall against invaders from the remote east. It is these mountains, expressly including those beyond the Jordan, which are mentioned as "standing round about Jerusalem" in another and more terrible sense, when, on the night of the assault of Jerusalem by the Roman armies, they "echoed back" the screams of the inhabitants of the captured city, and the victorious shouts of the soldiers of Titus.[1] The situation of Jerusalem was thus not unlike, on a small scale, to that of Rome; saving the great difference that Rome was in a well-watered plain, leading direct to the sea, whereas Jerusalem was on a bare table-land, in the heart of the country. But each was situated on its own cluster of steep hills; each had room for future expansion in the surrounding level; each, too, had its nearer and its more remote barriers of protecting hills — Rome its Janiculum hard by, and its Apennine and Alban mountains in the distance; Jerusalem, its Olivet hard by, and, on the outposts of its plain, Mizpeh, Gibeon, and Ramah, and the ridge which divides it from Bethlehem.

Central situation.

5. This last characteristic of Jerusalem brings us to one more feature—namely, its central situation. First, it was pre-eminently central with regard to the two great tribes of the south—which at the time when the choice was made by David, were the chief tribes of the whole

[1] *συνήχει δὲ ἡ περαία καὶ τὰ πέριξ ὄρη* (Joseph. Bell. Jud. vi. 5, 1). This shows that the "surrounding mountains" were not in the mind of Josephus those close at hand.

nation, the only two which contained a royal house—Judah and Benjamin. So long as Judah maintained its ground alone, Hebron was its natural capital; but from the moment that it became the head of the nation, another home had to be sought nearer its neighbour, at this time its rival tribe. Such a spot exactly was Jebus, or Jerusalem. The ancient city, as belonging to the aboriginal inhabitants, had been excluded equally from the boundaries of either tribe. The limits of Judah reached along the plain up to the edge of the valley of Hinnom, and then abruptly paused. The limits of Benjamin in like manner crept over Olivet to the same point. But the rocky mass on which the Jebusite fortress stood was neutral ground, in the very meeting-point of the two tribes. From the summit of the Mount of Olives—almost from the towers of Zion—could be seen Gibeah, the capital of Benjamin, on its conical hill to the north; and the distant hills, though not the actual city, of Hebron, to the south.

Yet again Jerusalem was on the ridge, the broadest and most strongly marked ridge of the backbone of the complicated hills, which extend through the whole country from the Desert to the plain of Esdraelon. Every wanderer, every conqueror, every traveller, who has trod the central route of Palestine from north to south, must have passed through the table-land of Jerusalem. It was the water-shed between the streams, or rather the torrent-beds, which find their way eastward to the Jordan, and those which pass westward to the Mediterranean. Abraham, as he journeyed from Bethel to Hebron; Jacob, as he wandered on his lonely exile from Beersheba to Bethel; the Levite,[1] on his way from Bethlehem to Gibeah; Joshua, as he forced his way from Jericho, and met the kings in battle at Gibeon; the Philistines, as they came up from the maritime plain, and pitched in Michmash,—no less than Pompey, when, in later times, he came up from the Valley of the Jordan, or the Crusaders, when they came from Tyre, with the express purpose of attacking Jerusalem,—must all have crossed the territory of Jebus.

[1] Judges xix. 11.

Interior of Jerusalem.

II. From what may be called the external situation of Jerusalem, we pass to its internal relations. And here, from perfect certainty, we encounter a mass of topographical controversy unequalled for its extent, for its confusion, and for its bitterness. If the materials, however slight, on which our judgment was to be formed were all before us, it might be worth while to attempt to unravel the entanglement. But the reverse is the case. The data exist, perhaps in abundance, but they are inaccessible. When Jerusalem can be excavated, we shall be able to argue; till then, the dispute is for the most part as hopeless as was that concerning the Roman Forum, before the discovery of the pedestal of the column of Phocas. But without descending into the controverted details, two or three broad facts emerge, which may be stated without fear of future contradiction.

Hills of the City.

1. Whatever may be the adjustment of the names of the heights on which Jerusalem stands, the peculiarity imparted to its general aspect and to its history by these various heights is incontestable. Even in the earlier times, when the city was still compact and narrow, there are traces of its double form. An upper and a lower city,—possibly the dry rock[1] of "Jebus," or "Zion," the "City of David," as distinct from the Mountain of the Vision (Moriah), in whose centre arose the perennial spring, the "City of Solomon,"—are dimly discerned in the first period of Jerusalem.[2] But it was in its latest period that this multiplicity of eminences, which it shares, though in a smaller compass, with Rome and Constantinople, came into play. Then, as now, the broken surface of the slopes of Jerusalem arrested the attention both of Tacitus and Josephus—"the irregular outline," the "high hills," the winding of the ascending and descending walls, were present to them, as they have been to the lively imagina-

[1] See Ewald's Geschichte, iii. 155.

[2] It is possible that this double existence may have given the dual form to the name of "Jerusalaim," which superseded the old form of Jerusalem. It is possible, too, that the name of *Jerusalem*, "the vision of peace," may have been first given from the same vision that originated the name of "Moriah," 2 Chr. iii. 1. Compare "in *Salem* is his 'covert'—his 'den' in *Zion*" (Ps. lxxvi. 1.), the "*Mount* of the daughter of Zion, the *hill* of Jerusalem," Isa. x. 32.

tion of the modern poet and historian to whose lot it has fallen to describe the last days of the Holy City.[1] But it was from more than a mere artistic interest that these several points of the broken ground of Jerusalem were so carefully recorded. In the earlier sieges—so far as the history is concerned—the city might have stood on a single eminence, like Ashdod or Samaria. But in the last siege by Titus, everything turns on the variety and number of posts which the four hills of Jerusalem presented, not merely to the besieged against the besiegers, and to the besiegers against the besieged, but to the besieged against each other. If, in its earlier days, in its more natural aspect, Jerusalem was the likeness of a city that is at unity with itself, in later times its divergent summits curiously represent to us the fatal type of the house which fell, because it was divided against itself.

The Temple Mount.

2. Whatever differences have arisen about the other hills of Jerusalem, there is no question that the mount on which the Mosque of Omar stands, overhanging the Valley of the Kedron, has from the time of Solomon, if not of David, been regarded as the most sacred ground in Jerusalem. And on this hill, whatever may be the controversies respecting the apportionment of its several parts, or the traces of the various architecture which from the time of Solomon downwards have been reared on its rocky sides and surface, two natural objects remain, each of the highest historical interest.

The rock of the "Sakrah.

High in the centre of the platform rises the remarkable rock, now covered by the dome of "the Sakrah."[2] "It is irregular in its form, and measures about sixty feet in one direction, and fifty feet in the other. It projects about five feet above the marble pavement, and the pavement of the mosque is twelve feet above the general level of the enclosure, making this rise seventeen feet above the ground . . . . It appears to be the natural surface of

[1] See Milman's excellent description of Jerusalem, both in the third volume of the History of the Jews (15—17), and still more strikingly in the first volume of the History of Christianity, p. 318. In that description the only words which an eye-witness would erase are, "hemmed in almost on all sides by still loftier mountains."

[2] I quote from the only authentic account, that by Mr. Catherwood, given in Bartlett's Walks about Jerusalem, pp. 156, 163.

Mount Moriah; in a few places there are marks of chiseling; but its south-east corner is an excavated chamber, to which there is a descent by a flight of stone steps. This chamber is irregular in form, and its superficial area is about six hundred feet; the average height seven feet. In the centre of the rocky cave there is a circular slab of marble, which being struck, makes a hollow sound, thereby showing that there is a well, or excavation, beneath."

This mass of rock standing where it does, must always have been an unaccountable disfigurement of the Temple area. The time for arriving at a positive conclusion respecting it is not yet come. But it may be worth while to give the various explanations respecting it, fabulous or historical, during the successive stages of its known history.[1]

(*a*). The Christians, before the Mussulman occupation of Syria, regarded it as the rock of the Holy of Holies, and as such—so different was the feeling of the Christian world with regard to the Old Testament between the fifth century and our own—used every effort to defile it.

(*b*). Regarded as the site of the Holy of Holies by Caliph Omar, it was then by his successors invested with a sanctity only less than the Kaaba of Mecca; believed to be the rock of Jacob's pillow at Bethel; the stone of prophecy, which would have fled on the extinction of that gift, but which was forcibly detained by the angels in anticipation of the visit of Mahomet to Jerusalem in his nocturnal flight, when it bowed to receive him, and retained the impression of his feet as he mounted the celestial Borak. Within the cave every prayer is supposed to be granted, and in the well are believed to rest the souls of the departed between death and the Resurrection.[2]

(*c*). Recovered by the Crusaders, it was exhibited as the scene of the Apparition of the angel to Zacharias, and of the Circumcision of Christ, as also of many other events

[1] It may possibly be the "lapis pertusus" (perforated stone) used as the Jews' wailing-place in the fourth century. But this must be very doubtful.

[2] The belief was that the living could

in the Gospel history of His life. The footmark of Mahomet was then represented as the trace left, when He went out of the Temple to escape the fury of the Jews.[1]

(*d*). In modern times it has been the centre of the most conflicting theories of sacred topography. Mr. Fergusson[2] (chiefly from architectural arguments) has maintained that the dome of the Sakrah is the Church of Constantine, and consequently, that the rock beneath is the rock of the Holy Sepulchre. Mr. Falconer and Mr. Thrupp suppose it to be the rock, or part of the rock, on which stood the tower of Antonia. Professor Willis urges its claim to be the rock of the threshing-floor of Araunah, selected by David, and afterwards continued by Solomon and Zerubbabel as the "unhewn stone" on which to build the Altar; the cave within being the sink described in the Talmud as that into which the blood and offal of the sacrifices were drained off. Undoubtedly, if the measurements of the area would allow of it, this last hypothesis would be the most satisfactory, except so far as it fails to produce adequate examples, of a rock so high and so rugged used for either the purposes of a threshing-floor or an altar.[3]

Meanwhile the rock remains, whatever be its origin, the most curious monument of old Jerusalem, and not the least so, from the unrivalled variety of associations which it has gathered to itself in the vicissitudes of centuries.

Spring in the Temple Vaults.

All accounts combine in asserting that the water of the two pools of Siloam, as well as that of the many fountains of the Mosque of Omar, proceeds from a living spring beneath the Temple-vaults. There was no period

hold converse with these souls at the mouth of the well about any disputed matter which lay in the power of the dead to solve. It was closed, because a mother going to speak to her dead son, was so much agitated at the sound of his voice from below, that she threw herself into the well to join him, and disappeared. This was the story related to me at Jerusalem. A less pleasing version is given by Catherwood (Bartlett's Walks, 154.)

[1] Sæwulf, p. 40.

[2] For Mr. Fergusson's argument, see Chap. XIV.

[3] One argument which Professor Willis has omitted in favour of his position may be noticed. In 1 Chr. xxi. 20, 21, it is said that "Ornan and his four sons *hid themselves*," apparently within the threshing-floor, for it is added that as David came to Ornan, "*Ornan looked* and *went out* of the threshing-floor." Possibly it was customary to have a cave under the rock of the threshing-floor to conceal the corn—as in the cave of Gideon at Ophrah, Jud. vi. 11. A cave also exists in connection with what was undoubtedly the base of the Samaritan altar on Gerizim. (See Chap. V.)

of its history when such a provision would not have been important to the Temple for the ablutions of the Jewish, no less than of the Mussulman, worship; or to the city, which else was dry even to a proverb. It was the treasure of Jerusalem—its support through its numerous sieges—the "fons perennis aquæ" of Tacitus[1]—the source of Milton's

"Brook that flowed
Hard by the oracle of God."

But more than this, it was the image which entered into the very heart of the prophetical idea of Jerusalem. "There is a river [a perennial river], the streams[2] whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacle of the Most High." "All my fresh springs shall be in thee."[3] "Draw water out of the wells of salvation."[4] In Ezekiel's vision[5] the thought is expanded into a vast cataract flowing out through the Temple-rock eastward and westward into the ravines of Hinnom and Kedron, till they swell into a mighty river, fertilising the desert of the Dead Sea. And with still greater distinctness the thought appears again, and for the last time, in the discourse, when in the courts of the Temple, "In the last day, in that great day of the feast [of Tabernacles], Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, . . . . out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water."[6]

Buildings—Walls and towers.

3. In every approach to the modern Jerusalem, the first and most striking feature—in the approach from the south, the only striking feature,—is the long line of walls and towers. Most eastern cities are entered gradually. Cairo, Damascus, Beyrout, have outstepped the limits of their ancient fortifications, and the lesser towns, such as Hebron and Nablous, have not that protection. But Jerusalem is in the singular position of a city of sufficient importance, if not for its size, at least for its dignity, to have deserved a circuit of walls, whilst it is, at the same time, so exposed to the assaults of the wild villagers and still wilder Bedouins of the neighbourhood, that it has

[1] Tac. Hist. v. 12.
[2] Ps. xlvi. 4. The word "Nahar" excludes the Kedron.
[3] Ps. lxxxvii. 7.
[4] Isa. xii. 3.
[5] Ezek. xlvii. 1—5; see Chapter VII.
[6] John vii. 37, 38.

not ventured to pass beyond its fortifications. The same terror which has collected the entire population of Palestine from isolated houses into villages,[1] has confined the population of its capital within the city walls. With the exception of the almost savage inhabitants of the caves and hovels of Siloam, no ordinary habitation can be fixed outside; the town is entirely enclosed, the gates locked at night, and the present walls, which date from the time of the great Ottoman Sultan, Selim I., conqueror of Egypt in the year of the European Reformation, thus become an essential feature in every view of the place from within or from without.

This to a certain extent must have been the case always: Jerusalem must at all times have been in a state of insecurity, too great to allow of any neglect of her fortifications. From first to last, History and Poetry is always recurring to the mention of her walls and gates and towers. "Walk about Zion—go round about her, tell the towers thereof; mark well her bulwarks."[2] David, Solomon, Hezekiah are all concerned in the fortifications of the city of the Monarchy. To have raised the walls of the city of the Restoration was the chief glory of Nehemiah. Herod's walls and towers, called after the favourites of his court and family, were amongst his most celebrated works. The Temple itself was a fortress of massive foundations and gigantic gateways on every side; the walls great and high, with the gates of precious stone, furnished the chief images of the Heavenly Jerusalem both in the Old and New Testament; and the idea of the "chief corner-stone," and of the "stones" of the living Temple of God, which pervade the Evangelical and Apostolical imagery, were suggested, in the first instance, by the vast masses of stone which, whether of the date of Solomon or Herod, form so imposing a part of the existing walls of the ancient Temple-area. But this was not the only distinction which set off the outward aspect of the city against the other towns of Palestine. Of these the modern walls give, as has been observed, some notion. Not so, however, the modern buildings. With the one

Palaces.

[1] See Chapter II. pp. 135, 136.

[2] Psalm xlviii. 12, 13.

exception of the Mosque of Omar, it is difficult to raise up to the mind's eye from the ruins of the present Jerusalem the magnificent sight which, in the times both of the Davidic and the Herodian monarchy, must have presented itself to any spectator. Other residences of regal luxury arose elsewhere,—as we shall see in Shechem and Samaria,—but Jerusalem only was a city of palaces. Compared with the other villages and towns of Palestine, contrasted with the mountain-wilderness of its own immediate neighbourhood, it is always spoken of as a splendid and dazzling spectacle. What was the architecture, what the colour, what the form of these palaces we know not; even the Temple is only to be restored by imperfect guesses. But it was this general aspect which excited the admiration of Psalmists and prophets—"Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth is Mount Zion;" "on the sides of the north is the city of the Great King;" "God is well known in her palaces;" "consider her palaces."[1]

Ruins.

This was the ancient peculiarity of its appearance. The modern peculiarity is still more characteristic. If, as we have before observed, Palestine is a land of ruins, still more emphatically may it be said that Jerusalem is a city of ruins. Here and there a regular street, or a well-built European house emerges from the general crash, but the general appearance is that of a city which has been burnt down in some great conflagration;[2] and this impression is increased to the highest degree when, on penetrating below the surface, the very soil on which the city stands is found to be composed of ruins of houses, aqueducts, and pillars, reaching to a depth of thirty or forty feet below the foundations of the present houses. This circumstance is important, not only as imparting to the city its remarkable form and colour, but also as telling the story of its eventful course. The old Jerusalem is buried in the overthrow of her seventeen captures. Even if the city were to be rebuilt once more, the soil on which its new foundations must be laid would bear witness to the

[1] Psalm xlviii. 2, 3, 12.

[2] "The houses of Jerusalem look as if they had been burnt down many centuries ago." Richardson, ii. 268.

faithfulness of the image of her earlier desolation; "the stones of the sanctuary poured out at the top of every street;"[1] "they have made Jerusalem a heap of stones;"[2] "not one stone shall be left upon another, that shall not be thrown down."[3]

The Mount of Olives.

III. It has been already observed that "the hills which stand round about Jerusalem" are for the most part too remote to enter into any consideration of the situation or internal relations of the city itself. There are none on the south nearer than the ridge of St. Elias, none on the west nearer than Nebi-Samuel, none on the north nearer than Gibeah or Ramah. But on the east the city is immediately enclosed by a long ridge, itself with four distinct summits, one outlier starting off to the north, and another to the south. This ridge is that known both in the Old and the New Testament as the Mount of Olives or of the Olive-garden.[4] Its four summits are now distinguished by traditional names:—1. The "Galilee," from the supposition that there the Angels stood and said, "Ye men of Galilee." 2. The "Ascension," covered by the village and mosque and church of the Gebel-et-Tur (the Arabic name for Olivet, as for all elevated summits,) on the supposed scene of that event. 3. The "Prophets," from the curious catacomb called the "Prophets' Tombs" on its side. 4. "The Mount of Offence," so called from Solomon's idol-worship. The northern outlier has been in modern times usually called "Scopus;" the southern, the "Hill of Evil Counsel," marked from far by the single wind-driven tree called the "Tree of Judas." From every roof of the city this long ridge forms a familiar feature—so near, so immediately overhanging the town, that it almost seems to be within it. Even in the more distant view from the summit of Nebi-Samuel the two are so closely intermingled, that it is difficult at first sight to part the outline of the village on the top of Olivet from the outline of the town and walls of Jerusalem itself.

The olives and oliveyards, from which it derived its

[1] Lam. iv. 1.
[2] Ps. lxxix. 1.
[3] Mat. xxiv. 2.
[4] Acts i. 12, τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος, translated "Olivetum" in the Vulgate, and hence "Olivet."

name, must in earlier times have clothed it far more completely than at present, where it is only in the deeper and more secluded slope leading up to the northernmost summit that these venerable trees spread into anything like a forest. And in those times, as we see from the name of Bethany (House of Dates), and from the allusions after the Captivity and in the Gospel History, myrtle-groves, pines, and palm-trees [1]—all of which have now disappeared—must have made it a constant resort for pleasure and seclusion. Two gigantic cedars, probably amongst the very few in Palestine, stood, near its summit, under which were four shops where pigeons were sold for purification.[2] The olive and fig now alone remain; the olive, still in more or less abundance, the fig [3] here and there on the road-side; but both enough to justify the Mussulman's belief, that in the oath in the Koran, "By the olive and the fig," the Almighty swears by His favoured city of Jerusalem, with this adjacent mountain.

So close a proximity at once makes us expect to find the history of the Mount of Olives inseparably united with the history of the Holy City. To a certain extent this was the case. The name by which it is sometimes called "the mountain before (*i. e.* east of) the city;" or "the mountain" simply, indicates its near position. It was their open ground—for pleasure, for worship, for any purpose that it might serve; the "Park"—the "Ceramicus"—the "Campus Martius" of Jerusalem. Its green slopes, as seen in the early spring, stand out in refreshing contrast to the dreary and withered ruins of the city at its foot. It was also, from its situation, the bulwark against any enemy approaching from the east; the thoroughfare of any going or coming in the direction of the great Jordan valley. In accordance with this, are the few notices we find of it in the older history. The sacrifice of the "red heifer," the only sacrifice which was to be performed outside [4] the camp in the wilderness, being by

Connection with the ancient history.

[1] See Chapter II. These palms were of a peculiar kind, called "Zini," "Caphnatha." (Sukkah, iii. 1; and in Schwarze, pp. 257, 264.)

[2] Lightfoot, ii. 39.

[3] It appears probable that Bethphage is so called from "phago" "green figs." Lightfoot, ii. 37.

[4] Numb. xix. 2, 3.

analogy excluded from the Temple-courts, was celebrated as near as possible to them,—and therefore on the slope of Olivet.[1] David, before the Temple was built,—and whilst "high places" were still the recognised scenes of religious services,—was wont to "worship God at the top of the Mount."[2] Solomon, when, in his later years, he tolerated or adopted the idolatrous rites of his foreign wives, made "high places" of the three summits "on the right-hand,[3] [that is, on the south side] of the Mount of Corruption."[4]

With the exception of these general allusions, there is but one event in the Old Testament which lends any interest to its heights. It was by the ascent of Mount Olivet that David went up, on his flight from Jerusalem to Mahanaim, at the news of Absalom's revolt.[5] It was at the top of the Mount that he met Hushai, and had his last view of the rebellious city.[6] It was a little way past the top that he encountered Ziba and the asses, laden with provisions. It was as he descended the rough road on the other side, that "Shimei went along on the side[7] of the 'mountain' over against him, and threw stones at him, and cast dust." Flight of David.

This mournful procession—affecting as it is, and linked with every stage of the ascent and descent,—stands alone in the earlier history of the Mount of Olives. Its lasting glory belongs not to the Old Dispensation, but to the New. Its very barrenness of interest in earlier times sets forth the abundance of those associations which it derives from the closing scenes of the Sacred History. Nothing, perhaps, brings before us more strikingly the contrast of Jewish and Christian feeling, the abrupt and inharmonious termination of the Jewish dispensation,—if it excludes the culminating point of the Gospel History,—than to contrast the blank which Olivet presents to the Connection with the Gospel History.

[1] Mishna, *Para*, iii. 6.

[2] 2 Sam. xv. 32.

[3] This expression seems to show that the 'Mount of Offence' was not the summit which is now so called on the south, but that which is called "Galilee," on the north—perhaps that which in earlier times had been known as Nob, the temporary abode of the Tabernacle.

[4] 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13. The name of Mashchith, ("corruption") which occurs in this last passage is the only one by which Olivet is called in the Mishna. (Para, pp. 276, 277, 279.) It is also so called by Zuallart in the fifteenth century, i. p. 38.

[5] 2 Sam. xv. 30. [6] 2 Sam. xv. 32.

[7] 2 Sam. xvi. 13. The word is properly 'rib.'

Jewish pilgrims of the middle ages, only dignified by the sacrifice of "the red heifer;" and the vision too great for words, which it offers to the Christian traveller of all times, as the most detailed and the most authentic abiding-place of Jesus Christ. By one of those strange coincidences, whether accidental or borrowed, which occasionally appear in the Rabbinical writings,—it is said in the Mishna, that the Shechinah, or Presence of God, after having finally retired from Jerusalem, "dwelt" three years and a half on the Mount of Olives, to see whether the Jewish people would or would not repent, calling, "Return to me, O my sons, and I will return to you;" "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call upon Him while He is near;" and then, when all was in vain, returned to its own place.[1] Whether or not this story has a direct allusion to the ministrations of Christ, it is a true expression of His relation, respectively, to Jerusalem and to Olivet. It is useless to seek for traces of His presence in the streets of the since ten times captured city.[2] It is impossible not to find them in the free space of the Mount of Olives.

Presence of Christ.

Let us briefly go through the points which occur in the Sacred History, of the last days of Christ, during which alone He appears for any continuous period in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. From Bethany we must begin. A wild mountain-hamlet screened by an intervening ridge from the view of the top of Olivet, perched on its broken plateau of rock, the last collection of human habitations before the desert-hills which reach to Jericho—this is the modern village of El-Lazarieh, which derives its name from its clustering round the traditional site of the one house and grave which give it an undying interest.[3] High in the distance are the Peræan mountains; the foreground is the deep descent to the Jordan valley. On the further side of that dark abyss Martha and Mary knew that Christ was abiding when they sent their messenger; up

Bethany.

[1] Reland's Palestine, p. 337; Lightfoot, ii. p. 40.

[2] For the special traditional localities of Jerusalem, see Chap. XIV.

[3] Schwarze (263) endeavours to identify El-Azarieh with *Azal* (Zech. xiv. 5), and to find Bethany at a spot called by the Arabs Beth-hana, near Siloam, on the western side of Olivet. His motive, though entirely suppressed, is evident. But his argument has next to nothing on which to rest.

that long ascent they had often watched His approach—up that long ascent He came when, outside the village, Martha and Mary met Him, and the Jews stood round weeping.

Up that same ascent He came, also, at the beginning of the week of His Passion. One night He halted in the village, as of old; the village and the Desert were then all alive, —as they still are once every year at the Greek Easter,— with the crowd of Paschal pilgrims moving to and fro between Bethany and Jerusalem. In the morning, He set forth on His journey. Three pathways lead, and probably always led, from Bethany to Jerusalem; [1] one, a steep footpath over the summit of Mount Olivet; another, by a long circuit over its northern shoulder, down the valley which parts it from Scopus; the third, the natural continuation of the road by which mounted travellers always approach the city from Jericho, over the southern shoulder, between the summit which contains the Tombs of the Prophets and that called the 'Mount of Offence.' There can be no doubt that this last is the road of the Entry of Christ, not only because, as just stated, it is and must always have been the usual approach for horsemen and for large caravans, such as then were concerned, but also because this is the only one of the three approaches which meets the requirements of the narrative which follows.

Triumphal entry of Christ to Jerusalem.

Two vast streams of people met on that day. The one poured out [2] from the city, and as they came through the gardens [3] whose clusters of palm rose on the south-eastern corner of Olivet, they cut down the long branches,

[1] Most travellers, I believe, go to Bethany by the third, and return by the second, and thus miss the precise views so important in fixing the localities of these events. I went by the first and returned by the third; and the result will appear as we proceed. See the Map on p. 158.

[2] John xii. 12, (ὄχλος ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν) "The multitude *which came to the feast* took *the* branches of *the* palm-trees. (ἔλαβον τὰ βαΐα τῶν φοινίκων). . . . . The multitude also met him (καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ).

[3] Mark xi. 8, "having cut the branches (κοψάντες) from the gardens" (ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν). So read the Vatican and Cambridge MSS., and the Syriac and Coptic versions, for ἐκ τῶν δένδρων. Ἀγρὸς is properly "a cultivated field" or "property," such as was found in the neighbourhood of towns. Compare Mark v. 14, "the city and the fields;" Matt. vi. 28, "the lilies of the field." I have used the word *gardens* as the nearest approach which our language affords. Eastern *gardens*, it must be remembered, are not flower-gardens, nor private gardens, but the orchards, vineyards, and fig-enclosures round the town.

as was their wont at the Feast of Tabernacles, and moved upwards towards Bethany, with loud shouts of welcome. From Bethany streamed forth the crowds who had assembled there on the previous night, and who came testifying[1] to the great event at the sepulchre of Lazarus. The road soon loses sight of Bethany. It is now a rough, but still broad and well-defined mountain track, winding over rock and loose stones; a steep declivity below on the left; the sloping shoulder of Olivet above it on the right; fig-trees below and above, here and there growing out of the rocky soil. Along the road the multitudes threw down the branches which they cut as they went along, or spread out a rude matting formed of the palm-branches they had already cut as they came out. The larger portion—those, perhaps, who escorted Him from Bethany—unwrapped their loose cloaks from their shoulders, and stretched them along the rough path, to form a momentary carpet as He approached.[2] The two streams met midway. Half of the vast mass, turning round, preceded, the other half followed.[3] Gradually the long procession swept up and over the ridge, where first begins "the descent of the Mount of Olives" towards Jerusalem. At this point the first view is caught of the south-eastern corner of the city. The Temple and the more northern portions are hid by the slope of Olivet on the right; what is seen is only Mount Zion, now for the most part a rough field, crowned with the Mosque of David and the angle of the western walls, but then covered with houses to its

[1] "The 'multitude' (ὁ ὄχλος) that was with him when he called Lazarus from the grave .... 'was bearing record'" (ἐμαρτύρει), John xii. 17.

[2] "'The greater part of the multitude' (ὁ πλεῖστος ὄχλος) 'strewed their own cloaks' (ἔστρωσαν ἑαυτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια) in the 'road;' but others 'were cutting down' branches from the trees, and 'were strewing them' in the 'road,' (ἔκοπτον ... ἐστρώννυον), Matt. xxi. 8. Observe the difference of the tenses ... τὰ ἱμάτια, the 'abba' or 'hyke,' the loose blanket or cloak worn over the tunic or shirt, (χιτὼν). A striking instance of the practice is mentioned by Robinson, ii. 162, when the inhabitants of Bethlehem threw their garments under the feet of the horses of the English Consul of Damascus, whose aid they were imploring. The *branches* (κλάδοι) cut from the trees as they went, (Matt. xxi. 8) are different from the *mattings* (στοίβαδες), Mark xi. 8, which they had twisted out of the palm-branches as they came. στίβας is usually a mattress; in Plato's Rep. ii. 1372, it is a mat made of ivy or myrtle. Here, in all probability, it was hastily woven of palm-branches.

[3] Mark xi. 9. "Those that were going before, and those that were following, were shouting," οἱ προάγοντες καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔκραζον.

base, surmounted by the Castle of Herod, on the supposed site of the palace of David, from which that portion of Jerusalem, emphatically the "City of David," derived its name. It was at this precise point, "as He drew near, at the descent of the Mount of Olives,"[1]—(may it not have been from the sight thus opening upon them?)—that the shout of triumph burst forth from the multitude, "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Blessed is the kingdom that cometh of our father *David*. Hosanna . . . peace . . . glory in the highest."[2] There was a pause as the shout rang through the long defile; and, as the Pharisees who stood by in the crowd[3] complained, He pointed to the stones which, strewn beneath their feet, would immediately "cry out" if "these were to hold their peace."

Again the procession advanced. The road descends a slight declivity, and the glimpse of the city is again withdrawn behind the intervening ridge of Olivet. A few moments, and the path mounts again, it climbs a rugged ascent, it reaches a ledge of smooth rock, and in an instant the whole city bursts into view. As now the dome of the Mosque El-Aksa rises like a ghost from the earth before the traveller stands on the ledge, so then must have risen the Temple tower; as now the vast enclosure of the Mussulman sanctuary, so then must have spread the Temple courts; as now the gray town on its broken hills, so then the magnificent city, with its background—long since vanished away—of gardens and suburbs on the western plateau behind. Immediately below was the Valley of the Kedron, here seen in its greatest depth as it joins the

[1] Luke xix. 37, "as He drew near, even now, (ἤδη), at the descent of the Mount of Olives (πρὸς τῇ καταβάσει τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν), i.e., at the point where the road over the Mount begins to descend. This exactly applies to such a shoulder of the hill as I have described, and is entirely inapplicable to the first view, the first "nearing" of the city, on crossing the direct summit. The expression would then have been "at the top of the mount." —The allusion to the "City of David" would be appropriate, even if, as has been recently conjectured (Thrupp's Ancient Jerusalem, pp. 17—20), the name of Zion had at that time received an application different from its earlier meaning.

[2] I have ventured to concentrate the expressions of Matt. xxi. 9, Mark xi. 9, John xii. 13, on the one precise point described by Luke xix. 37, "The whole multitude began . . . to praise God with a loud voice."

[3] Luke xix. 39. "Some of the Pharisees 'from the crowd.'"

Valley of Hinnom, and thus giving full effect to the great peculiarity of Jerusalem, seen only on its eastern side—its situation as of a city rising out of a deep abyss. It is hardly possible to doubt that this rise and turn of the road, —this rocky ledge,—was the exact point where the multitude paused again, and "He, when He beheld the city, wept over it."

Nowhere else on the Mount of Olives is there a view like this. By the two other approaches, above mentioned, over the summit, and over the northern shoulder, of the hill, the city reveals itself gradually; there is no partial glimpse like that which has been just described as agreeing so well with the first outbreak of popular acclamation, still less is there any point where, as here, the city and Temple would suddenly burst into view, producing the sudden and affecting impression described in the Gospel narrative. And this precise coincidence is the more remarkable because the traditional route of the Triumphal Entry is over the summit of Olivet; and the traditional spot of the lamentation is at a place half-way down the mountain, to which the description is wholly inapplicable, whilst no tradition attaches to this, the only road by which a large procession could have come; and this, almost the only spot of the Mount of Olives which the Gospel narrative fixes with exact certainty, is almost the only unmarked spot,—undefiled or unhallowed by mosque or church, chapel or tower—left to speak for itself, that here the Lord's feet stood, and here His eyes beheld what is still the most impressive view which the neighbourhood of Jerusalem furnishes,—and the tears rushed forth at the sight.

After this scene—which, with the one exception of the conversation at the Well of Jacob, stands alone in the Gospel history for the vividness and precision of its localisation—it is hardly worth while to dwell on the spots elsewhere pointed out by tradition or probability on the rest of the Mountain. They belong, for the most part, to the "Holy Places" of later pilgrimage, not to the authentic illustrations of the Sacred History. It is enough to know that to the gardens and olive-yards which then, as now,—but probably with greater richness of foliage, and greater

security of walls and watch-towers,—covered the slopes of the hill, He resorted, as His countrymen must always have resorted, for retirement and refreshment from the crowded streets of the city. On one of the rocky banks of the mountain, immediately "over against the Temple," He sate and saw the sun go down over the city,[1] and foretold its final doom. Bethany, on the further side, was the home to which He retired; any of the fig-trees which spring out of the rocky soil on either side of the road, might be the one which bore no fruit. On the wild uplands which immediately overhang the village, He withdrew from the eyes of His disciples, in a seclusion which, perhaps, could nowhere else be found so near the stir of a mighty city—the long ridge of Olivet screening those hills, and those hills the village beneath them, from all sound or sight of the city behind, the view opening only on the wide waste of desert-rocks and ever-descending valleys, into the depths of the distant Jordan and its mysterious lake. At this point, the last interview took place. "He led them out as far as Bethany;" and "they returned" probably by the direct road, over the summit of Mount Olivet.[2] The appropriateness of the real scene presents a singular contrast to the inappropriateness of that fixed by a later fancy, "seeking for a sign," on the broad top of the mountain, out of sight of Bethany, and in full sight of Jerusalem, and thus in equal contradiction to the letter and the spirit of the Gospel narrative.

The Last Prophecy.

The Ascension.

These are all the points which can be certainly connected with the life of Christ in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood.

[1] Such at least is the probable inference from Luke xxi. 37, that He was usually in the Temple for the daytime, and retired to the mountain in the evening. From the circumstance that the gates of the city are closed at sunset, very few travellers have ever seen this view of Jerusalem at this most impressive moment of the day. The only recorded instance is in Bartlett's Jerusalem Revisited, p. 115. "Beautiful as this view was in the morning, it was far more striking when the sun about to sink in the west cast a rich slanting glow along the level grassy area, and marble platform of the Temple enclosure, touching with gold the edge of the Dome of the Rock, and the light arabesque fountains with which the area is studded; while the eastern walls and the deep valley below are thrown into a deep and solemn shadow creeping, as the orb sinks lower, further and further towards the summit (of Olivet), irradiated with one parting gleam of roseate light, after all below was sunk in obscurity."

[2] Luke xxiv. 50; Acts i. 12. See Chapter XIV.

Yet, perhaps, there is a general impression left by the whole, more instructive than any detail.

Conclusion.

At the sight of Delphi, there is one thought which rises even above the deep solemnity of the spot, and that is the sense of its vacancy and desertion. The scene seemed, as I saw it many years ago, to be the exact echo of Milton's noble lines—

> "The oracles are dumb,
> No voice or hideous hum
> Runs thro' the arched roof in words deceiving:
> Apollo from his shrine
> Can no more divine,
> With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving."

Something akin to this feeling is that which is finally left on the mind after exploring the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. At first, there cannot but be something of a shock in seeing before our eyes and under our feet places in comparison with whose sanctity the High Altar of St. Peter's would seem profane. Yet gradually this thought dissolves, and another comes in its place. These localities have, indeed, no real connection with Him. It is true that they bring the scene vividly before us—that, in many instances, as we shall see hereafter, they illustrate His words and works in detail. But the more we gaze at them, the more do we feel that this interest and instruction are secondary, not primary: their value is imaginative and historical, not religious. The desolation and degradation, which have so often left on those who visit Jerusalem the impression of an accursed city, read in this sense a true lesson:—"He is not here: He is risen."

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE HEIGHTS AND THE PASSES OF BENJAMIN.

Joshua xviii. 11—13. "And the lot of the tribe of the children of Benjamin came up according to their families: and the coast of their lot came forth between the children of Judah and the children of Joseph.—And their border on the north side was from Jordan; and the border went up to the side of Jericho on the north side, and went up through the mountains westward; and the goings out thereof were at the wilderness of Beth-aven.—And the border went over from thence toward Luz, to the side of Luz, which is Beth-el, southward; and the border descended to Ataroth-adar, near the hill that lieth on the south side of the nether Beth-horon."

Benjamin, the frontier tribe—Its independence.—I. The Passes. 1. The Eastern Passes. (*a.*) Battle of Ai. (*b.*) Battle of Michmash. (*c.*) Advance of Sennacherib. 2. The Western Passes—Battles of Beth-horon—Joshua—Maccabæus—Cestius.—II. The Heights. 1. Nebi-Samuel or Gibeon. 2. Bethel—Abraham—Jacob—Jeroboam—Josiah. Note on Ramah and Mizpeh.

[In this Chapter, as in the 7th, 9th, and 11th, I have, in consideration of the subject, thought it advisable to interweave the History with the Topography to a greater extent than would be otherwise justified.]

# THE HEIGHTS AND THE PASSES OF BENJAMIN.

JERUSALEM, as we have seen, was on the very outskirts of Judah, only excluded from the territory of Benjamin by the circumstance, that at the division of the land by Joshua, Jebus was not yet conquered. Indeed, in the blessing on Benjamin it would appear to be reckoned as his portion. "The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety, and the[1] 'Most High' shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders,"—that is between the rocky sides of Jerusalem. The southern frontier of Benjamin ran through the ravine of Hinnom, and it is evidently on them that the charge of exterminating the Jebusites was thought to have rested:—"The children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin to this day."[2]

Benjamin, the frontier tribe of Judah and Ephraim.

This peculiar relation to Jerusalem may be traced in the whole history of Benjamin. It was the frontier tribe, and covered the debateable ground between the great rival families, and afterwards kingdoms, of Judah and Ephraim. Alternately it seems to have followed the fortunes of each. In earlier times it certainly clung to the kindred tribes of Joseph, with which it had been associated in the passage through the wilderness.[3] It took its place with Ephraim and Manasseh in the gathering of the

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 12. The translation here given seems the most probable. The word translated "shoulder" is the same that is usually employed (like our English word) for the "side" of a hill, and is so used of this very situation in Josh. xviii. 16, "The shoulder of the Jebusite." See Appendix; *Cataph.*

[2] Judges i. 21.

[3] Numb. ii. 18—24.

tribes under Deborah and Barak.[1] The bitterest enemies of the house of David—Saul, Shimei, and Sheba—were Benjamites. It is expressly included under the house of Joseph, both at the beginning of the national disruption as well as during its continuance.[2] Two of its most important towns, Bethel and Jericho, were within the territory of the northern kingdom. On the other hand, besides the fact that Jerusalem belonged to Judah, there must have been a portion at least which remained faithful to the house of David, in order to justify the expression, that Rehoboam "assembled all the house of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin"[3] to fight against Jeroboam; Ramah, though once occupied by the kings of Samaria,[4] seems to have been more generally included within the limits of Judah; and, finally, after the return from the Captivity, the chiefs of Judah and Benjamin always appear together at the head of the restored people.[5]

Small as the tribe was, this ambiguous situation gave it considerable importance—an importance which was increased by a further peculiarity of the Benjamite territory. Of all the tribes of Israel, none, except perhaps Manasseh, contained such important passes of communication into the adjacent plains—none possessed such conspicuous heights, whether for defence or for "high places" of worship. These advantages in the hands of a hardy and warlike tribe ensured an independence to Benjamin, which the Hebrew records constantly contrast with its numerical feebleness and limited territory.—"Little Benjamin their ruler," "Am not I a Benjamite, of the smallest of the tribes of Israel?"[6] In his mountain-passes—the ancient haunt of beasts of prey,[7] Benjamin "ravined as a wolf in the morning," descended into the rich plains of Philistia on the one side, and of the Jordan on the other, and "returned in the evening to divide the

Independent power of the tribe.

[1] Judges v. 14.
[2] 2 Sam. ii. 9. Ps. lxxx. 2. See Hengstenberg *ad loc.*
[3] 1 Kings xii. 21.
[4] 1 Kings xv. 17—22.
[5] Ezra i. 5; iv. 1; x. 9.
[6] Ps. lxviii. 27; 1 Sam. ix. 21.
[7] Here was the "ravine of Zeboim," or hyenas, (1 Sam. xiii. 18) and "the house of Shual," or of the fox. The wolf is either the same as the hyena, the Hebrew word being almost identical—or else has been extirpated.

spoil."[1] In the troubled period of the Judges, the tribe of Benjamin maintained a struggle, unaided, and for some time with success, against the whole of the rest of the nation.[2] And to the latest times they never could forget that they had given birth to the first king. Even down to the times of the New Testament, the name of Saul was still preserved in their families; and when a far greater of that name appealed to his descent, or to the past history of his nation, a glow of satisfaction is visible in the marked emphasis with which he alludes to the "stock of Israel, the tribe of Benjamin,"[3] and to God's gift of "Saul, the son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin."[4]

The Passes of Benjamin.

I. Let us examine this peculiarity of position in detail, so far as it elucidates the events which have occurred on the territory of this illustrious tribe. I have already said that the table-land on which Jerusalem is situated extends for some miles into the heart of the territory of Benjamin. Along this water-shed, the direct road from Jerusalem to the north is now and must always have been carried. But it is not on this ridge itself that the Passes of Benjamin occur. They run, like all the valleys which deserve this name, in southern and central Palestine, not from north to south, but from east to west, or west to east—often, as Dr. Robinson observes, overlapping each other's heads in the centre of the table-land from which they take their departure.[5]

From the Valley of the Jordan, accordingly, on one hand, and from the Maritime Plain, on the other, two main ascents may be selected, in which almost all the important military operations of central Palestine are concentrated.

The Eastern Passes.

1. Jericho was the key of the eastern pass. From this point, the most direct, and without doubt the ancient road, into the interior of the country, was through the deep ravine, now called the Wâdy Kelt, which, after receiving the

[1] Gen. xlix. 27.
[2] Judges xx., xxi. [3] Phil. iii. 5.
[4] Acts xiii. 21. Gischala,—which Jerome asserts (in contradiction to the Apostle's own statement) to be the birth-place of the Apostle, but which may possibly have been that of his parents,—is said to be near Ramah.
[5] This tract has been but very imperfectly explored. Dr. Robinson's account which is here followed was taken from his guides. All that he saw, and all that we saw, was the first beginning of the pass in the Wâdy Suweinit and its termination in the Wâdy Kelt. (See Robinson, vol. ii. 116, 307.)

Wâdy Fowar, runs ultimately through a deep chasm into the Wâdy Suweinit, and then climbs into the heart of the mountains of Benjamin, till it meets the central ridge of the country at Bethel. Indefinite as this description, in our imperfect state of information, must necessarily be, it agrees well with all the ancient notices of the communication between Jericho and the interior, in the Old Testament. At the Christian era it was apparently superseded by the present road by Bethany to Jerusalem, of which I shall speak hereafter.[1]

Battle of Ai.

(*a.*) The first great ascent was that of Joshua. Jericho had been taken; and the next step was to penetrate into the hills above. It was a critical moment, for it was exactly at the similar stage of their approach to Palestine from the south, that the Israelites had met with the severe repulse at Hormah, which had driven them back into the desert for forty years. "Joshua," accordingly, "sent men from Jericho to Ai, which is beside Bethaven, on the east side of Bethel, and spake unto them, saying, Go up and view the country."[2] The precise position of Ai is unknown; but this indication points out its probable site in the wild entanglement of hill and valley at the head of the Wâdy Suweinit. The two attempts of the Israelites that followed upon the report of the spies, are quite in accordance with the natural features of the pass. In the first attempt, the inhabitants of Ai, taking advantage of their strong position on the heights, drove the invaders "from before the gate,"[3] . . . . and smote them in "the going down" of the steep descent. In the second attempt, after the Israelites had been reassured by the execution of Achan "in the valley of Achor,"—probably one of the valleys opening into the Ghor—the attack was conducted on different principles. An ambush was placed by night high up in the Wâdy Suweinit, between Ai and Bethel. Joshua himself took up his

[1] See Chapters VII. and XIII.

[2] Joshua vii. 2.

[3] "Even unto (the) Shebarim." Gesenius makes this "even to destruction," as in Lam. ii. 11. iii. 47; Prov. xvi. 18; Isa. i. 28. May it not be "even to the breakings," "the fissures" at the opening of the passes? as in Isa. xxx. 12, 14, lxv. 14; Lev. xxi. 19, xxiv. 20; Ps. lx. 2. (Thus Zunz *ad loc.* "bis zu den Brüchen.") The LXX omits the words.

position on the north side of "the ravine," apparently the deep chasm through which the Wâdy Suweinit, as before described, descends to the Wâdy Kelt.[1] From this point the army descended into the valley, Joshua himself, it would seem, remaining on the heights;—and, decoyed by them, the King of Ai with his forces pursued them as before into the "desert"[2] valley of the Jordan; whilst the ambush, at the signal of Joshua's uplifted spear, rushed down on the city; and then amidst the mingled attack at the head of the pass from behind, and the return of the main body from the desert of the Jordan, the whole population of Ai was destroyed, and a heap of ruins on its site, with a huge cairn over the grave of its last king, remained long afterwards as the sole memorials of the destroyed city.[3]

(*b.*) The next time that the pass of Ai appears is in a situation of events almost exactly reversed. The lowest depression which the Israelite state ever reached before the Captivity, was in the disastrous period during the first struggles of the monarchy, when the Philistines, after the great victory over the sons of Eli, became the virtual masters of the country; and not content with defending their own rich plain, ascended the passes from the west,[4] —and pitched in the heart of the mountains of Benjamin, in "Michmash, eastward from Bethaven." The designation of the site of Michmash is so similar to that which is used to describe Ai as inevitably to suggest the conjecture that

Battle of Michmash.

[1] Jos. viii. 11. The use of the article and the word *ge* (ravine) identifies the scene. There is some uncertainty thrown over this part of the battle by the variations of the LXX, who read the 11th, 12th and 13th verses as follows: "And all the people of war that were with him went up, and in their march came before the city on the east, and the ambush (before) the city on the west."

[2] Both words are used for the same region, "the plain" (Arabah), viii. 14, "the wilderness" (midbar), 15, 20, 24.

[3] Jos. viii. 28, 29. Two words are used in these two places, *Tel* and *Gal*, the first indicating the ruin of the city itself, the other, the cairn over the king's grave. It would almost seem from the stress laid on the ruins, and from the disappearance of the name from this time forward, as if "Ai" (or, more strictly, Ha-ai, *the* ruins) was a later name to indicate its fall.

[4] 1 Sam. xiii. 5. The Philistines gathered themselves together to fight with Israel—"thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand upon the sea-shore in multitude, and they came up and pitched in Michmash." This is one of the places where it is difficult not to imagine that the numbers in the text are overstated. It should be observed, that the gathering of the chariots and horsemen may, and indeed must, be understood to be on the Philistian plain, *before* the ascent of the mountain-passes.

it was the successor, if not to its actual site, at least to its general position; and this agrees with the identification of the two in the conflicting traditions of the inhabitants of the modern village, by whose name (Mukmas) the ancient Michmash is now represented.[1] Before the face of this terrible visitation, the people fled in all directions. Some even took refuge beyond the Jordan. Most were sheltered in those hiding-places which all parts of Palestine, but especially the broken ridges of this neighbourhood, abundantly afford. The rocks are perforated in every direction with "caves," and "holes," and "pits,"[2]—crevices and fissures sunk deep in the rocky soil, such as those in which the Israelites are described as concealing themselves. The name of Michmash ("hidden treasure"[3]) seems to be derived from this natural peculiarity. Saul himself remained on the verge of his kingdom, in the vale of the Jordan, at Gilgal. East, and west, and north, through the three valleys which radiate from the uplands of Michmash—to Ophrah on the north, through the pass of Beth-horon on the west, and down 'the ravine of the hyenas,' "toward the wilderness of the Jordan on the east,"—the spoilers went forth out of the camp of the Philistines.[4]

At last the spirit of the people revived. On the top of one of those conical hills which have been remarked as characteristic of the Benjamite territory, in his native Gibeah, Saul ventured to entrench himself with Samuel and Ahiah;[5] where Jonathan had already been at the time

[1] The peasants of Mukmas told us that the old name of their village was *Medinet-Chai*, adding "that the present name had been given about seventy years ago, and that it was called Mukmas by the Arabs, and Medinet-Chai by the Jews." This statement in detail is clearly valueless; but it may serve to explain the description of Medinet-Chai by Krafft. (See Ritter, Jordan, pp. 525—527, and compare Schwarze, p. 84.) This view is attacked by Robinson in the Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. v. p. 93, No. xvii. 1848. Van de Velde and Williams (ii. 378) fix the site of Ai at Tel-el-Hajar, "the Mount of Stones," a little to the north of Michmash. In this case the ravine which is spoken of *north* of Ai must be, not the Wâdy Suweinit, but that marked in Robinson's map as Wâdy El-Muogede. These valleys are so similar in character that the general descriptions of the battle given in the text would apply almost equally to both. The name *Tel-el-Hajar* certainly agrees well with the curse on Ai, *Tel* being the same word used to express "the heap," which was to take the place of the city, and the "Hajar," or mound of stones, corresponding to the cairn over the dead king.

[2] 1 Sam. xiii. 6, xiv. 11.

[3] From "*Camas*," "laid up in store," *i. e.* hidden. Deut. xxxii. 34.

[4] 1 Sam. xiii. 17, 18.

[5] 1 Sam. xiii. 16, xiv. 2, 18.

when his father was driven from his previous post at Michmash by the Philistine inroad.[1] From this point to the enemy's camp was about three miles, and between them lay the deep gorge of the Wâdy Suweinit, here called "the passage of Michmash," which is described as running between two jagged points, or "teeth of the cliff,"[2] as the Hebrew idiom expressively calls them; the one called the "Shining" (Bozez), probably from some such appearance in the chalky cliff; the other, "the Thorn," (Seneh), probably from some solitary acacia on its top.[3] Immediately above, the garrison of the Philistines would seem to have been situated. It was up the steep sides of this ravine that Jonathan and his armour-bearer made their adventurous approach, and, aided by the sudden panic, and by the simultaneous terror of the shock of an earthquake, the two heroes succeeded in dispersing the whole host. From every quarter the Hebrews took advantage of their enemies. From the top of Gibeah, the watchmen saw, and the King and the High-priest heard,[4] the signs of the wild confusion. In the camp of the Philistines the Israelite deserters turned against them. From the mountains of Ephraim on the north, the Israelites, who had hid themselves, "followed hard after them in the battle."[5] "So the Lord saved Israel that day, and the battle passed over to Bethaven"[6] (that is, Bethel). It passed over to the central ridge of Palestine; it passed through the forest, now destroyed, where, from the droppings of the wild honey on the ground, the fainting

[1] 1 Sam. xiii. 16.

[2] The same expression is used for an eagle's eyrie. (Job xxxix. 28.) These jagged points I could not make out. Dr. Robinson dwells upon them in both his tours.

[3] 1 Sam. xiv. 4. Seneh = Acacia. See Chap. I. p. 21.

[4] 1 Sam. xiv. 16, 19. In the Hebrew text and the English version we read that "Saul said, 'Bring hither the ark of God,' for the ark of God was at that time with the children of Israel." (1 Sam. xiv. 18.) To this statement it has justly been objected that it is hardly possible that the *ark* should have been at Gibeah, against the natural inferences from the whole course of the previous and subsequent history, that it never left Kirjath-Jearim till its final entrance into Jerusalem under David. There can be no doubt that the LXX has here preserved the right reading, from which the present text is (in the original) only a slight variation—"Ephod," i. e., the priestly cape, dressed in which the High Priest delivered the oracle. That this should be on the spot is natural, not only from the presence of Ahiah himself, but from the nearness of Nob, the sacred city, where the Tabernacle was at this time situated.

[5] 1 Sam. xiv. 21, 22.

[6] 1 Sam. xiv. 23.

warrior refreshed his parched lips;[1] it passed over to the other side, from the eastern pass of Michmash to the western pass of Aijalon, through which they fled into their plains; "and the people smote the Philistines."[2] Then Saul "went up" again into his native hills, "and the Philistines went to their own place;[3]" and from that day till the fatal rout of Gilboa, Israel was secure.

Advance of Sennacherib by the pass of Michmash.

(*c.*) There is yet one more passage of sacred poetry, if not of sacred history, which brings shortly before us the importance of the pass of Michmash. In the magnificent description of the advance of Sennacherib upon Jerusalem, contained in the 10th chapter of the Prophecies of Isaiah, every step of his approach is represented, in order to give greater force to the sudden check which is in store for him. Whether he actually entered Judæa by this road, or, as might perhaps be inferred, from the mention of Lachish, as the point from which he eventually came up by Esdraelon and the Maritime Plain, the selection of this route by the prophet shows that this was the ordinary approach. "He is come to Aiath, he is passed to 'the precipice;' at Michmash he hath laid up his 'baggage.' They are gone over the passage; they have taken up their lodging at Geba."[4] This is the first day of the advance of the enemy. The great ravine is surmounted —they are encamped in the heart of the land; and the next morning dawns upon a terror-stricken neighbourhood. "Ramah is afraid; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Lift up thy voice, O daughter of Gallim: cause it to be heard unto Laish, O poor Anathoth. Madmenah is removed; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee. As yet shall he remain at Nob that day." It is a short march of

[1] 1 Sam. xiv. 25, 26. Compare 2 Kings, ii. 24, Chap. VII.

[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 31.

[3] 1 Sam. xiv. 46.

[4] In the interpretation of verse 28, much would depend on a more certain knowledge of the ground than we yet possess. But it seems most probable that the whole verse is an accumulation of expressions for the one event of the passage of the ravine of Michmash. If Ai was south, not north of the ravine, "Aiath" must be taken for a general indication of the whole locality. In confirmation of this, the LXX reads, "he shall come to Ai," both before and after the mention of the passage of Michmash. If, however, Tel-el-Hajar occupies the site of Ai, then the received text may safely stand. "Migron" (v. 28) cannot be the place mentioned in 1 Sam. xiv. 2, near Gibeah—and had therefore best be taken in its general meaning of "precipice." (See Gesenius *in voce.*)

about seven miles; but it has been long enough to scatter right and left the population of all the most famous cities and villages of Benjamin; and the evening finds him at Nob, apparently the sacred place, already mentioned, on the north-eastern corner of Olivet, actually within sight of the Holy City. "He shall shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem." But this is the end. "Behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, shall lop the bough with terror, . . . . and he shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one. And," in the place of that proud cedar, "there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots."[1]

The Western Passes.

2. From the eastern we now turn to the western passes of Benjamin, in Beth-horon. Indeed, the incidents of the one almost involve the incidents of the other. "From Michmash to Aijalon" was the necessary result of a victory which drove the enemy straight across the country.

The character of the descent from the hill-country of Judæa into the plain of Philistia, is very different from that of the precipitous ravines which lead down into the great depression of the Jordan. The usual route of modern travellers from the western plain, is a gradual ascent through the rounded hills, and deep, though not abrupt valleys, which, beginning at the ancient fortress, now called the "Castle of the Penitent Thief," (Castellum Boni Latronis, corrupted into "Ladroon,") continues till it emerges on the open table-land of Jerusalem; and it is probably somewhere in this road, or its adjacent valleys, that we are to look for the scenes of the return of the Ark from the Philistines to Kirjath-jearim, and the valley of the 'Terebinth,'[2] in which their great rout took place, on David's victory over Goliath. But this

[1] Isaiah x. 28—34; xi. 1. The scene of the destruction of Sennacherib's army cannot be fixed with certainty. But it was probably in his return through the *western* pass (described in the next pages), that his advance was arrested. He was coming from Libnah in the Philistine plain,—this, in all probability, is the modern Blanche-Garde (see Chapter VI.),—which, as it was the first city attacked by Joshua on leaving the mountains, would be the last attacked by Sennacherib on leaving the plain; and thus the pass of Beth-Horon, in which the Talmudic tradition places the destruction of his army (see Lightfoot, ii. 18), would naturally be his approach to Jerusalem.

[2] 1 Sam. xvii. 2, 19. See Appendix, *Elah*.

was not the usual route in ancient times, nor is it the most important in its bearing on the general course of Jewish history. Straight from the plain of Sharon a wide valley of cornfields runs straight up into the hills which here assume something of a bolder and higher form than usual. This is the valley of "Ajalon," or "of Stags," of which the name is still preserved in a little village on its northern side, and of which the signification is said to be still justified by the gazelles[1] which the peasants hunt on its mountain slopes. The valley is slightly broken by a low ridge, on which stands the village of Beit-Nuba. Passing by two more hamlets, Beit-Sireh and Beit-Likhi, another ridge is crossed, and another village; and from thence begins a gradual ascent, through a narrower valley, almost approximating to the character of a ravine, at the foot of which, though on an eminence, marked by a few palms, stands the village of Beit-ur El-Tathi, whilst at the summit and eastern extremity of the pass, stands the village of Beit-ur El-Foka.[2] This is the pass of the Upper and Nether Beth-horon, "the House of Caves," of which there are still traces, though, perhaps, not enough to account for so emphatic a name. From this point another descent and ascent leads to a ridge which commands the heights above El-Jib, the modern village which thus retains the name of Gibeon; and then once more a slight descent reaches that village, and from the village is mounted the high point, called Nebi-Samuel, from which is obtained the first view of Jerusalem and its wide table-land.

These details give the main points of the scene of the most important battle in the Sacred History.

Battle of Beth-horon under Joshua.

On achieving the victory of Ai, the first march of the conquering army, so far as we can gather it from the narrative, was straight to the holy mountains of

[1] "Aijalon," stags or gazelles. "There would be many gazelles here" was the answer of our muleteer, a native of one of the adjacent villages, "if they were not all shot, and there are many foxes." This last agrees with the juxta-position of the name of Aijalon with "Shaalbim," (jackals) in Jud. i. 35; Jos. xix. 42.

[2] These modern names are clearly corruptions of Beth-Horon, "the Nether," and "the Upper." The interpretation put by the peasants on the names is the "house of the eye;" "upper" and "lower" being interpreted to mean "the eye turned up," or "the eye turned down." Schwarze (140—147) needlessly doubts the identity of Beit-ur-El-Foka.

Ebal and Gerizim.[1] But the seat of the nation was still at the scene of its first entrance, deep down in the Jordan valley at Gilgal. There Joshua received the two embassies from the Gibeonites—first, that which entrapped him into the hasty league, and next, that which summoned him to their defence.[2] This summons was as urgent as words can describe. It was a struggle for life and death for which his aid was demanded—not only for Gibeon, but for the Israelites. They had hitherto only encountered the outskirts of the Canaanitish tribes. Now they were to meet the whole force of the hills of southern Palestine. "The King of Jerusalem, the King of Hebron, the King of Jarmuth, the King of Lachish, the King of Eglon,"—two of them the rulers of the chief cities of the whole country —"gathered themselves together, and went up, they and all their hosts, and camped before Gibeon; and the men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the camp to Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us and help us: for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the mountains are gathered together against us."[3]

Not a moment was to be lost. As in the battle of Marathon, everything depended on the suddenness of the blow which should break in pieces the hostile confederation. On the former occasion of Joshua's visit to Gibeon, it had been a three days' journey from Gilgal, as according to the slow pace of eastern armies and caravans it might well be. But now by a forced march "Joshua came unto them suddenly and went up from Gilgal all night." When the sun rose behind him, he was already in the open ground at the foot of the heights of Gibeon, where the kings were encamped. As often before and after, so now, "not a man could stand before" the awe and the panic of the sudden sound of that terrible shout—the sudden appearance of that undaunted host, who came with the assurance not "to fear nor to be dismayed—but to be strong and of

[1] Jos. viii. 30. [2] Jos. ix. 6, x. 6. [3] Jos. x. 1—6. I have dwelt on the speed required, because it is the chief point of the whole narrative.

a good courage, for the Lord had delivered their enemies into their hands."[1] They fled down the western pass, and "the Lord discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that *goeth up* to Beth-horon."[2] This was the first stage of the flight—in the long ascent which I have described from Gibeon up to Beth-horon the Upper. "And it came to pass as they fled from before Israel, and were in the *going down* of Beth-horon, that the Lord cast great stones from Heaven upon them unto Azekah."[3] This was the second stage of the flight. The fugitives had outstripped the pursuers, they had crossed the high ridge of Beth-horon the Upper; they were in full flight down the descent to Beth-horon the Nether; when, as afterwards in the fight of Barak against Sisera, one of the fearful tempests which from time to time sweep over the hills of Palestine, burst upon the disordered army, and "they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword."[4]

It is at this point that "the Book of Jasher" presents us with that sublime picture, which however variously it always has been and perhaps always will be interpreted, we may here take as we find it there expressed.[5] On the summit of the pass—looking far down the deep descent of all the westward valleys, with the broad green vale of Ajalon unfolding in the distance into the open plain, with the yet wider expanse of the Mediterranean Sea beyond,—stood the Israelite chief. Below him was rushing down in wild confusion the Amorite host. Around him were "all his people of war and all his mighty men of valour." Behind him were the hills[6] which hid Gibeon—the now rescued Gibeon—from his sight. But the sun stood high above those hills,—"in the midst of Heaven;"[7] for

[1] Jos. x. 8, 25.
[2] Jos. x. 10. [3] Jos. x. 11.
[4] Jos. x. 11. Compare Jud. iv. 15, v. 20; 1 Sam. vii. 10. Joseph. Ant. V. i. 17.
[5] The extract from the Book of Jasher is probably from verse 12 to verse 15, the reference being inserted in the middle.
[6] The only drawback from the exact appropriateness of this spot is, that Gibeon itself is not visible, nor is there any spot on these hills whence Gibeon and Ajalon can both be seen at once. Schwarze (141) incorrectly says "From this peak one can see Gibeon on the east and Ajalon on the west."
[7] The emphatic expression (v. 13) not simply "in the midst" but "in the bisection of the heavens," seems intended to indicate noonday.

the day had now far advanced since he had emerged from his night march through the passes of Ai, and in front, over the western vale of Ajalon, was the faint figure of the crescent moon visible above the hailstorm, which was fast driving up from the sea in the valleys below. Was the enemy to escape in safety, or was the speed with which Joshua had "come quickly and saved and helped" his defenceless allies to be still rewarded before the close of that day by a signal and decisive victory?

Doubtless with outstretched hand and spear, "the hand that he drew not back, when he stretched out the spear, until he had utterly destroyed the inhabitants of Ai," "then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel,

'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
'And thou Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.

"And the sun stood still and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies."[1]

So ended the second stage of the flight. The third is less distinct, from a variation in the text of the narrative.[2] But following what seems the most probable reading, the pursuit still continued; "and the Lord smote them to Azekah and unto Makkedah, and these five kings fled and hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah." But Joshua halted not when he was told; the same speed was still required, the victory was not yet won. "Roll great stones," he said "upon the mouth of the cave, and set men by it for to keep them, and stay ye not, but pursue after your enemies and smite the hindmost of them; suffer them not to enter into their cities; for the Lord hath delivered them into your hands." We know not precisely the position of Makkedah, but it must have been probably

[1] The Mussulmans' version of this event is that it was the battle which conquered Jericho, and that the day was Friday, and was lengthened in order to avoid the violation of the Sabbath, which would have begun at sunset; hence it was said the sacredness of the Mussulman Friday. Buckingham heard this story from the Arabs at Jericho (p. 302.)

[2] The LXX omits Joshua x. 15, which probably has been inserted from x. 43—or, if genuine, must be taken as part of the extract from the "Book of Jasher, winding up the whole account of the war in the same manner as 1 Sam. xvii. 54. (See Keil's Joshua, p. 179.)

at the point where the mountains sink into the plain,[1] that this last struggle took place; and thither at last to the camp at Makkedah "all the people of Israel returned in peace; none moved his tongue against any of the people of Israel." There was enacted, as it would seem, the last act of the same eventful day; the five kings were brought out and slain, and hanged on five trees until the evening, when at last that memorable Sun went down. "It came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down from off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had been hid, and laid great stones in the cave's mouth. . . . And that day Joshua took Makkedah, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof he utterly destroyed, them, and all the souls that were therein; he let none remain."[2] And then followed the rapid succession of victory and extermination which swept the whole of southern Palestine into the hands of Israel. The possession of every place, sacred for them and for all future ages, from the plain of Esdraelon to the southern Desert,—Shechem, Shiloh, Gibeon, Bethlehem, Hebron,—was, with the one exception of Jerusalem, involved in the issue of that conflict. "And all those kings and their land did Joshua take *at one time*, because the Lord God of Israel fought for Israel. And Joshua returned and all Israel with him to the camp to Gilgal."[3]

Battle of Beth-horon under Maccabæus.

In comparison with this scene, to which "there was no day like, before or after it," it seems trivial to descend to any lesser events which illustrate the same points. Yet the recollection of that first victory of their race may well have inspirited Judas Maccabæus, who, himself a native of the neighbouring hills, won his earliest fame in this same "going up and coming down of Beth-horon," where in like manner "the residue" of the defeated army fled

[1] This follows from its being mentioned among the cities of the Philistine plain (Shefela), on the one hand (Joshua xv. 41), and from the mention of the large cave, only to be found in the mountains, on the other hand (Joshua x. 17). The position assigned to it by Eusebius, eight miles east of Eleutheropolis, is hardly compatible with this narrative.

[2] Jos. x. 22—28.

[3] Jos. x. 42, 43.

into "the plain," "into the land of the Philistines."[1] Over this same pass was carried the great Roman road from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, up which Cestius advanced at the first onset of the Roman armies on the capital of Judæa, and down which he and his whole force were driven by the insurgent Jews.[2] By a singular coincidence the same scene thus witnessed the first and the last great victory that crowned the Jewish arms at the interval of nearly fifteen hundred years. From their camp at Gibeon, the Romans, as the Canaanites before them, were dislodged; they fled in similar confusion down the ravine to Beth-horon, the steep cliffs and the rugged road rendering their cavalry unavailable against the merciless fury of their pursuers; they were only saved,—as the Canaanites were not saved,—by the too rapid descent of the shades of night over the mountains, and under the cover of those shades they escaped to Antipatris in the plain below. Ages afterwards the Crusading armies, in the vain hope of reaching Jerusalem, advanced up the same valleys from their quarters at Ascalon and Jaffa, and the last eastern point at which Richard encamped was at Beit-Nuba, in the wide vale of Ajalon. A well near the village of Ajalon bears the name of Bir-el-Khebir, "the well of the hero." It is a strange complexity of associations which renders it doubtful whether "the hero" so handed down by tradition be the great leader of the hosts of Israel, or the flower of English chivalry.

Against Cestius.

II. From the passes of the tribe of Benjamin we turn by a natural connection to those remarkable heights which guard their entrance into the table-land, and which diversify with their pointed summits that table-land itself. The very names of the towns of Benjamin indicate how eminently they partook of this general characteristic of the position of Judæan cities—Gibeah—Geba—Gibeon—all signifying "hill,"—Ramah, "a high place,"—Mizpeh, "the watch-tower." And it has been already observed how from these heights, to the north of Jerusalem, is in all likelihood derived the ancient image of "God standing about

Heights of Benjamin.

[1] 1 Macc. iii. 16, 24.

[2] Josephus, Bell. Jud. II. xix.

his people." On most of these it is needless to enlarge. El-Bireh, the ancient Beeroth, is remarkable as the first halting-place of caravans on the northern road from Jerusalem, and therefore, not improbably, the scene of the event to which its monastic tradition lays claim,—the place where the "parents" of Jesus "sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance, and when they found him not, turned back again to Jerusalem." Er-Ram, marked by the village and green patch on its summit, first seen by the traveller on his approach to Jerusalem from the south, is certainly "Ramah of Benjamin." Tel-el-Fulil, distinguished by its curiously knobbed and double top, is in all probability Gibeah, the birth-place of Saul, and during his reign, the capital of his tribe and kingdom, and from him deriving the name of "Gibeah of Saul,"[1] as before "of Benjamin;"[2] "the *hill* of Benjamin," or "of Saul." Just out of sight of Jerusalem, Anathoth, the birth-place of Jeremiah, looks down on the Dead Sea. Jeba, on the wild hills between Gibeah and Michmash, is clearly "Geba," famous as the scene of Jonathan's first exploit against the Philistines.[3] From its summit is seen northward the white chalky height of Rûmmon, the "'cliff' Rimmon" overhanging the Jordan "wilderness," where the remnant of the Benjamites maintained themselves in the general ruin of their tribe.[4] Further still, the dark conical hill of Tayibeh, with its village perched aloft, like those of the Apennines, the probable[5] representative of Ophrah of Benjamin,[6] in later times "the city called *Ephraim*," to which our Lord retired, "near to the wilderness," after the raising of Lazarus.[7]

Nebi-Samuel or Gibeon.

1. But two of these heights, in historical importance, stand out from all the rest. Of all the points of interest about Jerusalem, none perhaps gains so much from an actual visit to Palestine as the lofty peaked eminence

[1] 1 Sam. x. 26; xi. 4; xv. 34; 2 Sam. xxi. 6; Isa. x. 29.

[2] 1 Sam. xiii. 2, 15, 16; xiv. 16; 2 Sam. xxiii. 29.

[3] 1 Sam. xiii. 3. In xiii. 16; xiv. 5, "Geba" is wrongly rendered "Gibeah;" Saul and Jonathan having evidently seized the stronghold from which they had dispossessed the Philistines. In 2 Kings xxiii. 8; Zech. xiv. 10; it is spoken of as the northern boundary of the kingdom of Judah.

[4] Jud. xx. 47.

[5] See Robinson, ii. 124.

[6] Josh. xviii. 23; 1 Sam. xiii. 17.

[7] John xi. 54.

which fills up the north-west corner of the table-land, seen in every direction, the highest elevation in the whole country south of Hermon, commanding a view far wider than that of Olivet, inasmuch as it includes the western plain and Mediterranean Sea on one side, as well as Olivet and Jerusalem in the distance, backed by the range of Moab. It is in fact the point from which travellers mounting by the ancient route through the pass of Beth-horon obtained their earliest glimpse of the interior of the hills of Palestine. "It is a very fair and delicious place," says Maundeville, "and it is called Mount-Joy, because it gives joy to pilgrims' hearts; for from that place men first see Jerusalem." And it was probably on that height that Richard Cœur de Lion, advancing from his camp in the Valley of Ajalon, stood in sight of Jerusalem, but buried his face in his armour, with the noble exclamation, "Ah! Lord God, I pray that I may never see thy Holy City, if so be that I may not rescue it from the hands of thine enemies."[1] It can only be from the uncertainty of its ancient identity that it has been passed over by modern travellers in comparative silence. At present it bears the name of Nebi-Samuel, which is derived from the Mussulman tradition —now perpetuated by a mosque and tomb—that here lies buried the prophet Samuel.[2] In the time of the Crusaders it was regarded—not unnaturally, if they merely considered the grandeur of the position—as the site of the great sanctuary of Shiloh. In the manifest impossibilities of either of these assumptions, it has by the latest investigators been identified with Mizpeh.

But a closer examination of its position will probably lead to a more certain and satisfactory result. It stands, as we have already seen, at the head of the pass of Beth-horon; and on a lower eminence at its northern roots,

[1] Gibbon, c. 59, but inaccurately from Joinville (part 2). Joinville mentions no place. But Vinisauf, though without the speech, relates the king's ascent of a hill; and Coggeshalle (p. 823), though without any allusion to this story, speaks of his visit to a hermit "apud Samuelem in monte quodam," which can hardly be anything else than Nebi-Samuel. And no other suits Richard's position.

[2] "He built the tomb in his lifetime," said the Mussulman guardian of the mosque to us, "but was not buried here till after the expulsion of the Greeks."

one of those rounded hills which characterise especially the western formation of Judæa—rises the village of El-Jib, which, both by its name and situation, is incontestably identified with the ancient Gibeon. Gibeon was the head of the powerful Hivite league, which included three of the adjacent towns, Beeroth, Kirjath-jearim, and Chephirah;[1] and this circumstance, with its important post as the key of the pass of Beth-horon, made it "a great city,"[2] and, though not under royal government, equal in rank to "one of the royal cities;" celebrated for its strength and the wisdom of its inhabitants.[3] Hence it was that the raising of the siege of Gibeon, as already described in the account of the battle of Beth-horon, was so vital to the conquest of Canaan. But the chief fame of Gibeon in later times was not derived from the city itself, but from the "great high place"[4] hard by, whither, after the destruction of its seat at Nob or Olivet, the tabernacle was brought, and where it remained till it was thence removed to Jerusalem by Solomon. It can hardly be doubted that to this great sanctuary the lofty height of Nebi-Samuel, towering immediately over the town of El-Jib, exactly corresponds. We see at once the appropriateness of the transference to this eminence, when it could no longer remain on the opposite ridge of Olivet; and, if this peak were thus the "great high place" of Solomon's worship, a significance is given to what otherwise would be a blank and nameless feature in a region where all the less conspicuous hills are distinguished by some historical name, and a ground for the sanctity with which the Mussulman and Christian traditions have invested it, as the Ramah and the Shiloh of Samuel, even though those traditions themselves are without foundation. In Epiphanius' time[5] it still bore the name of the Mountain of Gibeon; and from its conspicuous height the name of "Gibeon," ("belonging to a hill,") was naturally derived to the city itself, which lay always where its modern representative lies now, on the lower

[1] Jos. ix. 17.
[2] Jos. x. 2.
[3] Jos. ix. 4, x. 2.
[4] 1 Kings iii. 4; ix. 2; 2 Chron. 3,13
[5] Epiph. (Hær. 394). "The mountain of Gibeon, eight miles from Jerusalem, is *the highest*." This identifies it with Nebi-Samuel.

eminence. From thence the Gibeonites "hewed the wood" of the adjacent valley, and "drew the water"[1] from the springs and tanks with which its immediate neighbourhood abounds, and carried them up to the Sacred Tent, and there attended the "altar of the Lord," which, from its proud elevation, overlooked the wide domain of Israel.

The same point—although here one must speak more doubtfully—was, probably, "the hill of God,"[2] which, from its commanding situation, was garrisoned by the Philistines in the time of Samuel to guard the pass, and on which, for a similar reason, though with a different object, the prophets assembled on "the high place," whence they were descending when Saul met them on his return from the neighbourhood of Bethlehem to his own home at Gibeah.[3] Probably, too, it is "the mountain" where the Gibeonites hung up the seven sons of Saul "before the Lord," that is, before the tabernacle on its summit, in revenge for the massacre of their kindred by Saul.[4]

2. From the sanctuary which guarded the entrance into Judæa from the west, we advance naturally to the still greater sanctuary which guarded it on the north and east. As the passage of Beth-horon led up to Gibeon, so the passage of Michmash and Ai led up to Bethel. Bethel lay in the direct thoroughfare of Palestine;[5] whether the course of a conqueror or a traveller brought him through the long valley so often described, from the bed of the Jordan, or through the mountains of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, north and south, he could not avoid seeing BETHEL.

[1] Jos. ix. 27.

[2] 1 Sam. x. 5.

[3] It is of course doubtful whether "the hill" mentioned in x. 5, 10, (and (LXX) 13, for "high place,") is not *Gibeah*. But the mention of the *high place above* and the *city below* (x. 5), and the arrival of Saul thither, apparently before his return home, is in favour of the view given in the text. It might, however, be Bethel.

[4] 2 Sam. xxi. 9. Here again, the comparison with verse 6, ("We will hang them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul whom the Lord did choose") suggests the identification of the mountain of the Lord with Gibeah. But the expression "*mountain*" and "before the Lord" are hardly suitable to anything, except the high place of the Tabernacle, and it may well be doubted whether the 8th verse is not corrupt or wrongly translated. However closely the title of "the chosen of the Lord" may have been affixed to the name of Saul, it is hardly probable that it would have formed part of the title of the city.

[5] Compare, the highway that "goeth up to 'Bethel,' Jud. xx. 31; "the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem," Jud. xxi. 19.

the heights of Bethel. Hence arises what may be called its peculiar antiquity of interest. The remarkable scenes of Sacred History which it has thus witnessed, occupy (with the single exception of Shechem) a longer series than any other spot in Palestine.

It was the first place where Abraham is said to have "pitched his tent" when he "journeyed" "through the land," "going on still toward the south," on his way to Egypt;[1] and to the same spot, "even to the place where his tent had been at the beginning, unto the place of the altar which he had made there at the first,"[2] (so emphatically is the locality marked) he came again as to the familiar scene of his first encampment, on his return from Egypt. The tent and altar were not, however, strictly speaking at Bethel, but on "the mountain east of Bethel, having Bethel on the west, and Ai on the east."[3] This is a precision the more to be noticed, because it makes the whole difference in the truth and vividness of the remarkable scene which follows. Immediately east of the low gray hills, on which the Canaanitish Luz and the Jewish Bethel afterwards stood, rises, —as the highest of a succession of eminences, each now marked by some vestige of ancient edifices,—a conspicuous hill, its topmost summit resting, as it were, on the rocky slopes below, and distinguished from them by the olive-grove which clusters over its broad surface above. From this height, thus offering a natural base for the patriarchal altar, and a fitting shade for the patriarchal tent, Abraham and Lot must be conceived as taking the wide survey of the country "on the right hand and on the left," such as can be enjoyed from no other point in the neighbourhood. To the east there rises in the foreground the jagged range of the hills above Jericho; in the distance the dark wall of Moab; between them lies the wide valley of the Jordan—its course marked by the tract of forest in which its rushing stream is enveloped; and down to this valley, a long and deep ravine, now, as always, the main

Sanctuary and view of Abraham.

[1] Gen. xii. 8, 9. [2] Gen. xiii. 3, 4. [3] Gen. xii. 8. It is this, apparently, which is called the *mountain* of Bethel. Jos. xvi. 1; 1 Sam. xiii. 2; 2 Kings xxiii. 16, where in all cases the context implies a situation *east* of the town.

line of communication by which it is approached from the central hills of Palestine—a ravine rich with vine, olive, and fig, winding its way through ancient reservoirs and sepulchres, remains of a civilisation now extinct, but in the times of the patriarchs not yet begun. To the south and the west the view commanded the bleak hills of Judæa, varied by the heights crowned with what were afterwards the cities of Benjamin, and overhanging what in a later day was to be Jerusalem,[1]—and in the far distance the southern range on whose slope is Hebron. Northward are the hills which divide Judæa from the rich plains of Samaria.

This is the view which was to Abraham what Pisgah was afterwards to his great descendant. This was to the two lords of Palestine, then almost "free before them, where to choose," what in Grecian legends is represented under the figure of the Choice of Hercules; in the fables of Islam under the story of the Prophet turning back from Damascus.[2] "And Lot lifted up his eyes," towards the right, "and beheld all the 'circle' of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere . . . . even as the garden of the Lord, like unto Egypt." He saw not, indeed, the tropical fertility and copious streams along its course. But he knew of its fame, as of the garden of Eden, as of the valley of the Nile; no crust of salt, no volcanic convulsions had as yet blasted its verdure, or touched the secure civilisation of the early Phœnician settlements which had struck root within its deep abyss. "Then Lot chose him all the 'circle' of the Jordan, and Lot journeyed east; and they separated themselves one from the other . . . . and Lot dwelt in the cities of the 'circle' of the Jordan, and pitched his tent towards Sodom. But the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners before the Lord exceedingly. And the Lord said unto Abram after that Lot had separated from him, 'Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward and southward, and eastward and westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee I will give it, and to thy seed for

[1] A white building close to the outskirts of Jerusalem is visible but not the city itself.

[2] See Chapter XII.

ever . . . . and I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth, so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed be numbered. Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee." [1] Those bleak hills were indeed to be the site of cities whose names would be held in honour after the very ruins of the seats of a corrupt civilisation in the garden of the Jordan would have been swept away; that dreary view, unfolded then in its primeval desolation before the eyes of the now solitary Patriarch, would be indeed peopled with a mighty nation through many generations, with mighty recollections "like the dust of the earth in number, for ever."

Sanctuary of Jacob.

The next scene is less easily identified. Yet thus much may be said. The western slopes of the ridge just described are crossed by the track which the thoroughfare of centuries has worn in the central route of Palestine. This track winds through an uneven valley, covered, as with gravestones, by large sheets of bare rock; some few here and there standing up like the cromlechs of Druidical monuments. It is impossible not to recall, in this "stony territory," [2] the wanderer who "went out from Beersheba and went toward Haran; and he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took of the stones of that place and put them for his pillow, and lay down in that place to sleep." Then rose the vision of the night, "the ladder whose foot was set upon the earth,"—on the bare sheet of rocky ground on which the sleeper lay,—"and whose top reached to heaven,"—into the depths of the starry sky, which, in that wide and open space, with no intervening tree or tent, was stretched over his head. "And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and said, Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not; and he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place—this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." Such was the beginning of Beth-El, "the

[1] Gen. xiii. 10—17.

[2] Gen. xxviii. 10—17. "The nature of the soil is an existing comment on the record of the stony territory, where he 'took of the stones of that place.'" (Clarke, vol. iv. p. 287.)

House of God," the place which bore, amidst all the subsequent sanctuaries of the Holy Land, the distinctive name which has since spread to every holy place throughout the world. Its connection with the scene is best expressed in the wanderer's own words, "The Lord is in this place, and I knew it not." There is, indeed, nothing to indicate the Divine Presence, no *religio loci*, no awful shades, no lofty hills. Bare wild rocks, a beaten thoroughfare; these are the only features of the primeval sanctuary of that God, of whom nature itself there teaches us, that if He could, in such a scene, so emphatically reveal Himself to the houseless exile, He "is with him," and with His true servants, everywhere, and will "keep them *in all places* whither they go."

From that rude beginning—the rough "stone that Jacob set up for a pillar"[1]—grew the sanctuary of Bethel. First, rose the altar which he himself built there on his return, above the 'oak of tears' beneath which, in the vale below, Deborah was buried;[2] then it became the seat of the assemblies gathered there in the time of the Judges;[3] and, finally, when it seemed on the point of being superseded by the new sanctuary at Jerusalem, it assumed a fresh importance as the Holy Place of the northern kingdom.

Sanctuary of the Northern Tribes.

It is in this last aspect that its remaining history is remarkable. In ancient times, before the Conquest of Joshua, there had already existed a Canaanitish city on the spot named Luz,[4] situated on the western slope of the mountain of Abraham's altar;[5] the same, probably, whose inhabitants came forth to assist their neighbours of Ai, when attacked by Joshua. It was not taken at that time, and seems long to have resisted the invaders. At last it fell before the arms, not of the little tribe of Benjamin, within whose territory it was included, but of the powerful house of Joseph, who

[1] Gen. xxviii. 18.

[2] Gen. xxxv. 6—8. Allon-Bachuth = Oak of Tears. This is probably the same oak as that referred to in 1 Sam. x. 3 (though there translated "*plain*"); 1 Kings xiii. 14.

[3] Judg. xx. 18, 26. The words are in both cases translated "the House of God."

[4] Judges i. 23.

[5] Joshua xvi. 1.

attacked it from the north, and who thus acquired possession of it for their descendants, though properly speaking it had been allotted to Benjamin.[1] In this respect there is a singular analogy between Bethel and Jerusalem. Each, situated in the tribe of Benjamin, resisted, by a strong position, the first shock of the conquest, and being ultimately taken, not by that tribe itself, but the one by its more powerful neighbour on the south, the other by its more powerful neighbour on the north, passed out of its history into theirs. And the frontier which at Jerusalem had been originally drawn by the ravine of the Kedron and of Hinnom, at Bethel was drawn by the gorge of the Wâdy Suweinit, which has been so often mentioned as the pass from Jericho, and which in later times served the purpose of the southern boundary of the northern kingdom. Bethel thus became doubly important to the new state; first as a strong frontier-fortress, but still more as a sanctuary, founded on the holiest recollections, and in a great measure supplying the place which Shiloh had of old filled in the same great tribe of Ephraim. What structure there may have been in former ages commemorating the Vision of Jacob, it is impossible now to determine. "The House of God"—the "Beth-El"—described as the scene of the assemblies in the period of the Judges, was probably some rude monument of primitive times, bearing the same relation to the Temple which Jeroboam afterwards built near or round it, as the original sanctuary of the Mahometan world—known by the very same name, *Beit-Allah*, "the House of God"—bears to the magnificent enclosure with which Mussulman devotion has since surrounded it. On both of the two lower eminences which overhang the modern village are ruins which may possibly indicate the site of Jeroboam's Temple. Above it, on the east, are the higher "mountains and hills," to which (in the language[2] of Hosea) the inhabitants of Bethel would in the day of their shame call "to cover" and to "fall on them." It was built, we cannot doubt, with all the splendour which

Jeroboam's Temple.

[1] Judges i. 22—25.

[2] Hosea x. 8.

his acquaintance with Egyptian worship,[1] and his desire to emulate the glory of the rival sanctuary of Jerusalem, would necessarily dictate. It was, we know, regarded emphatically as "the *king's sanctuary*," as "the *king's house*,"[2] with a high "priest,"[3] and "the noise of songs," and "the melody of viols," and "burnt-offerings and meat-offerings," and "feast days," and "solemn assemblies."[4] And it was on the greatest of those feast days, "the fifteenth day of the eighth month," which Jeroboam had "devised out of his own heart,"—in imitation of the great Feast of Tabernacles, which Solomon had chosen for the festival of the dedication of the Temple on Mount Moriah, —that Jeroboam took his place by the altar which stood before the statue of the Golden Calf, and was interrupted at the very moment of inauguration by the sudden and awful apparition of the Man of God from Judah.[5] In that story and its consequences is contained almost all that we know of the later history of Bethel. The schools of the prophets[6] still lingered round the sacred place, when Elijah passed through it down the long defile—then mentioned for the last time in history—on his way to Jericho. But the chief association which the Jews of Jerusalem attached to it was of the rival and idolatrous Temple. The very name of Beth-El, "the House of God," was in the times of the later prophets, exchanged for "Beth-aven,"[7]—"the House of Idols,"—and, when Josiah passed through, it was to destroy and not to build up. The "altar" and "the high place" of Jeroboam, and the

Josiah.

[1] 1 Kings xi. 40; xii. 2.

[2] Amos vii. 13. "*Mikdash*," "sanctuary," expressing the union of temple and asylum. "*Beth*" (house), in allusion to Bethel. In the English version the words are respectively mistranslated "chapel" and "court."

[3] Amos vii. 10.

[4] Amos v. 21, 22, 23.

[5] 1 Kings xii. 32; xiii. 5.

[6] 2 Kings ii. 3.

[7] Hosea iv. 15; v. 8; x. 5, 8; perhaps, vi. 8; Amos v. 5. "Aven" is properly "nought" and is in Amos v. 5, so rendered; but is also a name for idols. (Isaiah lxvi. 3.) The use of the name, as in Hosea v. 8, is a little confused by the appearance of a Beth-Aven near Bethel in the east, which probably suggested the transference of the name. (1 Sam. xiii. 5; xiv. 23; Jos. vii. 2.) Yet perhaps these are only corrections of "Bethel" by the later copyists, to whom the contemptuous name was familiar. In neither passage does it appear in the LXX, who in Jos. vii. 2 omit it altogether, and in 1 Sam. xiii. 5, substitute *Beth-Horon*, which, however, can hardly be the correct reading; unless another Beth-Horon than the famous pass be meant. For the substitution of the contemptuous name compare "Sychar" (drunken) for Shechem, John iv. 5.

grove and worship of Astarte that had grown up round it, he razed and burnt.[1] And "as Josiah turned," we are told, "he spied the sepulchres that were there in the Mount."[2] The "Mount" doubtless is the same as the "mountain" on the east of Bethel, described in the history of Abraham. The "sepulchres" must be the numerous rock-hewn tombs still visible in the whole descent from that "mountain" to the Wâdy Suweinit. In one of those, though we know not which, lay side by side the bones of the two prophets—the aged Prophet of Bethel and his brother and victim, the "Man of God from Judah,"[3] and they were left to repose. From that time the desolation foretold by Amos and Hosea has never been disturbed; and Beth-El, "the house of God," has become literally Beth-aven, "the house of nought."

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 15. [2] 2 Kings xxiii. 16. [3] 2 Kings xxiii. 17, 18.

## NOTE ON RAMAH AND MIZPEH.

### I.—THE RAMAH OF SAMUEL.

There is no general interest in discussing the precise situation of Ramah, the birth-place, residence, and burial-place of Samuel, further than what attaches to anything which relates to the life of so remarkable a man. But the question is invested with an incidental interest which may make it worth a few moments' investigation. It is, without exception, the most complicated and disputed problem of Sacred topography. It is almost the only passage in which the text of the Scriptural narrative (1 Sam. ix. 1—x. 10) seems to be at variance with the existing localities.

All that we know certainly about the place is, that it was on an eminence, as its name of "Ramah" implies, and was situated somewhere south of Gibeah, the birth-place of Saul; as it is hardly possible to avoid identifying the city where Saul found Samuel with the usual residence of that prophet. This, which is not stated expressly in the Old Testament, is taken for granted by Josephus. From the dual termination to the name *Ramathaim*—by which it is called in the Hebrew and LXX text of 1 Sam. i. 1, and by Josephus always, and from which the name of *Arimathea* seems to be derived[1] in the New Testament—it might be inferred that it was

[1] The LXX name Αρμαθαιμ shows the beginning of the transition.

an eminence with a double height. To this spot there are no less than eight claimants.

1. *Ramleh,* the chief modern city of the plain of Philistia, and selected as the spot by Christian tradition. Its situation in the level plain, though on a slight eminence, is much against its identity; and the name, which at first sight appears similar, is the Arabic word for "sandy," and is in all probability derived from the sandy tract in which it stands. (See Chapter VI.) Still it is remarkable that Eusebius and Jerome speak of *Ramathaim* as near Lydda, to which no other site corresponds.

2. *Nebi-Samuel,* the height above Gibeon. This has its height and the Mahometan tradition in its favour.

3. *Er-Ram,* on the road from Jerusalem to Bethel. This has the name in its favour.

These two sites labour under the objection that they are north and not south of Rachel's tomb; and therefore that Saul could never have passed by that tomb in going from either of them to Gibeah. Er-Ram is, besides, close to Gibeah, which is against 1 Sam. x. 10.

4. "Ramah," a hill, a short distance north of Bethlehem, which, according to some accounts, is so called by the peasants. This is fixed upon by Mr. Finn, the English Consul at Jerusalem.

5. The *Frank Mountain,* or *Jebel-er-Fureidis,* a little south-east of Bethlehem. This is fixed upon by Gesenius.

6. The ruins called *Ramet-el-Khalil,* a little north of Hebron. (Described in Chapter I. part ii.) This is fixed upon by Mr. Wolcott and M. Van de Velde.

7. *Soba,* a town on a hill, in the mountains north-west of Bethlehem. This is fixed upon by Dr. Robinson.

8. A village called *Ramè,* three and a half miles west of Sanur, which Schwarze (p. 157) endeavours to identify with Ramathaim by altering the reading of Dothaim, in Judith iv. 5, 6, 7.

Of these, the fourth, sixth, and eighth, have the identity of name in their favour, and the seventh may have derived its present name from Zophim. The fifth has only its commanding position, and the argument that if it be not Ramah, then it is unknown to the Old Testament.

All of these, except the eighth, are equally compatible with the journey by Rachel's tomb, but are all equally excluded if Ramah must be sought among the mountains of Ephraim. Of the two difficulties, however, the latter is the least insuperable. It is easier to suppose that Elkanah may have migrated from Mount Ephraim, than to explain away the stages of the return of Saul. And it must be added, that if a position in Mount Ephraim be required, it must entirely exclude Ramleh, and probably Er-Ram and Nebi-Samuel.

There is perhaps little to choose between them, though the fifth and sixth are improbable. It may be observed, that the connection introduced in Matt. ii. 18, between Ramah and Bethlehem, evidently implies that in the mind of the evangelist, Ramah was in sight both of Rachel's tomb and of Bethlehem. The words, "by *Zelzah*," in 1 Sam. x. 2, cannot be relied upon; as the LXX, with great probability, makes the word an expression of joy on the part of the men who announced the finding of the asses. "Thou shalt meet two men *leaping violently*,—ἀλλομένους μέγαλα." The other clause, however, *in the border of Benjamin*, is important in showing how far south this boundary reached. Probably it was extended just far enough to include the tomb of their great ancestress. Of the two remaining stages of Saul's journey (1 Sam. x. 1—10), "the oak of Tabor" may possibly be the famous "oak of Deborah," Gen. xxxv. 8; and "the hill of God," Gibeah-Elohim, may be Gibeon, Gibeah of Saul, or Bethel. Against each hypothesis there are objections; no conclusive argument in behalf of any.

## II.—MIZPEH.

If Nebi-Samuel be the high place of Gibeon, then Mizpeh, which Dr. Robinson planted there, must be sought elsewhere. One spot immediately suggests itself. Mizpeh—always with the article, "*the* Mizpeh"—is in Hebrew, what *Scopus* is in Greek, "the *watch-tower*." Wherever *Scopus* was,—and we know that it was some eminence on the north of the city, whence the city and temple were visible—there it is most natural to place *Mizpeh*. Such a position will meet every requirement of the notices of Mizpeh—the assemblies held there by Samuel[1]—the fortification of it by Asa with the stones removed from 'the Mount' of Benjamin[2]—the seat of the Chaldean governor after the capture of Jerusalem[3]—the wailing-place of the Maccabees.[4]

[1] 1 Sam. vii. 5, 6.
[2] Ramah. 1 Kings xv. 22.
[3] Neh. iii. 7; Jer. xl. 6.
[4] 1 Macc. iii. 46.

# CHAPTER V.

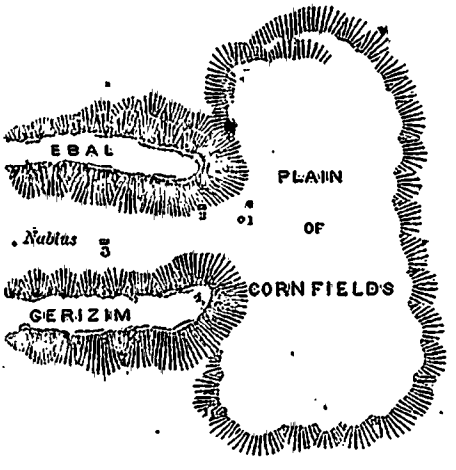
## EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH.

Deuteronomy, xxxiii. 13—17. "And of Joseph he said, Blessed of the Lord be his land, for the precious things of heaven, for the dew, and for the deep that coucheth beneath, and for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon, and for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills, and for the precious things of the earth, and fulness thereof, and for the good will of him that dwelt in the bush: let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the top of the head of him that was separated from his brethren. His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of 'buffaloes:' with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth; and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh."

Mountains of Ephraim—Fertile valleys and central situation—Supremacy of Ephraim. I. Shiloh. II. Shechem.—1. First halting-place of Abraham. 2. First settlement of Jacob. 3. First capital of the conquest—Sanctuary of Gerizim. 4. Reign of Abimelech. 5. Sect of Samaritans. 6. Jacob's well. III. Samaria.—Its beauty—Its strength—Sebaste. IV. Passes of Manasseh—Dothan.

Note on Mount Gerizim.

## MAP OF SHECHEM.




1. Jacob's Well.
2. Joseph's Tomb.
3. Tomb of Rabbi Joseph.
4. Holy Place of the Samaritans.

(See page 229.)

# EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH.

THE narrow territory of Benjamin soon melts into the hills which reach to the plain of Esdraelon; and which, from the great tribe which there had its chief seat, are known by the name of "the mountains of Ephraim."

The Mountains of Ephraim:

Their history is contained in two peculiarities. First, they are the central mass of the hills of Palestine, nearly equidistant from the northern and southern boundary of the whole country; and, secondly, the closely set structure, and the rocky soil of the hills of Judah and Benjamin, though still continued to a great extent, is here for the first time occasionally broken up into wide plains in the heart of the mountains, and diversified both in hill and valley by streams of running water, and by continuous tracts of verdure and vegetation. It was this central tract and this "good land" that was naturally allotted to the powerful house of Joseph in the first division of the country. We are so familiar with the supremacy of the tribe of Judah, that we are apt to forget that it was of comparatively recent date. For more than four hundred years—a period equal in length to that which elapsed between the Norman Conquest and the Wars of the Roses—Ephraim, with its two dependent tribes of Manasseh and Benjamin, exercised undisputed pre-eminence. Joshua the first conqueror—Gideon, the greatest of the judges, whose brothers were "as the children of kings," and whose children all but established hereditary monarchy in their own line—Saul, the first king—belonged to one or other of these three tribes.

It was not till the close of the first period of Jewish history that God "refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim: but chose the tribe of Judah, even the Mount Zion which he loved."[1] That haughty spirit which could brook no equal or superior, which chafed against the rise even of the kindred tribe of Manasseh in the persons of Gideon and Jephthah, and yet more against the growing dominion of Judah in David and Solomon, till it threw off the yoke altogether, and established an independent kingdom—would naturally claim, and could not rightly be refused the choicest portion of the land. As "Judah" under Caleb was to "abide in their coasts on the south," so "the house of Joseph" under Joshua was to "abide in their coasts on the north."[2] Not till these were fixed, could the other tribes be thought of. "For the precious things of heaven, for the dew, and for the deep that coucheth beneath, and for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon, and for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills, and for the precious things of the earth, and the fulness thereof . . . let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the top of the head of him that was separated from his brethren."[3] If Judah was the wild lion that guarded the south, and couched in the fastness of Zion, so Ephraim was to be the more peaceful, but not less powerful buffalo, who was to rove the rich vales of central Palestine, and defend the frontier of the north; "his glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of 'buffaloes:' with them shall he push the people together to the ends of the earth, and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh."[4] In the fulness of their pride and strength, they demanded of their great chieftain Joshua, "Why hast thou given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I am a great people, forasmuch as the Lord hath blessed me hitherto[5]—the 'mountain' is not enough for

their fertility;

[1] Ps. lxxviii. 67, 68.
[2] Josh. xviii. 5.
[3] Deut. xxxiii. 13—16.
[4] Deut. xxxiii. 17.
[5] *i. e.* by increase of children. Compare Gen. i. 22, 28.

us." But Joshua answered them with no less wisdom than patriotism, that what more they won must be by their own exertions against the Canaanites of the plain: "Thou art a great people, and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only; but the mountain shall be thine; for it is a 'forest,' and thou shalt cut it down; and the outgoings of it shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have iron chariots, and though they be strong." [1]

The "mountain" was theirs—"the mountains of Ephraim"—and to their secure heights even the members of other tribes wandered for shelter and for power. Ehud the Benjamite, when he armed his countrymen against Moab, "blew his trumpet in the mountain of Ephraim," as in the rallying-place of the nation, "and the children of Israel went down with him from the mount [into the valley of the Jordan] and he before them." [2] Deborah, though, as it would seem, herself [3] of the northern tribes, "dwelt between Ramah and Bethel [4] in Mount Ephraim." Tola, of Issachar, judged Israel in Shamir in Mount Ephraim.[5] Samuel, too, was of "Ramathaim-zophim, of Mount Ephraim." [6]

and central situation.

I. But the connection between the peculiarities of this country and its history are, as in Judah, most strikingly exemplified by a view of its sacred and capital cities. The great sanctuary of the house of Joseph, and during the whole period of their supremacy, of the nation also, was Shiloh. Perhaps there is no place in Palestine that more forcibly exemplifies the remark often made in these pages, contrasting the sacred localities of Palestine with those of Greece. Delphi, and Lebadea, and the Styx are so strongly marked by every accompaniment of external nature, as at once to proclaim their position as the natural, the inevitable seats of the oracles of the nation. But Shiloh is so utterly featureless, that, had it not been for the preservation of its name (Seilun), and for the

Shiloh.

[1] Joshua, xvii. 14—18, with Ewald's interpretation (2nd edit. i. 87; ii. 343).

[2] Jud. iii. 27, 28. (See Ewald ii. 362.)

[3] The princes of Issachar with Deborah. Jud. v. 15.

[4] Jud. iv. 5.

[5] Jud. x. 1.

[6] 1 Sam. i. 1.

extreme precision with which its situation is described in the Book of Judges,[1] the spot could never have been identified; and, indeed, from the time of Jerome till the year 1838, its real site was completely forgotten,[2] and its name was transferred, as we have seen, to that commanding height of Gibeon,[3] which a later age naturally conceived to be a more congenial spot for the sacred place, where for so many centuries was "the tent which He had pitched[4] among men,"—

> "Our living Dread, who dwells
> In Silo, his bright sanctuary."

Its ruins[5] are scattered over a slight eminence which rises in one of those softer and wider plains before noticed as characteristic of this part of Palestine—a little removed from the great central route of the country—its antiquity marked by the ruins of the ancient well, probably the very one by which the "daughters of Shiloh" danced[6] in the yearly festival, when the remnant of the neighbouring tribe of Benjamin descended from their hills to carry them off—and also by the approach from the east through a valley[7] of rock-hewn sepulchres, some of which, in all probability, must have been the last resting-place of the unfortunate house of Eli. Its selection as the sanctuary may partly have arisen from its comparative seclusion, still more from its central situation. The most hallowed spot of that vicinity, Bethel, which might else have been more naturally chosen, was at this time still in the hands of the Canaanites;[8] and thus, left to choose the encampment of the Sacred Tent, not by old associations, but according to the dictates of convenience, the conquerors fixed on this retired spot in the heart of the country, where the allotment of the territory could

[1] Jud. xxi. 19.
[2] See Robinson, iii. 87, 88.
[3] See Chapter IV. p. 212.
[4] Ps. lxxviii. 60.
[5] Mr. Thrupp (Ancient Jerusalem, Note B.) has noticed the curious fact, that one of these ruins is still called by the name of the tomb of the "prophet Ahijah" the Shilonite.
[6] Judg. xxi. 19, 21, 23.
[7] See Robinson, vol. iii. 86. His description of this valley, as "shut in by perpendicular walls of rock," is one of the very few exaggerations in his work.
[8] Jud. i. 23—27, with Ewald's explanation (2nd edit. ii. 363).

be most conveniently made, north, south, east, and west, to the different tribes,[1] and there the Ark remained down to the fatal day when its home was uprooted by the Philistines. But Shiloh, though it was the sanctuary, was not the capital, of Ephraim. It was hardly even a city in its first origin. It was rather the last halt of the many encampments of their past life. The "tabernacle," "the tent," that last relic of the nomad existence of the chosen people, is the feature always dwelt upon in the notices of Shiloh. And with this curiously agrees the description of the sanctuary of Shiloh in the Rabbinical traditions,[2] as of "a structure of low stone walls, with the tent drawn over the top;" exactly answering to the Bedouin villages of the present day, where the stone enclosures often remain, long after the tribes which they sheltered, and the tents which they supported, have vanished away; the point of transition precisely corresponding to the history of the origin of Shiloh, between the wandering and the settled life.

II. It was in a more permanent home that the chiefs of the new nation took up their final abode. The situation of SHECHEM is soon described. From the hills through which the main route of Palestine must always have run, and amongst which Shiloh is secluded, the traveller descends into a wide plain—the widest and the most beautiful of the plains of the Ephraimite mountains,—one mass of corn, unbroken by boundary or hedge,—from the midst of which start up olive-trees, themselves unenclosed as the fields in which they stand. Over the hills which close the northern end of this plain, far away in the distance, is caught the first glimpse of the snowy ridge of Hermon. Its western side is bounded by the abutments of two mountain ranges, running from west to east. These ranges are Gerizim and Ebal; and up the opening between them, not seen from the plain, lies the modern town of Nablous. This is one of the few instances in which the Roman, or rather the Greek, name has superseded in popular language the ancient Semitic appellation SHECHEM.

[1] Joshua, xviii. 1.

[2] Surenhusius' Mishna, vol. v. 59.

—"Nablous" being the corruption of "Neapolis," the "New Town" founded by Vespasian after the ruin of the older Shechem, which probably lay further eastward, and therefore nearer to the opening of the valley.[1] A valley, green with grass, gray with olives, gardens sloping down on each side, fresh springs rushing down in all directions; at the end, a white town embosomed in all this verdure, lodged between the two high mountains, which extend on each side of the valley—that on the south, Gerizim, that on the north, Ebal—this is the aspect of Nablous, the most beautiful, perhaps it might be said the only very beautiful spot in central Palestine. M. Van de Velde, who approached this valley from the richer scenery of the north, is not less struck by it than those who contrast it with the barren hills of Judæa. "The awful gorge of the Leontes is grand and bold beyond description; the hills of Lebanon, over against Sidon, are magnificent and sublime; the valley of the hill of Naphtali is rich in wild oak forest and brushwood; those of Asher, the Wâdy Kara, for example, present a beautiful combination of wood and mountain stream in all the magnificence of undisturbed originality . . . Carmel, with its wilderness of timber trees and shrubs, of plants and bushes, still answers to its ancient reputation for magnificence. But the Vale of Shechem differs from them all. Here there is no wilderness, here there are no wild thickets, yet there is always verdure; always shade, not of the oak, the terebinth, and the caroub tree, but of the olive-grove—so soft in colour, so picturesque in form, that for its sake we can willingly dispense with all other wood. Here there are no impetuous mountain torrents, yet there is water—water, too, in more copious supplies than anywhere else in

[1] De Saulcy's arguments (vol. ii. pp. 372—379) founded on the expressions of the Old Testament and Josephus, entirely prove this. But they do not establish his position, that the city was on the summit of Gerizim, and the very graphic description of Shechem in Theodotus (apud Eusob. Præp. Ev. ix. 22) as "under the roots of the mountain," is decisive against him. He speaks of the name of "Louzah," as given to the ruins of Gerizim by the Samaritan high-priest at Nablous, which certainly agrees with the position at Luza, noticed by Jerome (Onomasticon: *Luza*). Can this be the second Luz, founded by the inhabitants of Luz when expelled by the Ephraimites from Bethel? Jud. i. 26.

the land; and it is just to its many fountains, rills, and water-courses that the valley owes its exquisite beauty."[1] "There is a singularity," he adds, "about the Vale of Shechem, and that is the peculiar colouring which objects assume in it. You know that wherever there is water, the air becomes charged with watery particles; and that distant objects, beheld through that medium, seem to be enveloped in a pale blue or gray mist, such as contributes not a little to give a charm to the landscape. But it is precisely these atmospheric tints that we miss so much in Palestine. Fiery tints are to be seen both in the morning and the evening, and glittering violet or purple-coloured hues where the light falls next to the long deep shadows; but there is an absence of colouring, and of that charming dusky haze in which objects assume such softly blended forms, and in which also the transition in colour from the foreground to the farthest distance loses the hardness of outline peculiar to the perfect transparency of an eastern sky. It is otherwise in the Vale of Shechem, at least in the morning and the evening. Here the exhalations remain hovering among the branches and leaves of the olive-trees, and hence that lovely bluish haze. The valley is far from broad, not exceeding in some places a few hundred feet. This you find generally enclosed on all sides: there likewise the vapours are condensed. And so you advance under the shade of the foliage along the living waters, and charmed by the melody of a host of singing birds—for they, too, know where to find their best quarters—while the perspective fades away, and is lost in the damp vapoury atmosphere."[2] These are the features, so unlike to those of Jerusalem, which we have now to trace as they burst upon us in different points of view through the various stages of the history of Shechem, as of a face once familiar, often disappearing, yet again and again appearing through the vicissitudes of youth and age, through public and private life; changing, yet still the

[1] Van de Velde, i. 386.

[2] i. 388. These remarks on the moist atmosphere of Shechem are so far confirmed by my own experience, that the valley between Nablous and Samaria was, when I saw it, wrapt in a thick drizzling mist, such as I saw nowhere else in Syria.

same, and connecting events and scenes in themselves widely different.

First Halting-place of Abraham.

1. It first dawns upon us in the dimness of the Patriarchal age, as the first spot on which Abraham halted when he had crossed[1] the Jordan, on his way from Chaldæa, to the land which God should give him. It was the "place of Shechem." Shechem itself, it would seem, was not yet built; all was still in its primeval state. Yet there was enough of those noble groves to attract the wanderer's steps. Under the "'terebinths'[2] of Moreh," now superseded by the more useful olive trees,[3] Abraham rested, and built the first altar which the Holy Land had known.

First Settlement of Jacob.

2. What is thus faintly discerned in the life of the earlier Patriarch, comes out clearly in the life of his descendant, Jacob. From the heights of Gilead, through the deep rent of the valley of the Zerka, or Jabbok, which forms one of the most remarkable features in the eastward view from the summit of Gerizim, Jacob descended with his "two bands," —probably by the same route as that through which his ancestor, from the same region of Mesopotamia, had entered the land. He advanced through the valley, which, leading direct from the northern fords of the Jordan, opens on the wide corn-plain already described, and pitched his tent before the city; and the spot where he had at last found a home after his long wanderings, became the first possession of himself and his race in Palestine. "He bought 'the' parcel of 'the' field, where he had spread his tent," "of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred pieces of money."[4]

The wide "field,"—"the cultivated field," as it is thus distinctively called,—indicates by the mere fact of its selection the transition of the Patriarch from the Bedouin shepherd into the civilised and agricultural settler. In that "field" he remained. With the prudence characteristic of his whole life, he never advanced into the narrow valley between the mountains, where the city of Shechem itself stood; he and his sons still had their cattle in

[1] Gen. xii. 6, properly "passed over."
[2] Gen. xii. 6: in the E. Vers. "plains of Moreh." See Appendix *Elon.*)
[3] See Van de Velde, i. 387.
[4] Gen. xxxiii. 19.

"the field;" it was only the rashness of his children which drew them into the neighbourhood of the city, "to see the daughters of the land," and to avenge the insult to their house.[1]

First Capital of the Conquest.

3. The same causes which had rendered Shechem and its neighbourhood the primeval possession of Israel in Palestine, rendered it naturally the first capital, when his descendants, emerging like him from the Bedouin life of their desert-wanderings, advanced from the last of their tent-encampments at Shiloh to fix themselves as a powerful nation in the heart of the country. Its central position, and its peculiar fertility, made it the natural seat of settled habitation in the north, even to a greater degree than the Vale of Mamre and Eshcol ensured, as we have seen, the same early privilege for Hebron in the south. "Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by 'the spring;'[2] whose branches run over the wall." This is the great benediction of the possession of Jacob's favourite son. "So exceeding verdant and fruitful" (to use the words of Maundrell, in whom the sight of this valley awakened a connection of thought unusual for himself and his age,) "that it may well be looked upon as a standing token of the tender affection of that good Patriarch to the best of sons."[3] But besides these natural advantages, the place was also consecrated by its ancient sanctuary. It was not merely the corn-fields and the valleys, nor even the sacred terebinths, nor yet the burial-place of the embalmed remains of Joseph, that gave its main interest to Shechem in the eyes of a true Israelite. High above the fertile vale rose the long rocky ridge of Mount Gerizim,[4] facing

[1] Gen. xxxiv. 1, 7, 26.
[2] Gen. xlix. 22.
[3] Early Travellers, p. 435.
[4] It can hardly be doubted that Gesenius (Thes. i. 301) is correct, in deriving the name from an ancient tribe, of whom only one other trace remains in history—the "Gerizi," or "Gerizites," —(1 Sam. xxvii. 8, see the margin of our Bibles), probably an Arab horde which had once encamped here, as the Amalekites in like manner, who are mentioned as their neighbours, gave their name to "the mountain of the Amalekites," also in the tribe of Ephraim. (Jud. v. 14; xii. 15.) "Ebal" is more uncertain. Nor is the present aspect of the mountain, as compared with Gerizim, so barren as to justify its derivation from "*Ebal*," "to strip of leaves." Its modern name (so we were told,) is Imad-el-Deen (the "pillar of religion"). Dr. Kitto, in his Land of Promise (p. 141) states, though without giving his authority, that it is called "Sittah Samalyah," from the tomb of a female Mussulman saint. There is an account of the ascent of Ebal in Bartlett's Jerusalem, p. 251. (See also Ritter, Pal. 640.)

Sanctuary of Mount Gerizim.

the equally long and rocky range of Ebal. From the highest, that is, the eastern summit of that ridge, not equal in actual elevation to Jerusalem, but much more considerable than the Mount of Olives above the level from which it rises, a wide view embraces the Mediterranean Sea on the west, the snowy heights of Hermon on the north, and on the east the wall of the trans-Jordanic mountains, broken by the deep cleft of the Jabbok. The mountain that commands this view, which is to Ephraim what that from Gibeon, or Olivet, is to Judæa, was from very early times a sacred place. It is difficult to disentangle the more ancient traditions from those which have been accumulated round it by the Samaritans of a later age; but it is in the highest degree probable that here, and not at Jerusalem, was the point to which the oldest recollections of Palestine pointed as the scene of Abraham's encounter with Melchizedek, and the sacrifice of Isaac; that the smooth sheet of rock on the top of the mountain, with the cave beside it, was from the most ancient times a seat of primitive worship, and is the most authentic remnant of such worship now existing in Palestine. It is possible that something similar once existed, or may even still exist, on the twin height of Ebal. At any rate, these two mountains, with the green valley between them, are described as sacred places, hovering before the minds of the Israelites, even before their entrance into Palestine, and as being at once occupied by them with this view, as soon as they entered. "When the Lord thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, . . . thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal. Are they not on the other side Jordan, . . . . in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the 'desert' over against Gilgal, under the 'terebinths' of Moreh?"[1] And accordingly, the curses and blessings

[1] Deut. xi. 29, 30. There is an important passage in Jerome's work, "De locis Hebraicis," (*voce* Gerizim,) which distinguishes between the Ebal and Gerizim of Shechem, and the Ebal and Gerizim of the curses and blessings spoken of in Deuteronomy and in Joshua, viii. 30—35, and he charges the Samaritans with gross error in having confounded them. "Sunt autem juxta Hierichunta duo montes vicini inter se invicem respicientes, e quibus unus Ge-

are said to have been delivered on this spot in the very first days of the entrance, as though they had found their way at once from the Valley of the Jordan to this their sacred mountain,—"The border of his sanctuary—the mountain which his right hand had purchased." [1]

With these combined forces of natural advantage and religious association, it is not surprising that during the whole of the early period of the settlement in Canaan, Shechem maintained its hold on the people. It was the seat of the chief national assemblies.[2] Within its ancient precincts, even after the erection of Jerusalem into the capital, the custom was still preserved of inaugurating a new reign. "And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were come to Shechem to make him king." [3]

Insurrection of Abimelech.

4. One episode in the history of Shechem which took place during this period, is recorded in such detail, and is so illustrative of all the points we have noticed, that it must be briefly mentioned; the narrative of Abimelech's

rizim, alter Gebel dicitur. Porro Samaritani arbitrantur hos duos montes juxta Neapolim esse, sed vehementer errant." It is certainly a curious fact that two mountains were shown as such in his time near Jericho, probably part of the range of Quarantania; and there is at first sight much to be said in favour of this position of Ebal and Gerizim. 1. The wide interval between the two mountains at Shechem is (as Jerome remarks) difficult to reconcile with the statement, that the words were heard across the valley from east to west. "Plurimum inter se distant; nec possent invicem benedicentium sive maledicentium inter se audiri voces." 2. The mention of Gilgal in close connection with the mountains, first in Deut. xi. 30, and then by implication, in Joshua, viii. 30 (compare v. 10 and ix. 6) where the ceremony is described as taking place immediately after the conquest of Ai, naturally leads us to look for the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jericho; and the expression of the Hebrew text, "that dwell in the *desert*," (Arabah, mistranslated "champaign,") can only be applied to the valley of the Jordan. But on the other hand these words are omitted in the LXX; and the positive statement that the mountains were by the terebinths of Moreh, compels us to adhere to the common views. The mention of Gilgal in Deut. xi. 30, is probably introduced in reference to the scene of the discourse of Moses on the east of Jordan; and in Joshua, viii. 30, there is nothing to prevent the notion that the Israelites may have marched at once for that one purpose from Ai to Shechem. (See Chapter IV.) In the LXX, the narrative is slightly transposed. The difficulty about the voice may perhaps be solved by the supposition that the ceremony took place on the lower spurs of the mountains where they approach more nearly to each other—and it is not greater than on any hypothesis attaches to the similar statement respecting Jotham's speech in Jud. ix. 7. (See Buckingham's Palestine, ii. 470.)

[1] Ps. lxxviii. 54. Such at least seems the most probable explanation according to the context. (Compare also Exodus xv. 17.)

[2] Joshua, xxiv. i. 25.

[3] 1 Kings xii. 1. (Compare the long continuance of Rheims, the ancient metropolitan city of France, as the scene of the French coronations.)

conspiracy to make himself king; the formation of the league of cities, under the protection of Baal-Berith, the 'god of the league,' and the insurrection of the original Canaanites of Shechem against the conquerors.[1] The address of Jotham "on the top of Mount Gerizim,"[2] as the public or sacred place of Shechem; the parable drawn from the rivalry of the various trees,[3] so appropriate to the diversified foliage of the valley below; the adjacent forest of Mount Zalmon;[4] the terebinths of Jacob;[5] the "field" before the city;[6] the "shadows of the mountain tops;"[7] are all features more or less characteristic of the neighbourhood. This is the last appearance of the primitive Shechem in the Jewish history. It was razed to the ground by Abimelech,[8] and the place is no more mentioned till its revival in the monarchy.

Sanctuary of the Samaritan sect.

5. There is no occasion to dwell on the revival of Shechem as the capital of the northern kingdom under Jeroboam, or on its subsequent features as the seat of the mixed settlers after the return from the exile, commonly called Samaritans. Yet it is interesting to remember that, through all these vicissitudes, Gerizim, the oldest sanctuary in Palestine, retained its sanctity to the end. There is probably no other locality, in which the same worship has been sustained with so little change or interruption for so great a series of years as that of this mountain, from Abraham to the present day. In their humble synagogue, at the foot of the mountain, the Samaritans still worship,—the oldest and the smallest sect in the world; distinguished by their noble physiognomy and stately appearance from all other branches

[1] See the explanations of Jud. ix., by Patrick; and by Ewald (2nd edit. ii. 444—448.)

[2] Jud. ix. 7.

[3] Jud. ix. 8.

[4] Jud. ix. 48. It is possible that Zalmon may be another name for Ebal. At any rate it must have been near. The name occurs only once again. Ps. lxviii. 14.

[5] Jud. ix. 37. "The plain of Meonenim"=the terebinth of enchantments. Compare Chapter II. viii. p. 141, *note*.

[6] Jud. ix. 32, 42, 43; in 27 and 44, wrongly translated "fields."

[7] Jud. ix. 36.

[8] Jud. ix. 45. The site of the city thus destroyed by Abimelech was shown in Jerome's time *near Joseph's sepulchre* (De locis Hebraicis: *voce* Sichem). This, however, was more likely the site of the city destroyed before the building of Neapolis.

of the Jewish race. In their prostrations at the elevation of their revered copy of the "Pentateuch," they throw themselves on their faces in the direction, not of Priest or Law, or any object within the building, but obliquely towards the eastern summit of Mount Gerizim. And up the side of the mountain, and on its long ridge, is to be traced the pathway by which they ascend to the sacred spots where they yearly celebrate, alone of all the Jewish race, the Paschal Sacrifice.[1]

Jacob's Well.

6. One more scene remains which supplies to this portion of Palestine associations like those which Olivet and Bethany supply to Judæa, and which sums up in so remarkable a manner all the successive points presented in the history of Shechem, that often as it has been depicted, it must briefly be told again. At the mouth of the Valley of Shechem, two slight breaks are visible in the midst of the vast plain of corn—one a white Mussulman chapel; the other a few fragments of stone. The first of these covers the alleged tomb of Joseph, buried thus in the 'parcel of ground' which his father bequeathed especially to him, his favourite son.[2] The second marks the undisputed site of the well, now neglected and choked up by the ruins which have fallen into it; but still with every claim to be considered the original well, sunk deep into the rocky ground, by "our father Jacob," who had retained enough of the customs of the earlier families of Abraham and Isaac, to mark his first possession by digging a well, "to give drink thereof to himself, his children, and his cattle."[3] This at least was the tradition

[1] See note at the end of the Chapter. The great period of Samaritan power must have been in the 6th century, when they appeared on the coasts of the Mediterranean, generally as engaged with the Jews in the slave-trade of Europe, and when money-changer and Samaritan were used as convertible terms. It was then that they rose in insurrection against the Christians in Neapolis—and that in consequence a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary was built on the summit of Gerizim, and fortified by Justinian. (See Milman's History of Jews, vol. iii. pp. 215, 221—229.)

[2] Josh. xxiv. 32. Compare Gen. xlviii. 22. See the Map, p. 224.

[3] John iv. 12. There are two chapels shown as the Tomb of Joseph; one, that which is here mentioned, close to the well, which has nothing worthy of remark except the fact that the tomb (unlike those of most Mussulman saints) is built diagonally across the floor of the chapel. The other, also a Mussulman chapel, is about a quarter of a mile up the valley on the slope of Mount Gerizim, and is said by the Samaritans to be so called after a Rabbi Joseph of Nablous. There can be no doubt that the well now shown is the one which has

of the place, in the last days of the Jewish people, and its position adds probability to the conclusion, indicating, as has been well observed,[1] that it was there dug by one who could not trust to the fresh springs so near in the adjacent vale, which still belonged to the hostile or strange Canaanites. If this be so, we have here an actually existing monument of the prudential character of the old Patriarch; as though we saw him administering the mess of pottage, or compassing his ends with Laban, or guarding against the sudden attack of Esau; fearful lest he "being few in number, the inhabitants of the land should gather themselves together against him, and slay him and his house."[2] By a singular fate, this authentic and expressive memorial of the earliest dawn of Jewish history became the memorial no less authentic and expressive of its Sacred close. Of all the *special* localities of our Lord's life in Palestine, this is almost the only one absolutely undisputed. By the edge of this well, in the touching language of the ancient hymn, "Quærens me, sedisti lassus." Here, on the great road through which "He must needs go" when "He left Judæa, and departed into Galilee," He halted, as travellers still halt, in the noon[3] or evening of the spring-day by the side of the well, amongst the relics of a former age. Up that passage through the valley, His disciples "went away into the city," which He did not enter. Down the same gorge came the woman to draw water, according to the unchanged custom of the East, which still, in the lively concourse of veiled figures round the wayside wells, reproduces the image of Rebekah, and Rachel, and Zipporah.[4] Above them, as they talked, rose "this mountain" of Gerizim, crowned by the Temple, of which the vestiges still remain, where the fathers of the Samaritan sect "said

always been pointed out as Jacob's well. But it may be worth observing that its later association has caused it sometimes to be called the well of the Samaritan—Bir-es-Samaria; whilst another well within the town is sometimes known by the name of Jacob's well—Bir-el-Jacoub. (Buckingham, 543, 544.)

[1] Robinson, iii. p. 112.

[2] Gen. xxxiv. 30.

[3] John iv. 2, 3, 6. According as we make the hours of St. John's Gospel, by the Roman or our own reckoning.

[4] See Chap. II. p. 146.

men ought to worship," and to which, still after so many centuries, their descendants turn as to the only sacred spot in the universe: the strongest example of local worship now existing in the world in the very face of the declaration there uttered, that all local worship should cease. And round about them, as He and she thus sate or stood by the well, spread far and wide the noble plain of waving corn.[1] It was still winter, or early spring,[2]—"four months yet to the harvest;" and the bright golden ears of those fields had not yet "whitened" their unbroken expanse of verdure. But as He gazed upon them, they served to suggest the glorious vision of the distant harvest of the Gentile world, which, with each successive turn of the conversation, unfolded itself more and more distinctly before Him, as He sate (so we gather from the narrative) absorbed in the opening prospect, silent amidst His silent and astonished disciples.[3]

III. Jerusalem and Shechem are the only ancient cities which have reached the dignity of capitals of Palestine. And, as in Judah no rival city ever rose till the time of the Herods, the whole splendour of the southern monarchy was concentrated in Jerusalem, and contributed to that magnificence which has before been described as probably excelling any sight of the kind within the Holy Land. But in the northern kingdom, the sovereigns followed the tendency similar to that which has guided princes of all times to build sumptuous palaces, and select pleasant residences, apart from the great seats of state. This difference between the two kingdoms was doubtless in part occasioned by the stronger hold which the City of David possessed on the minds both of princes and people, than could be the case in the less firmly established monarchy of Shechem. But it would also be fostered by the difference between the two regions. Except Hebron there was no spot to which a king of Judah would SAMARIA.

[1] Most of the points in this interview are well brought out by Clarke (iv. p. 80.)

[2] Robinson (Harmony, p. 189,) fixes it in November or December; but rather it should be in January or February. The harvest of Palestine is in April or May. I left the great plain of Philistia on the 1st of May, and the corn was still standing.

[3] "His disciples . . . marvelled . . . yet no man said, What seekest thou?" John iv. 27.

naturally be attracted, either by the beauty or the fertility of its situation. The new capital which Herod founded for the Roman province of Judæa, under the name of Cæsarea, was created with an especial view to intercourse with the west, which in early times had no existence. But in the territory of Ephraim, the fertile plains, and to a certain extent wooded hills, which have been often noticed as its characteristic ornaments, at once gave an opening to the formation of parks and pleasure-grounds similar to those which were the "Paradises" of Assyrian and Persian monarchs. One of these was Tirzah, of unknown site, but evidently near Shechem, and of proverbial beauty,[1] selected by the first sovereign, Jeroboam,[2] and then during three short reigns the habitual residence of the royal house.[3] Another was Jezreel during the reign of Ahab, of which I shall speak hereafter. But the chief was Samaria. Six miles from Shechem, following the course of the same green and watered valley, the traveller finds himself in a wide basin, encircled with hills, on a lower level than the Valley of Shechem, and almost on the edge of the great maritime plain. In the centre of this basin rises an oblong hill, with steep yet accessible sides, and a long flat top. This was "the mountain *Shomron*," (corrupted through the Chaldee "Shemrin" into the Greek "Samaria,") which Omri bought of Shemer for the great sum of two talents of silver, "and built on the mountain, and called the name of the city which he built, Shomron (or Samaria), after the name of Shemer owner of the mountain."[4] What Omri in all probability built as a mere palatial residence, became the capital of the kingdom instead of Shechem. It was as though Versailles had taken the place of Paris,

Its beauty.

[1] "Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah." Cant. vi. 4. The word for "beautiful" (*jafeh*) is the same word as that which gave its name to "Jaffa" or "Joppa." In this passage it would seem to be contrasted with *comely* — (*naveh*)—which appears to answer to the Latin *decens*, and the Greek σεμνος. "I am black but comely." Cant. i. 5. In Ps. xlviii. 2, however, *jafeh* is applied to the elevation of Jerusalem. Schwarze (p. 150) speaks of a "Tarza" on a high mount east of Samaria.

[2] 1 Kings xiv. 17.

[3] 1 Kings xv. 21; xvi. 8, 17, 23.

[4] 1 Kings xvi. 24. The word signifies *watch-tower*, and, if it were not for the derivation (in this case indisputable, and therefore not unimportant, as throwing light on more doubtful instances) from the owner, might have been thought to be due to the appropriateness of the situation.

or Windsor of London. But in this case the change was effected by the admirable choice of Omri in selecting a position which, as has been truly observed, combined in a union not elsewhere found in Palestine, strength, beauty, and fertility. Its fertility and beauty it shared to a great extent with Shechem, in this respect the common characteristic of these later capitals, all probably alike included in the bitter praise of the prophet, "Woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim,—whose glorious beauty is a fading flower,—which are on the head of the fat 'ravines' of them that are overcome with wine." [1] But having these advantages which Shechem had, it had others which Shechem had not. Situated on its steep height, in a plain itself girt in by hills, it was enabled, not less promptly than Jerusalem, to resist the successive assaults made upon it by the Syrian and Assyrian armies. The first were baffled altogether; the second took it only after a three years' siege, that is three times as long as that which reduced Jerusalem.[2] The local circumstances of the earlier sieges are well brought out by M. Van de Velde.[3] "As the mountains around the hill of Shemer are higher than that hill itself, the enemy must have been able to discover clearly the internal condition of the besieged Samaria. . . . The inhabitants, whether they turned their eyes upwards or downwards to the surrounding hills, or into the valley, must have seen all full of enemies . . . thirty and two kings, and horses and chariots. The mountains and the adjacent circle of hills, were so densely occupied by the enemy, that not a man could pass through to bring provisions to the beleaguered city. The Syrians on the hills must have been able from where they stood plainly to distinguish the famishing inhabitants." On that beautiful eminence, looking far over the plain of Sharon and the Mediterranean Sea, to the west, and over its own fertile vale to the east, the kings of Israel reigned in a luxury which, for the very reason of its being like that of more Eastern sovereigns, was sure not to be permanent in

Its strength.

[1] Isa. xxviii. 1.
[2] 2 Kings xviii. 10.
[3] i. 376, 377. See 1 Kings xx. 13—16; 2 Kings vi. 24—33.

a race destined for higher purposes. The vast temple of Baal was there erected, which Jehu destroyed; and in later times, Herod chose it alone out of the ancient capitals of the north, to adorn with the name and with the temple of Augustus, from which time it assumed the appellation, which with a slight change it has borne ever since, "Sebaste." And now, although its existence has but been brought fully to light within the last few years, it is the only site in Palestine, besides Jerusalem, which exhibits relics of ancient architectural beauty. The long colonnade of the broken pillars of Herod's city, still lines the topmost terrace of the hill; and the gothic ruin of the church of St. John the Baptist, parent of the numerous churches which bear his name throughout the West, remains over what Christians and the Mussulman inhabitants still revere as the grave "of the Prophet John, son of Zacharias,"[1] round which in the days of Jerome the same wild orgies were performed which are now to be seen round "the Holy Sepulchre."[2] The doubtful tradition, which thus links together on the summit of Samaria the names of the Baptist and his murderer, is amongst the very few solemn recollections which attach to this spot. It is possible that the reservoir which still exists in the precincts of that edifice, half church half mosque, may be the "pool" in which the chariot of Ahab was washed, which had brought up the dying king from the Valley of the Jordan, after the fatal fight of Ramoth-Gilead.[3] But there is no place of equal eminence in Palestine, with so few great recollections. Compared with Shechem or Jerusalem, it is a mere growth of pleasure and convenience—the city of luxurious princes, not of patriarchs and prophets, priests and kings.

Sebaste.

The Passes of Manasseh.

IV. As the central hills of Palestine terminate on the east and west in the maritime plain and the Valley of the Jordan, so on the north they descend through long broken passes to the edge of the great plain of Esdraelon. Valleys of considerable depth, though never contracted to defiles,

[1] This is the name by which the rude inhabitants of the present town of Sebastieh point out the tomb.

[2] See Chapter XIV.

[3] Kings xxii. 38.

lead down from one to the other. Here and there they open into a wider upland plain. One such is that called the Plain of Sanur,[1] out of which rise, like the isolated rocks from the Carse of Stirling, several steep hills, the most commanding summit being crowned by the strong fortress of Sanur. Through these passes, occasionally guarded by strongholds, the lines of communication must have run between the north and the south: in these passes, "the horns of Joseph, the ten thousands of Ephraim,[2] and the thousands of Manasseh," were to repulse the invaders from the north. Manasseh, extending along the whole of this long ridge, and then stretching across the Jordan to join the pastoral division of the same tribe, which reached into the distant hills of Bashan and Gilead, was the frontier and the outpost of Ephraim. Of the eastern portion there will be another occasion to speak. But the chief historical importance of the western portion lies in its occupation of the Passes of Esdraelon. They are very little known; and in speaking of them, almost all travellers are compelled to draw conclusions from the one well-known descent from Sebaste through Sanur to Jenin. But the general nature of the ground cannot be doubted. Whenever the plain of Esdraelon has been occupied by hostile forces, it must have been from the hills of Manasseh that they were overlooked. On this turns the whole history of the great hero of Manasseh, Gideon, who amongst these hills was raised up to descend on the Midianite host. Hence, too, in the strange mixture of truth and fiction contained in the Apocryphal book of Judith, the whole stress of the defence of Palestine against Holofernes is laid on the same tribe; they were "charged to keep the passages of the hill country, for by them there was an entrance into Judæa, and it was easy to stop them that would come up, because the passage was strait for two men at the most."[3] A pass so narrow as is here intimated probably does not exist in this part of Palestine. But the general effect of the description is correct; and although Bethulia, the city besieged by Holofernes, is

[1] It is sometimes erroneously called the plain of Sharon.

[2] Deut. xxxiii. 17.

[3] Judith iv. 7.

unknown,[1] perhaps even a mere invention, yet there is one place mentioned as the point on which all the defences turned, and of which the notices agree with those in other parts of the Jewish history, namely, Dothain. This now appears to have been identified by the modern name of Dotan, a little on the west of what is now the usual descent on the plain from the hills.[2] Its first appearance—not, however, without some doubt—is in the story of Joseph. He left "the 'valley' of Hebron"—sought his brothers at Shechem—heard of them from a man in the cultivated "field," so often mentioned—and found them at Dothain, or "the Two Wells." Into one of these wells, as it would seem, his brethren cast him, when, coming up from Esdraelon, they saw the Arabian merchants on their way from the mountains beyond the Jordan join the great Egyptian route along the maritime plain.[3] The next appearance is more certain. At Dothain, or (as it is here written, in a contracted form) Dothan, Elisha was living,[4] when the Syrian army with its chariots and horses came up, no doubt from Esdraelon, on its way to Samaria.

[1] It may possibly be the fortress of Sanur, mentioned above.

[2] Such is the statement of M. Van de Velde. He describes it as a knoll, covered with ruins—the ruins of an aqueduct—a flat grass field round it. (i. 364—368.)

[3] Gen. xxxvii. 12—28. The traditional scene of Joseph's adventures is in the plain of the upper Jordan, immediately north of the Lake of Gennesareth, and its site marked by an ancient khan, bearing his name, "Khan Yusuf," as its neighbourhood is by the "Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob," over the river, and its consequences, by the black and white stones on the shores of the lake, said to be the marks of Jacob's tears. (See Chapter II.) But there is no trace there of the name of Dothan, nor does it so well agree with the rest of the story; and the whole cycle of local tradition may have grown up from the belief of later times, that Joseph lived and died in the holy city of Safed, which is in the centre of that region. One expression, however, suggests a doubt whether, after all, it is not the place. The pit of Joseph was "in the *wilderness*." (Gen. xxxvii. 22.) This word might, as in the Gospels, be applied to the desert-valley of the Jordan—hardly to the valleys of Samaria.

[4] 2 Kings vi. 13.

## NOTE.

### MOUNT GERIZIM.

Two complete accounts have been given of Mount Gerizim,—one by Dr. Robinson,[1] who saw it in 1838, the other by M. De Saulcy,[2] who saw it in 1851. It is needless, therefore, here to do more than briefly enumerate the main objects of interest; and this the more, as a work is shortly expected from the pen of Mr. Rogers, the English Vice-Consul at Caipha, who has probably seen more of the Samaritan sect, and of their worship, than any other European. I have ventured here and there to add a few confirmations or illustrations of my remarks from the mouth of his Samaritan friend Jacob-es-Shellaby.

The mountain is ascended by two well-worn tracks, one leading from the town of Nablous at its western extremity, the other from the valley on its northern side, near one of the two spots pointed out as Joseph's tomb. It is on the eastern extremity of the ridge that the "holy places" of the Samaritans are collected. First, there occurs the small hole in the rocky ground where the lamb is roasted on the evening of the Passover;[3] next, the large stone structure, supposed by M. De Saulcy to be the remains of the Samaritan temple, and by Dr. Robinson to be the ruins of the fortress of Justinian; but in either case occupying the site of the ancient temple. In one of the towers of this edifice, on the north-east angle, is the tomb of a Mussulman saint, Sheykh Ghranem.[4] Under the southern wall of this castle or temple, is a line of rocky slabs, called the "ten stones," in commemoration of the ten (or twelve) stones brought by Joshua, or of the ten tribes of the northern kingdom. De Saulcy supposes them to be artificial, and erected by Joshua. But they have every appearance of a large rocky platform; the twelve (for there are twelve distinctly marked) divided each from each by natural fissures. It was also pointed out to him as the "burning-place" of the victims (Harakah). Beyond this platform, and still further to the east, is a smooth surface of rock, sloping down to a hole on its south side. The rock, according to the present story, is the holy place—the scene of Abraham's sacrifice—the Bethel of Jacob—the spot where the Ark rested; the hole in the Holy of Holies. But it can hardly be

[1] B. R. iii. p. 124.
[2] Journey in Syria, ii. 370.
[3] The whole scene of the Samaritan Passover is given in detail by Mr. Rogers in Notices of the Modern Samaritans, p. 25.
[4] The same name was reported to us as to De Saulcy, ii. 367.

doubted that it is the original sanctuary;[1] and that the hole is an aperture for the sewerage of the blood of victims; and it thus furnishes an illustration of the threshing-floor of Araunah, on which the altar of David and Solomon was built, with the cavity[2] underneath for the reception of the blood and garbage.

I have stated that there is every probability that Gerizim, and not Jerusalem, is the scene of two of the most remarkable events in the history of Abraham.

Meeting with Melchizedek.

1. The meeting with Melchizedek (Gen xiv. 17, 18,) is expressly stated in the fragment of Theodotus preserved by Eusebius, to have occurred in "Ar-Gerizim," the "mountain of the Most High."[3] It is clear that this, as in the analogous case of Ar-Mageddon, is simply the Greek version of "the mountain of Gerizim," the uniform mode of designating that eminence. So I observed that Jacob-es-Shellaby always called it "Ar-Gerizim" in Arabic. That it should have been thus early set apart as the "mountain of *the Most High*," is natural, from the commanding appearance which it presents, especially as seen from the plain of Philistia and Sharon, up which, in all probability, the old Gerizites, from whom it derives its name, must have swept from the Desert. And its elevation above the neighbouring hills is so great as naturally to deserve the supremacy which Josephus gives it, of "the highest of all the mountains of Samaria."[4]

This traditional selection of Gerizim as the scene of the meeting with Melchizedek is further confirmed by all the circumstances of the narrative. Abraham was returning from his victory over the eastern kings at Dan, at the head of the Valley of the Jordan, when he was welcomed by the king of Sodom "at the valley of *Shaveh*, which is the king's 'valley,'" or, as the Septuagint renders it, "of the kings," probably in allusion to this very meeting.[5] This valley is mentioned once again expressly as "the king's valley," where Absalom had erected his tomb.[6] It was conjectured in later times, that this valley was the ravine of the Kedron on the east of Jerusalem; and this conjecture has been perpetuated by the name of Absalom's tomb attached to the most conspicuous of the monuments in that ravine. But the context in both places leads to the conclusion that the place was somewhere near the Valley of the Jordan, probably on its eastern side, where the death of Absalom occurred, and where it would therefore be mentioned as a singular

[1] See Chapter III.

[2] To us, as to M. de Saulcy, a niche or apse in the "castle" was shown as the "Kibleh" of the Samaritans. But this probably was merely from the Mussulman guide's association of such a spot with the niche of the "Mihrab" in mosques.

[3] Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 22.

[4] Ant. XI. viii. 2.

[5] Gen. xiv. 17. Josephus calls it πεδίον βασιλείων (Ant. I. x. 2), an expression which he could never have applied to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. On the other hand (in Ant. VII. x. 3), in speaking of Absalom's tomb, he calls it κοίλας βασιλικῆς, and speaks of it as only three stadia from Jerusalem.

[6] 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

coincidence that he had erected his monument near the scene of his end. The only other occasion on which the word "Shaveh" is used (meaning, apparently, a dale, or level space), occurs in these same parts in the northern extremity of Moab, "Shaveh-Kiriathaim."[1] In such a level space in one of the valleys, Abraham would naturally be met by the grateful king of Sodom. And at this same spot would also appear the king of the neighbouring town of SALEM, of which the name occurs again in the same vicinity in the history of Jacob; then again, after a long interval, in Judith iv. 4, then in the history of John the Baptist, and still lingers in a village seen from the summit of Gerizim in the valley which leads out of the plain of Shechem towards the Jordan.[2] He was king of Salem, and priest of the Most High God—that is, according to the above-mentioned tradition, of the God who was worshipped on the summit of Gerizim—and to him as the royal guardian and minister of the most ancient and conspicuous sanctuary of Palestine, Abraham paid the tenth of the recently acquired spoil.

Sacrifice of Isaac.

2. What is affirmed by the Gentile tradition with regard to the connection of Gerizim with Melchizedek, is affirmed by the Samaritan tradition with regard to its connection with the sacrifice of Isaac. The Jewish tradition, as represented by Josephus, transfers the scene to the hill on which the temple was afterwards erected at Jerusalem, and this belief has been perpetuated in Christian times as attached to a spot in the garden of the Abyssinian Convent, not indeed on Mount Moriah, but immediately to the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with the intention of connecting the sacrifice of Isaac with the Crucifixion. An ancient thorn tree, covered with the rags of pilgrims, is still shown as the thicket in which the ram was caught. But the Samaritan tradition is here again confirmed by the circumstances of the story. Abraham was "in the land of the Philistines," probably at the extreme south. From Beersheba or Gaza he would

[1] Gen. xiv. 5. See Appendix, *Shaveh*.

[2] That this was the Salem of Melchizedek is maintained by Jerome, in whose time large ruins were shown there, bearing the name of "Melchizedek's Palace," and more doubtfully by Epiphanius (Adv. Hær. ii. p. 469), who, however, speaks of its situation exactly where it is now shown, in the plain opposite Shechem. The other, and now more popular tradition, which Epiphanius describes as existing in his time, and which is also adopted by Suidas (*voce* Melchizedek), supposes Salem to have been the ancient name of Jebus, and that the subsequent application of this name to the Holy City was merely a revival of its ancient appellation. In favour of this belief, is:—1. The fact that Jerusalem is once so called, in Psalm lxxvi. 2.—2. The authority of Josephus (Ant. I. x. 2), who expressly identifies the Salem of Melchizedek with Jerusalem. —3. The incidental confirmation of it in the name of Melchizedek (the King of Righteousness)—which might seem to be the natural precursor of Adonizedek (the Lord of Righteousness), king of Jebus in the time of Joshua. But the concurrence of testimonies and probabilities is decidedly in favour of the northern Salem, and there is no trace of any belief to the contrary in the Scriptures themselves. Jerome inclined to the belief that Jacob's Salem was Shechem itself, though he mentions another near Scythopolis, and also one on the *west* of Jerusalem. The Samaritan tradition fixes Melchizedek's abode to some spot on the eastward of Nablous.

probably be conceived to move along the Philistine plain, and then on the morning of the third day would arrive in the plain of Sharon, exactly where the massive height of Gerizim is visible "afar off," and from thence half a day would bring him to its summit. Exactly such a view is to be had in that plain;[1] and, on the other hand, no such view or impression can fairly be said to exist on the road from Beersheba to Jerusalem, even if what is at most a journey of two days could be extended to three. The towers of Jerusalem are indeed seen from the ridge of Mar Elias, at the distance of three miles; but there is no elevation, nothing corresponding to the "place afar off" to which Abraham "*lifted up* his eyes." And the special locality which Jewish tradition has assigned for the place, and whose name is the chief guarantee for the tradition—Mount Moriah—the Hill of the Temple—is not visible till the traveller is close upon it, at the southern edge of the Valley of Hinnom, from whence he looks down upon it, as on a lower eminence. And when from the circumstances we pass to the name, the argument based upon it in favour of Jerusalem is at least equally balanced by the argument which it yields in favour of Gerizim. The name of Moriah, as applied to the Temple hill, refers to the vision to David after the plague. "Solomon began to build the house in the Mount of 'the *appearance* of the Lord' (Moriah), where He *appeared* unto David his father."[2] Some such play on the word is apparent also in Gen. xxii. 8, 14, where the same Hebrew word is employed, "God *will see*"—"in the mountain the Lord *shall see*" (Jehovah jireh). But in the case of the mountain of Abraham's sacrifice, it was probably in the first instance derived from its conspicuous position, as "*seen* from afar off;" and the name was thus applied not merely to "one of the mountains," but to the whole "land"[3]—an expression entirely inapplicable to the contracted eminence of the temple. The LXX, moreover, evidently unconscious of its identification with the Mount of Jerusalem, translate it, τὴν γὴν τὴν ὑψηλὴν, "the high land,"—a term exactly agreeing with the appearance which the hills of Ephraim, and especially Gerizim, present to a traveller advancing up the Philistine plain, and also with the before-mentioned expression of Theodotus—"the mountain of the Most High." It is impossible here not to ask whether a trace of the name of Moriah, as applied to Gerizim and its neighbourhood, may not be found in the term "*Moreh*," applied to the grove of terebinths in the same vicinity, in Gen. xii. 6, of which the same translation is given by the LXX, as of Moriah—τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὑψηλὴν, "the *high* oak." Hebrew scholars must determine how far the difference of the radical letters of מוריה and מורה is an insuperable objection to the identification. In Gen. xxii. the Samaritans actually read Moreh for Moriah.

[1] See Chapter VI. [2] 2 Chron. iii. 1. [3] Gen. xxii. 2.

# CHAPTER VI.

## THE MARITIME PLAIN.

Zeph. ii. 5, 6, 7. "Woe unto the inhabitants of the sea coasts, the nation of the Cherethites! the word of the Lord is against you; O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will even destroy thee, that there shall be no inhabitant. And the sea coast shall be dwellings and 'cisterns' for shepherds, and folds for flocks. And the coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah; they shall feed thereupon."

Judges v. 17. "Why did Dan remain in ships?"

Isaiah lxv. 10. "Sharon shall be a fold of flocks."

Acts ix. 35. "All that dwelt in Lydda and Saron . . . . turned unto the Lord."

Judges v. 17. "Asher continued on the sea shore, and abode in his 'creeks.'"

Ezek. xxvii. 3, 4. "O Tyrus . . . thy borders are in the midst of the sea."

Maritime Plain.—I. The SHEFELA: the Philistines: 1. Maritime character—name of PALESTINE; 2. The strongholds—sieges; 3. Corn-fields—contact with Dan; 4. Level plain—contact with Egypt and the Desert. II. PLAIN OF SHARON—pasture-land—Dor—forest—Cæsarea—connection with Apostolic history. III. PLAIN and BAY OF ACRE—Tribe of Asher. IV. PLAIN OF PHŒNICIA: 1. Separation from Palestine; 2. Harbours; 3. Security; 4. Rivers. Tyre and Sidon—name of SYRIA.

# THE MARITIME PLAIN.

WE have now reached what was in fact the northern frontier of the chief home of the chosen people. All the main historical events of their earlier history passed in the mountains of Ephraim and of Judah. This clump of hills was the focus of the national life. All the parts of Palestine that lay round it to the west, to the north, and to the east were comparatively foreign; the south, as we have seen, ended in the Desert.

The point to which we have thus attained,—overlooking from the outposts of Manasseh the great battle-field of Esdraelon—compels us to make a retrograde movement and consider the Maritime Plain extending along the western coast, with which the plain of Esdraelon stands in close connection.

I. Beginning from the southern Desert, the first division of this plain—which comprised the territory of the ancient Philistines—is uniformly termed in the Old Testament, *The Low Country* ("*Shefela*").[1] The boundaries of this territory, though indefinite, may be measured by their five great cities; of which Ekron is the furthest north, and Gaza the furthest south. Two parallel tracts divide the flat plain:—the sandy tract (Ramleh) on which stand the maritime cities; and the cultivated tract which presents the most part an unbroken mass of corn, out of which rise here and there slight eminences in the midst of gardens and orchards, the seats of the more inland cities. Gath has entirely disappeared, but Ekron, Ashdod, Gaza, and Ascalon retain their names; and the three last have

'The Shefela,' or Philistia.

[1] "Shefela," the Hebrew word, is preserved untranslated in 1 Macc. xii. 38. See Appendix, *sub voce*.

sites sufficiently commanding to justify their ancient fame. The four points thus indicated in the Philistine territory—its seaboard, its strongholds, its fertility, its level plain—contain the solution of much of their history.

Maritime character of the Philistines.

1. Without losing ourselves in doubtful discussions as to their origin, it is obvious that they were a maritime nation; differing it would seem from the other great maritime power of Phœnicia in the north, in the fact, that whereas the Phœnicians were, so far back as history extends, indigenous—the Philistines were emphatically "strangers" (such is the meaning of the word, and so the LXX translate it).[1] They were "strangers" from beyond the western sea, whether from Asia Minor, as seems to be implied in the name of Caphtor (according to the LXX Cappadocia) or from the nearer island of Crete, as seems to be implied in their appellation of Cherethites.[2] To such colonists the southern shores of Palestine offered a home. On those shores they still retained, if not their seafaring habits, of which there are no further traces, at least their seafaring worship. Dagon, the "Fish-god," was honoured with stately temples even in the inland cities of Gaza and Ashdod:[3] Derceto, the Fish-goddess was worshipped at Ascalon[4]—their one maritime town. Perhaps we ought to reckon to them in earlier times the port of Jaffa—traditionally the most ancient in the world, and near which the modern village of Beit-Dejan preserves the name of another "House of Dagon," of which the ancient records make no mention: and it must have been in the port of Jaffa that Dan—to whose lot this portion fell—"abode in his ships,"[5] during the conflict of the central and northern tribes with Sisera. To this same maritime situation must be ascribed the curious fact that from this foreign and hostile race the Holy Land acquired the name by which it is most commonly known in the Western world. "PALESTINE," or "the land of the Philistines," was the part of Judæa with which the Greeks were first and chiefly acquainted, as they followed in the track of the Egyptian Pharaohs and

Name of PALESTINE.

[1] ἀλλοφυλοι. [2] Zeph. ii. 5. [3] 1 Sam. v. 2; Judg. xvi. 23; 1 Macc. x. 84. [4] Judg. v. 17. [5] Diod. Sic. ii. 4.

Ptolemies along this narrow strip of Syria, or as their vessels may occasionally have touched at Jaffa. And thus by a process similar, though converse, to that by which the Romans gave the name of Asia and Africa to the two small provinces which they first possessed on those two continents, or the English applied the name of the whole Teutonic race (Dutch) to that people of Germany which lay immediately opposite their own shores, the title of "Philistia," or "Palestine," was transferred from the well-known frontier to the unknown interior of the whole country.

The Strongholds.

2. The cities have been already enumerated. There is nothing specially to distinguish them each from each. They rise above the plain on their respective hills—Gaza, Ashdod, and Ekron withdrawn from the coast, Ascalon and Jaffa situated upon it. They are all remarkable for the extreme beauty and profusion of the gardens which surround them—the scarlet blossoms of the pomegranates, the enormous oranges which gild the green foliage of their famous groves. Well might Jaffa,[1] "the beautiful," be so called; well might Ascalon be deemed the haunt of the Syrian Venus. Her temple is destroyed, but the Sacred Doves,[2]—sacred by immemorial legends on the spot, and celebrated there even as late as Eusebius,—still fill with their cooings the luxuriant gardens which grow in the sandy hollow within the ruined walls. These cities, thus situated on the grand route of the invaders of Palestine from north or south, have always played a part in resisting the attacks of besieging armies. The longest siege recorded in history was that conducted for twenty-seven years by Psammetichus against Ashdod. In Ascalon was entrenched the hero of the last gleam of history which has thrown its light over the plains of Philistia. Within the walls and towers still standing, Richard held his court—and the white-faced hill which from their heights, forms so conspicuous an object in the western part of the plain, is the "Blanche-garde" of the Crusading chroniclers, which witnessed his chief adventures.[3]

Their Sieges.

[1] See Chapter V. p. 240.

[2] See the legendary origin of the Sacred Doves, in Diod. Sic. ii. 4.

[3] May it not also be "Libnah," the "*White* city," which Sennacherib was besieging immediately before the destruction of his army? The name, the situation, and the strength of the posi-

Cornfields.

3. But the most striking and characteristic feature of Philistia is its immense plain of cornfields, stretching from the edge of the sandy tract right up to the very wall of the hills of Judah, which look down its whole length from north to south. These rich fields must have been the great source at once of the power and the value of Philistia; the cause of its frequent aggressions on Israel, and of the unceasing efforts of Israel to master the territory. It was in fact a "little Egypt." As in earlier ages the tribes of Palestine, when pressed by famine went down to the Valley of the Nile, so, in later ages, when there was a famine in the hills of Samaria and the plain of Esdraelon, the Shunammite went with her household "and sojourned in the land of the Philistines seven years."[1] In that plain of corn, and those walls of rock, lies the junction of Philistine and Israelite history, which is the peculiarity of the tribe of Dan.[2] These are the fields of "standing corn," with "vineyards and olives" amongst them, into which the "three hundred 'jackals'"[3] were sent down from the neighbouring hills. In the dark openings here and there seen from far in the face of those blue hills, were the fortresses of Dan, whence Samson "went down"[4] into the plain. Through these same openings, after the fall of Goliath, the Philistines poured back and fled to the gates of Ekron, and through these the milch-kine, lowing as they went, carried back the Ark to the hills of Judah.[5] In the caves[6] which pierce the sides of the limestone-cliffs of Lekieh and Deir-Dubban on

Contact with Dan.

tion perfectly agree. (Compare Joshua, xv. 42.)

[1] 2 Kings viii. 2.

[2] With the exception of the events of Samson's life, the history of the southern portion of Dan is too closely interwoven with that of Judah to be further developed. In one instance the Talmud speaks of the houses of a particular city (Baalath), belonging to Judah, and the fields to Dan. (Schwarze, p. 138). So at Hebron the city belonged to Levi, and the fields to Judah; Josh. xxi. 11, 12.

[3] "Shualim," Judg. xv. 4.

[4] Jud. xiv. 1, 5, 7.

[5] 1 Sam. vi. 12; xvii. 52.

[6] That both these caverns were in this direction is implied by the context. Samson, after the slaughter at Timnath, "*went down* into the 'cleft' of the 'cliff' Etam," and there concealed himself till he was "*brought up*" by the Philistines. (Judges xv. 8, 13.) David fled from Gath to the cave of Adullam, and all his father's house *went down* from the hills of Bethlehem to visit him there. (1 Sam. xxii. 1.) Adullam is also fixed by Joshua, xv. 35, to be in the *Shefela*, that being the word rendered 'valley' in verse 33. For the probable identification of those caves, see Van de Velde, ii. 140, 157.

the edge of the plain, may probably be found the refuge of Samson in the 'cliff' Etam, before his victory with the jawbone; as afterwards of David in the cave of Adullam. It is not often that on the same scene, events so romantic have been enacted at such an interval of time, as the deeds of strength which were wrought in this plain by him, "before whose lion ramp the bold Askalonite fell," and those of our own Cœur dé Lion.

Level Plains.

4. As these plains form the point of junction and contrast with the hills of Judah on the west, so they form a point of junction and similarity with the wide pastures of the Desert on the south. This free access from the wilderness to the unprotected frontier of Philistia is what in more recent times has always attached its fortunes more or less to those southern regions. Hence the frequent march of the Egyptian kings through the 'low country.' Hence the possession of this plain by the Edomite Arabs, who, taking Eleutheropolis for their capital, occupied it under the name of Idumea, during the period of the Herods. Hence the insecurity of these parts at the present day from the unchecked incursions of the Bedouin tribes pouring in from beyond Gaza, reproducing a likeness of the desolations, which, probably from the same cause, befell this same region at the close of the Jewish monarchy. "O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will even destroy thee that there shall be no inhabitant, and the sea coast shall be dwellings and 'cisterns' for shepherds, and folds for flocks." [1]

Contact with Egypt and the Desert.

Idumea.

PLAIN OF SHARON.

II. The corn-fields of Philistia, as we advance further north, melt into a plain, less level and less fertile, though still strongly marked off from the mountain-wall of Ephraim, as that of Philistia was from the hills of Judah and Dan. This is "Sharon," a name of the same root as that used to designate the table-lands beyond the Jordan ("Mishor"), and derived from its smoothness — that is, apparently, its freedom from rock and stone.[2] Like the Philistine plain it is divided into the "Ramleh," or sandy tract along the seashore, and the cultivated tract further inland, here called "Khassab,"

[1] Zeph. ii. 5, 6.

[2] Like the Greek word ἀφελής. (See Appendix.)

"the reedy;" apparently from the high reeds which grow along the banks of some of the streams which here fall into the Mediterranean; one of them always having borne that name—"Kanah,"[1] or the "reedy." It is interspersed with corn-fields and thinly studded with trees, the remnants, apparently, of a great forest which existed here down to the second century.[2] Eastward the hills of Ephraim look down upon it—the huge rounded ranges of Ebal and Gerizim[3] towering above the rest; and, at their feet the wooded cone, on the summit of which stood Samaria. But its chief fame then, as now, was for its excellence as a pasture-land. Its wide undulations are sprinkled with Bedouin tents, and vast flocks of sheep; the true successors of "the herds which were fed in Sharon," in David's reign, under "Shitrai, the Sharonite,"[4] and of "the folds of flocks," which Isaiah foretold in "Sharon," as the mark of the restored Israel.[5] Probably this very fact, then as now, rendered it insecure, and therefore unfrequented by the Israelites of the mountain country above; at any rate during the whole period of the Old Dispensation no one historical name or event is attached to this district. The only town that marked the region in early times is Dor, with its surrounding district of "Naphath-Dor;"[6] and this was in the hands of the Canaanites, their furthest southern settlement, the southernmost of that line of seaport towns which extends henceforth in regular succession along the coast as far as Aradus, or Arvad. Its situation, with its little harbour enclosed within the wild rocks rising over the shell-strewn beach, and covered by the fragments of the later city of Tentura, is still a striking feature on the desolate shore.

Pasture-land.

Dor, and Naphath-Dor.

But it was the fate of Sharon, as of some other parts of

[1] Joshua xvi. 8; xvii. 9. In the Gemara (Shevith fol. 38, 4), *reeds* are mentioned as the special mark of streams. (Reland's Palestine, p. 306.)

[2] Εἶτα δρῦμος μέγας τις, Strabo, xvii. Δρῦμος is the same word by which the LXX have translated "Sharon," in Isa. lxv. 10, certainly not from its real meaning, and therefore probably from this well-known feature by which to them it was chiefly distinguished.

[3] See Chapter V. p. 248.

[4] 1 Chr. xxvii. 29.

[5] Isaiah lxv. 10.

[6] Josh. xi. 2 ("borders"); xii. 23 ("coast"); 1 Kings iv. 11 ("region"). For the word Naphath, see Appendix.

Palestine, after centuries of obscurity to receive a new life under the Roman Empire. From being the least distinguished tract it rose in the reign of Herod almost to the first importance. On a rocky ledge, somewhat resembling that of 'Ascalon on the south, and Dor on the north, rise the ruins of Cæsarea, now the most desolate site in Palestine. Like the vast fragments of St. Andrew's in Scotland, they run out into the waves of the Mediterranean sea, which dashes over the prostrate columns and huge masses of masonry; but, unlike St. Andrew's—unlike in this respect to most Eastern ruins—no sign of human habitation is to be found within the circuit of its deserted walls, no village or even hovel remains on the site of what was once the capital of Palestine. With his usual magnificence of conception, Herod the Great determined to relieve the inhospitable barrier which the coast of his country opposed to the Western world, by making an artificial port, and attaching to it the chief city of his kingdom. The divergence of Eastern and Western ideas is well illustrated by the contrast between this Roman metropolis and those native capitals of Hebron, Jerusalem, Shechem, and Samaria, which we have already examined. Whatever differences distinguished those older cities from each other, they had this in common, that they were all completely inland. To have planted the centres of national and religious life on the sea-shore was a thought which never seems to have entered even into the imperial mind of Solomon. Far away at Ezion-Geber on the Gulf of Akaba, was the chief emporium of his trade. Even Jaffa only received the rafts which floated down the coast from Tyre.[1] To describe the capital as a place "where shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass by,"[2] is not, as according to Western notions it would be, an expression of weakness and danger, but of prosperity and security. But in Herod this ancient Oriental dread of the sea had no existence. He had himself been across the Mediterranean to Rome, and on his alliance with Rome his own power depended; and when, after his death, his kingdom became a Roman

Cæsarea.

[1] 1 Kings ix. 27; v. 9. [2] Isaiah xxxiii. 21.

province, the city which he had called by the name of his Imperial patron, was still continued as the seat of the Roman governor, for the same reason as that which induced him to select the site—its maritime situation. From that sea-girt city, Pontius Pilate came yearly across the plain of Sharon, and up the hills, to keep guard on the Festivals at Jerusalem. In the theatre, built by his father,—looking out, doubtless, after the manner of all Greek theatres, over the wide expanse of sea,—Herod Agrippa was struck with his mortal disease.[1]

Connection of Sharon and Cæsarea with Apostolic history.

The chief, indeed the only important link which Cæsarea possesses with Sacred history, is that which is at once explained by the fact of its being the seat of government. Of all the regions of Palestine there is none which is so closely connected with the Apostolic history as this tract of coast between Gaza and Acre, and especially the neighbourhood of Cæsarea. After the first few years or months of the Church of the Apostles, the scene of their labours was removed from the ancient sanctuaries of their race "in Judæa and Samaria" to "the uttermost parts of the land." Partly, no doubt, the half Gentile cities of the coast were more secure than the centres of national fanaticism in the interior; partly, in the growing consciousness of the greatness of their mission, these vast Gentile populations had for them an increasing attraction, powerful enough to break through the old associations which had at first bound them to the scenes of their country's past history and of their Lord's ministrations.

Philip, after his interview with the Ethiopian pilgrim on the road to Gaza, "was found at Ashdod, and passing through preached in all the cities till he came to Cæsarea,"[2] and there with his four daughters he made his home.[3] Peter "came down" from the mountains of Samaria "to the saints which dwelt at Lydda; and all they that dwelt at Lydda and Saron saw him and turned to the Lord:" and "forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppa,"[4] he "arose and went" thence to comfort the disciples mourning for

[1] Acts xii. 21; Josephus, Ant. XIX. viii. 2.
[2] Acts viii. 26, 40.
[3] Acts xxi. 8.
[4] Acts ix. 32, 35, 38.

the loss of Dorcas; and there "he tarried many days" with the tanner, Simon, whose "house was by the sea-side."[1] On the flat roof of that house—overlooking the waves of the western sea, as they dash against the emerging rocks of the shallow and narrow harbour,—the vision appeared which opened to the nations far beyond the horizon of that sea "the gates of the kingdom of Heaven," and which called the Apostle to make the memorable journey along the sandy ridge of the coast, to find on the morrow the first Gentile convert in the Roman garrison at Cæsarea. And lastly, it was across the plain of Sharon to Antipatris that Paul was brought under cover of the night;[2] and in the castle of Cæsarea were spent the two last years of the Apostle in the Holy Land, before he finally left the East for Rome and Spain.

These movements of the Apostles, no doubt, are connected only by the slightest thread with the ground over which they pass. The sight of the places throws but a very faint light on the history of the primitive advance of Christianity. Yet it is not without importance to see the reason why they so turned around this hitherto unknown spot, and thus to trace back to its origin the first contact of the religion of the East with the power of the West. It is, as if Christianity already felt its European destiny strong within it, and, by a sort of prophetic anticipation, gathered its early energies round those regions of the Holy Land which were most European and least Asiatic.

Plain and Bay of Acre.

III. The plain of Sharon contracts beyond Dor, and there now appears rising at its extremity the long ridge of Carmel closing up its northern horizon. Round the promontory of Carmel, runs a broad beach, which, uninterrupted by the advance of tides, must always have afforded an easy outlet for the Philistine armies, for the kings of Egypt, for the forces of the Crusaders, to the bay of Accho, or Acre. This bay with its adjacent plain, opening between Carmel and the hills of Galilee, and forming the embouchure, so to speak, of the great plain of

[1] Acts, ix. 43; x. 6. See Note A.

[2] Acts, xxiii. 31, 33.

Esdraelon, may be regarded in some respects as a continuation of the maritime tract which we have been hitherto following. There is still the same tract of white sand-hills, through which the two short streams of the Kishon and the Belus fall into the sea; and beyond, a rich soil, perhaps the best cultivated and producing the most luxuriant crops, both of corn and weeds, of any in Palestine. On the south of the plain rises the long ridge of Carmel, its western end crowned by the French convent; on the north, the bluff promontory of the Ladder of the Tyrians, the modern Râs Nakhora, differs from Carmel in that it leaves no beach between itself and the sea, and thus by cutting off all communication round its base, acts as the natural barrier between the Bay of Acre and the maritime plain to the north—in other words, between Palestine and Phœnicia. Acre, therefore, is the northernmost city of the Holy Land, on the western coast; and gathers round it whatever interest attaches to this corner of the country. As in the case of Cæsarea, and for a similar reason, that interest is of a recent date, and thus, reversing the fate of all the other cities of Palestine, has grown and not decayed with the lapse of years. It is indeed of far older origin than Cæsarea, being one of the Canaanitish settlements, from which the Israelites had been unable to expel the old inhabitants;[1] and it is a remarkable instance of the tenacity with which a Semitic name has outlived the foreign appellation impressed upon it. Ptolemais,—the title which it bore for the many centuries of Greek and Roman sway—dropped off the moment that sway was broken, and in the modern name of Acre, the ancient Accho,[2] derived from the "heated sandy" tract on which the town was built, re-asserted its rights. But with the single exception of St. Paul's landing there when he commenced his last land journey to Jerusalem,[3] it has no connection with the course of the Sacred History.

Tribe of Asher.

Asher, was the tribe to whose lot the rich plain of Acre fell—he "dipped his foot in oil;" his "bread was fat, and he yielded royal dainties."[4] But he dwelt among

[1] Judges i. 31.
[2] See Gesenius *in voce*, p. 1020.
[3] Acts xxi. 7.
[4] Deut. xxxiii. 24; Gen. xlix. 20.

the Canaanites; he could not drive out the inhabitants of Accho, or of Achzib; he gave no judge or warrior to Israel. One name only of the tribe of Asher shines out of the general obscurity—the aged widow,[1] who in the very close of the Jewish history "departed not from the Temple at Jerusalem, but served God with prayers and fastings night and day." With this one exception, the contemptuous allusion in the Song of Deborah sums up the whole history of Asher—when in the great gathering of the tribes against Sisera, "Asher continued on the sea-shore and abode in his 'creeks.'" So insignificant was the tribe to which was assigned the fortress which Napoleon called the key of Palestine; so slight is the only allusion, the only word that the Old Testament contains for that deep indentation of the coast, which to our eyes forms so remarkable a feature in the map of Palestine, a feature in the nomenclature of which the languages of the West are so prolific. Thither, however, as to a natural and familiar haven, the European navigators of a later time eagerly came. Bad as the harbour was, yet the mere fact of a recess in that long coast, invited them; and Caipha, at the opposite corner of the bay under the shelter of Mount Carmel, served as a roadstead. And when, as in later times, foreign rice became the staple food of the country, the importance of Acre, the only avenue by which it could regularly enter, was carried to the highest pitch. "The lord of Acre, may, if it so please him, cause a famine to be felt even over all Syria. The possession of Acre extended the influence of the famous Djezzar Pacha even to Jerusalem."[2] The peculiarity therefore of the story of Acre lies in its many sieges—by Baldwin, by Saladin, by Richard, by Khalil, by Napoleon, by Ibrahim Pacha, and by Sir Charles Napier. From all these circumstances it has, in modern times, acquired a peculiar distinction amongst the cities of Palestine; bearing the same relation to the Western world of modern history that Cæsarea did to the Western world of ancient history. But the singular

ACRE.

[1] "Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser." Luke ii. 36.

[2] Clarke's Travels, iv. 89.

fate which it enjoyed at the close of the Crusades gives it an interest which ought never to be forgotten by those who in the short space of an hour's walk can pass round its broken walls. Within that narrow circuit—between the Saracen armies on one side, and the roar of the Mediterranean Sea on the other—were cooped up the remnant of the Crusading armies, after they had been driven from every other part of Palestine. Within that circuit "the kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, of the house of Lusignan; the princes of Antioch; the counts of Tripoli and Sidon; the great masters of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Teutonic Orders; the Republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa; the Pope's legate; the kings of France and England, assumed an independent command. Seventeen tribunals exercised the power of life and death."[1] All the eyes of Europe were then fixed on that spot, even more than of late on the besieged and besiegers of Sebastopol. Acre contained in itself a complete miniature of feudal Europe and Latin Christendom.

PLAIN OF PHŒNICIA

IV. With the northern extremity of the plain of Acre, the coast of the Holy Land is naturally terminated by the promontories of the Tyrian Ladder (Râs-en-Nakhora) and the White Cape (Râs-el-Abiad); the first deriving its name from the fact that it was the entrance into the Phœnician territory, the latter from its white rocks.[2]

But though thus separated both historically and geographically from Palestine, the plain of Phœnicia in all essential features furnishes so natural a continuation of the maritime plain of Judæa and Samaria, that it will be best considered here. The double tract—of sand along the shore, of cultivated land under the hills,—still continues. The towns, too, resemble in their situation all those which we have hitherto noticed along the coast: standing out on rocky promontories, with very small harbours, natural or artificial. If there were any difference to be observed which might in any degree account for the far greater celebrity obtained by these cities in commerce and

[1] Gibbon, vii. 442.

[2] Probably both those promontories are comprised under the name of "Scala Tyriorum." It is needless (with Van de Velde, i. 247,) to fix that name exclusively on the White Cape, simply from its greater nearness to Tyre.

navigation, it would be that the promontories of Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrout project further, and thus form something more of a protection, or of a sea-girt situation, than those of Ascalon, Jaffa, Dor, or Acre. Perhaps, also, the groves and gardens which surround the ports from which these promontories start, are, especially at Beyrout and Sidon, more extensive and luxuriant even than those at Jaffa. This long line of coast, then, from the White Cape far up to Arvad—a length equal to that of the whole of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba—is the famous country, second only to Palestine itself in its effect on the ancient world, called by the Hebrews, partly perhaps in allusion to its level plain, "*Canaan*," or "the Lowland," the more remarkable for its situation under the highlands of Lebanon; called by the Greeks PHŒNICIA, or the "Land of Palms," from the palm-groves which appear indeed at intervals all along the western coast, but here more than elsewhere.[1]

Slightness of its connection with Palestine.

So completely was the line of demarcation observed, which the Tyrian promontories interposed between Phœnicia and Palestine, that their histories hardly touch. Their relations were always peaceful, so that the incessant wars, which brought the Syrians from the north, and the Philistines from the south, into the heart of Judæa, never produced any contact with the great commercial states of this secluded tract. The trading alliance of Solomon with Hiram, the marriage of Ahab with the daughter of Ethbaal,[2] and the temporary exile of Elijah at Sarepta,[3]—the momentary glimpses, first of Christ,[4] and then of Paul within the Tyrian territory, are the only occasions which bring any portion of the Sacred history into the region which was the primeval cradle of commerce and of letters.

But the very fact of this contrast, may justify a few words on the connection between the plain of Phœnicia and the fortunes of its inhabitants. First, its sea-

[1] This is more likely than the derivation suggested by Mr. Kenrick in his able work on Phœnicia, (p. 68), from the "bay" colour of the inhabitants; especially as the palm was the emblem of Tyre, Sidon, and Arvad (See Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 35).

[2] 1 Kings xvi. 31.

[3] 1 Kings xvii. 9.

[4] Matt. xv. 21. See Note C.

board, with such little harbours as its headlands furnish,
Harbours. naturally made it the earliest outlet of Asiatic enterprise. From this coast the inhabitants of that old continent must have made their first discoveries; and for the first beginnings of such voyages, as in the analogous case of Greece, the smallness of the ports was not a sufficient objection. No one who has seen Munychia and Phalerum need be surprised at the narrow space of the havens of
Security. Tyre and Sidon. Secondly, there was the protection of the vast range of Lebanon. This at once gave to the southern coast of Phœnicia a security which the southern coast of Philistia has never enjoyed. The Bedouin tribes, no doubt, occasionally cross the Tyrian Ladder or the Galilean hills into Phœnicia, but their incursions must be very rare compared with those to which Philistia has been subject, in early times from the mountaineers of Judæa, in later times from the Arabs of the Sinaitic Desert.
Rivers. Thirdly, the ranges of Lebanon send across the narrow strip of Phœnicia streams of a size and depth wholly unknown to Palestine. The Leontes, as we have seen, one of the four rivers of the Lebanon, though not equal in its effect on the country which it waters to the other three, is yet the largest river in Syria—the largest river which the traveller from Egypt will have seen since he left the Nile. And the more northern rivers, the "pleasant Bostrenus"—the modern Aulay—hard by Sidon; the clear Lycus—River of the Wolf or Dog, so called from that fabled dog, whose bark at the approach of strangers could be heard as far as Cyprus;[1] the river of Adonis, which still "runs purple to the sea, with blood of Thammuz yearly wounded;" the sacred stream[2] of the romantic Kadisha—are amongst "the streams from Lebanon,"[3] which must always have kept Phœnicia fresh and fertile.

Tyre and Sidon. If from the country generally we turn to its two celebrated cities, their diminutive size is perhaps the most remarkable feature of their appearance. Each stands on a promontory, that of Sidon running out from a rich mass

[1] A likeness to it is found in a huge fragment of ruin at the river's mouth. (Ritter, iv. 510.)

[2] "Kadisha," the "Holy Stream," from its supposed identity with the "Fountain of Gardens." Cant. iv. 15.

[3] Cant. iv. 15.

of gardens and palms; that of Tyre from a somewhat wider extent of plain, with Lebanon and Hermon both in view far in the distance. Of the two, Tyre is far the more interesting, not only because of its greater fame, but because there is more to tell what it was. The modern town has very much shrunk within its ancient limits, so that a large part of the island, that is, what was the island before Alexander joined it to the shore by the present long sandy isthmus, lies bare and uninhabited; fragments of columns lying heaped and tangled together in the waves; large fragments, too, of masonry of the walls of the old port; huge walls of an ancient castle, and also of the old cathedral.[1] In this last lie, far away from Hohenstauffen or Salzburg, the bones of the great Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, brought thither after the long funeral procession which passed down the whole coast from Tarsus to Tyre, to lay his remains in this famous spot beside the dust of a yet greater man—Origen.

The names of the two cities indicate their earliest rise. "Sidon" is the projecting point on which the first sea-fishermen stood to "catch" the "fish"[2] of the Mediterranean. The name of *Tyre*,[3] or, according to its ancient Hebrew and modern Arabic name, *Tzur*—which, in all probability, led the Greeks to transfer the appellation of this their first acquaintance to the whole land of SYRIA—points to its inseparable connection with the rugged shoal of "*rock*" (*tzur*) on which its island-sanctuary was first reared.[3] In this respect Tyre was a fit type of the ancient Queen of Commerce. Situated not merely on a promontory, like all the other Phœnician cities, but on a sea-girt rock, she might well be regarded as a floating palace; as a ship moored

Name Syria.

[1] The topography of ancient Tyre is somewhat confused. The following seems the most probable statement of it. 1. The original city or sanctuary (as in the parallel case of the Tyrian colony of Gades, and as is implied in Isaiah xxiii. 3, 6) was on the rocky island. 2. The city then spread far along the shore of the mainland. 3. This city was entirely destroyed by Alexander, and its ruins were known as Palæ-Tyrus, or '*ancient* Tyre,' in distinction from the '*new* Tyre,' which he built partly on the island, partly on the mole by which he joined the island to the shore. (See Ritter; Lebanon, pp. 324—336.)

[2] Kenrick's Phœnicia, pp. 47, 58.

[3] See Appendix, *s. v. Tzur*.

by the long strand;[1] "in the midst of the seas," with her "masts of cedar," her "sails of fine linen, blue and purple," her "mariners, rowers, and pilots."

Desolation of Phœnicia.

There is one point of view in which this whole coast is specially remarkable. "A mournful and solitary silence now prevails along the shore which once resounded with the world's debate." This sentence, with which Gibbon solemnly closes his chapter on the Crusades, well sums up the general impression still left by the six days' ride from Beyrout to Ascalon; and it is no matter of surprise that in this impression travellers have felt a response to the strains in which Isaiah and Ezekiel foretold the desolation of Tyre and Sidon. In one sense, and that the highest, this feeling is just. The Phœnician power which the Prophets denounced has entirely perished; even whilst "the world's debate" of the middle ages gave a new animation to these shores, the brilliant Tyre of Alexander and Barbarossa had no real connection with the Tyre of Hiram; and perhaps no greater stretch of imagination in ancient history is required than to conceive how the two small towns of Tyre and Sidon, as they now exist, could have been the parent cities of Carthage and Cadiz, the traders with Spain and Britain, the wonders of the East for luxury and magnificence. So total a destruction, for all political purposes, of the two great commercial states of the ancient world has been frequently held up to commercial states in the modern world, as showing the precarious tenure by which purely mercantile greatness is held; and in this respect the prophecies of the Hebrew seers[2] were a real revelation of the coming fortunes of the world, the more remarkable because experience had not yet justified such a result. But to narrow the scope of these sublime visions to the actual buildings and sites of the cities is as unwarranted by facts as it is mistaken in idea. Sidon has probably never ceased to be a populous, and, on the whole, a flourishing town; small, indeed, as compared with its ancient grandeur, but never desolate, or without some portion of

[1] For the elaborate representation of Tyre as a ship, see Ezekiel xxvii. 3—26; (Kenrick, pp. 193, 349).

[2] Isa. xxiii. 1, 15; Ezek. xxvi.—xxviii.

its old traffic; and still encompassed round and round with the lines of its red silk manufacture. Tyre may perhaps have been in a state of ruin shortly after the Chaldean, and, subsequently, after the Greek conquest of Syria. But it has been always speedily rebuilt; and the magnificent columns which strew its shores and its streets at the present day, attest its splendour during a long portion of its existence—through the period not only of its ancient, but of its mediæval, history. After the termination of the Crusades, it still remained a seat of European factories; and, though confined within a very small part of the ancient city, it is still a thriving and well inhabited village, with a considerable traffic of millstones, conveyed from Hermon in long caravans, and thence exported to Alexandria. The period during which it sunk to the lowest ebb, was during the last years of the past, and the first years of the present, century; and the comparative desolation which it then exhibited no doubt presented some of the imagery on which so much stress has been laid, in order to convey the impression of its being a desolate rock, only used for the drying of fishermen's nets. But as this was not the case before that period, and is certainly not the case now, it is idle to seek for the fulfilment of the ancient prediction within those limits; and the ruin of the empire of Tyre, combined with the revival and continuance of the town of Tyre, is thus a striking instance of the moral and poetical, as distinct from the literal and prosaic, accomplishment of the Prophetical scriptures. The same argument applies with greater or less force to the prophecies against Ascalon, Damascus, and Petra, as well as to those of which the fulfilment is supposed to be yet future. If the revival of these cities, after their temporary destruction, shows that we are not to press the letter of prophecy beyond its professed object, so also the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans shows that no expectations of its future prosperity can be founded on prophecies uttered long before that time in reference to its restoration by Ezra. It is possible that, in the changes of the Turkish empire, Palestine may again become a civilised

country, under Greek or Latin influences; that the Jewish race, so wonderfully preserved, may yet have another stage of national existence opened to them; that they may once more obtain possession of their native land, and invest it with an interest greater than it could have under any other circumstances. But the localities of Syria, no less than common sense and piety, warn us against confounding these speculations with divine revelations, or against staking the truth of Christianity and the authority of the Sacred Records on the chances of local and political revolutions. The curse[1] on Ascalon must have expired before the time when it became the residence of the Herods and the court of the Crusaders. If Petra under the Roman Empire rose into a great thoroughfare of Eastern traffic, and is now again, after a long interval of desertion, the yearly resort of European travellers, it is clear that the words[2] "None shall pass through it for ever and ever," cannot be extended beyond the fall of the race of Esau. In like manner the curtain of prophecy falls on the Holy City, when "Jerusalem was trodden down"[3] by the armies of Titus. Its successive revivals under Hadrian, Constantine, Omar, and Godfrey, as well as its present degradation, and its future vicissitudes, are alike beyond the scope of the Sacred Volume.

[1] Zeph. ii. 4, 7.
[2] Isa. xxxiv. 10; Jer. xlix. 18.
[3] Luke xxi. 24.

## NOTE A.

## HOUSE OF SIMON AT JAFFA.

One of the few localities which can claim to represent an historical scene of the New Testament is the site of the house of Simon, the tanner, at Jaffa. The house itself is a comparatively modern building, with no pretensions to interest or antiquity. The outer door is from the street in which stand the Latin and Armenian convents, but no church or convent appears to have been built[1] on the site and no other place is shown as such. The house is occupied by Mussulmans, and regarded by them as sacred; a small mosque or praying-place is in one of the rooms, which is said, by the occupants, to commemorate the fact that "the Lord Jesus here asked God for a meal, and the table came down at once," a remarkable instance of the vulgar corruption of miracles so common in Mussulman traditions; and, in this case, curious as an evident confusion of the Mahometan version of the Feeding of the Five Thousand with the vision of Peter. Such a tradition, even from the fact of its distortion, and from its want of European sanction, has some claim to be heard. And this claim is remarkably confirmed by the circumstances of the situation. The house is close "on the sea shore;" the waves beat against the low wall of its court-yard. In the court-yard is a spring of fresh water, such as must always have been needed for the purposes of tanning, and which, though now no longer so used, is authentically reported[2] to have been so used in a tradition which describes the premises to have been long employed as a tannery. It is curious that two other celebrated localities may be still identified in the same manner. One is in Jerusalem. At the southern end of the Church of the Sepulchre stood the palace of the Knights of St. John. When Saladin took the Holy City, it is said that he determined to render the site of the palace for ever contemptible, by turning it into a tannery. And a tannery still remains with its offensive sights and smells amongst what are the undoubted remains of that ancient home of European chivalry. Another case is nearer home. Every one knows the story of the parentage of William the Conqueror, how his father, under the romantic cliff of Falaise, saw Arlette amongst the tanneries. There again, the tanneries still take advantage of the running streams which creep round the foot of the rock, living memorials of the ancient story.

The rude staircase to the roof of the modern house, flat now as

[1] See Weil's Legends of the Koran, &c. p. 226.

[2] So we were informed by the hospitable and intelligent consul of Jaffa, Asaad Kayat.

of old, leads us to the view which gives all that is needed for the accompaniments of the hour. There is the wide noonday heaven above; in front is the long bright sweep of the Mediterranean Sea, its nearer waves broken by the reefs famous in ancient Gentile legends as the rocks of Andromeda.[1] Fishermen are standing and wading amongst them—such as might have been there of old, recalling to the Apostle his long-forgotten nets by the Lake of Gennesareth, the first promise of his future call to be "a fisher of men."

## NOTE B.

## VILLAGES OF SHARON AND PHŒNICIA.

It may be expedient to give here two or three notices of places, not as being directly connected with Sacred History, but as having been omitted in previous accounts.

El-Haram and Arsuf.

About an hour N. of Jaffa is a village on the sandy ridge of the "Ramleh," "*El-Haram Ali-ibn-Aleim*," "the sanctuary of Ali the son of Aleim," so called from the mosque and tomb of that saint, whose story as related to us by the keeper of the mosque is as follows: "He was a dervish in the adjacent village of Arsuf, Sultan of all the dervishes of all the country round. The villagers thought not at all about God. When Sultan Bibars (from Egypt) came to besiege it, Ali—who lived in the town on alms that were given to him—baffled him by catching all the cannon-balls in his hands. A dervish from the besieging army, after some time, came to ask him the cause of the failure of all their attacks. Ali replied, 'Will the Sultan make me a good mosque and tomb, and is he a good Mussulman?' 'Yes,' answered the dervish. 'Send him then to me, disguised as a dervish.' The Sultan Bibars came and promised to build for Ali the mosque and tomb; and Ali stipulated for twenty-four hours before the cannonading was to begin anew. He then warned the people of Arsuf to become Mussulmans, threatening the fall of the town if they refused to listen to him. They disbelieved him: the twenty-four hours elapsed —the cannonading recommenced—Ali no longer intercepted the balls, and the town was destroyed."

The ruins of Arsuf are still visible on an eminence a little north of "El-Haram," with a fosse on the land-side, and walls on the sea-side. The mosque of the "Haram" professes to be the one built by Sultan Bibars in accordance with his promise, and the tomb which stands in the court of the mosque to have been built for the saint before his death, the body having been let down into

[1] Compare Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 20.

the vault below through the two ends of the tomb, which are now walled up.[1]

Schwarze, confounding *Eli* and *Ali*, supposes the inhabitants to represent this as the grave of *Eli*. He says that on one side of the tombstone is a Hebrew, and the other a Samaritan, inscription; and that the Samaritans constantly go to perform their devotions at it (p. 143).

*Um-Khalid* is one of the chief villages of the plain of Sharon, and the height above it commands one of the most striking views of the mountains of Ephraim, the very view in all likelihood intended in the description of Abraham's approach to Mount Gerizim when "he saw the place afar off."[2] It is so called from a great female saint, "Sittah Saba, the mother of Khalid," whose tomb is marked, not as usual by a mosque, but by a large enclosure in which it stands in the open air, under the shade of an enormous fig-tree. The ancient and Hebrew name of Antipatris,[3] which is situated about ten miles from Um-Khalid, was Caphar Saba, which is still preserved in the Arabic Kafar-Saba. The not unnatural belief of the peasants of Um-Khalid is, that this name is derived from the Lady Saba who lies buried under their own fig-tree. It would be a curious question to know whether this is an accidental coincidence, or whether there was a real Hebrew or Syrian worthy in earlier times, who has been thus connected with the later Arabian traditions of Khalid of Damascus. Um-Khalid.

The identity of Surafend with Sarepta is unquestioned. It is a village seated aloft on the top and side of one of the hills, the long line of which skirts the plain of Phœnicia, conspicuous from far by the white domes of its many tombs of Mussulman saints. It throws no light on the story of Elijah, beyond the emphasis imparted to his visit by the complete separation of the situation from the Israelite territory on the other side the hills. But it may be worth while to record, as characteristic, the curious confusion of the story which lingers in the Mussulman traditions of the neighbourhood. Close on the sea-shore stands one of these sepulchral chapels dedicated to Sarepta.

[1] Pliny speaks of the town and river of Crocodiles in Phœnicia (H. N. v. 19), and Strabo (xvi.) places the town of Crocodiles between Accho and Cæsarea, apparently near the latter. The fact is noticed by Pococke. The river in question is a stream—fordable, but deep—immediately north of Cæsarea, marked in Zimmermann's map as Nahr Zerka. The keeper of the mosque of El-Haram curiously confirmed the old story. He said at once that the river was called "Moi Temsah"—"the water of the crocodile"—and described, without any suggestion on our part, that he had seen in it creatures nearly as long as a boat, with long tails like lizards. I give this testimony for what it is worth. The man had never been in Egypt, nor ever seen an Egyptian crocodile. Compare Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 24. The name "Moiet-el-Temseh" is preserved by M. De Saulcy, who supposes (ii. 347) that it rises at Nablous, and falls into the Mediterranean, under the name of Nahr-Arsuf. This last is clearly a mistake.

[2] See Chapter IV.; note on Gerizim.

[3] For the whole question of Antipatris, see Howson and Conybeare's St. Paul, vol. ii. pp. 277, 278.

"El-Khudr," or "Mar Elias."[1] There is no tomb inside, only hangings before a recess. This variation from the usual type of Mussulman sepulchres was, as we were told by the peasants on the spot, "because El-Khudr is not yet dead; he flies round and round the world, and those chapels are built wherever he has appeared. Every Thursday night and Friday morning there is a light so strong within the chapel, that no one can go in."

## NOTE C.

## PHŒNICIAN ANTIQUITIES ON THE MARITIME PLAIN.

Tomb of Hiram.

The Phœnician plain, far beyond any part of Palestine Proper, is strewed with distinct fragments of older civilisation. One of these is the "Tomb of Hiram," which has been shortly described by Robinson (iii. 384), and Van de Velde (i. 184); and engraved as a frontispiece to Captain Allen's work on the Dead Sea. It stands inland amongst wild rocky hills, about three miles from Tyre. It is a single gray sarcophagus hollowed out so as just to admit a body. A large oblong stone is placed over it, so as completely to cover it, the only entrance being an aperture knocked through at its eastern extremity. The whole rests on a rude pedestal of upright unhewn stones. There are other broken stones in the neighbourhood. Our guide from Tyre (professing to derive his information from an Arabic work on Tyre, called "Torad,") said "that it was the tomb of King Hiram, buried at *the eastern gate* of old Tyre, which thence reached down the hill towards the sea."

Nebi-Zur.

Another monument of unknown age is a circle of upright stones—as of Stonehenge—which rises amongst the bushes near the shore, about an hour N. of the mouth of the Khasimeyeh, or Litâny, near Adloun.[2] These must be what M. Van de Velde (i. 203) saw from a distance, and what his guide told him "were men turned into stone for scoffing at Nabi Zur." They are not, however, statues, as he erroneously conjectures, but mere rough blocks of stone. *Nabi Zur* (of whom he here and elsewhere speaks) is evidently the "Prophet *Zur*," *i. e.* the Founder (Eponymus) of Tyre—as *Nabi Sidoon* of Sidon.

A third monument of great antiquity is the celebrated reservoir south of Tyre, called "the head of the spring"—"Râs-el-Ain." This is the spot to which mediæval tradition attached the visit of Christ to Tyre. He rested on a large rock, and sent Peter and John to bring him some water thence, which he drank, and blessed the beautiful spot whence it came. (See Maundeville, Early Travellers, pp. 141, 142; Phocas, Acta Sanctorum, Maii. vol. ii.)

[1] For the legend of El Khudr, see Jelal-ed-din, 128; Schwarze, 129, 446.
[2] See Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 19.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE JORDAN AND THE DEAD SEA.

Gen. xiii. 10. "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the 'round' of Jordan."

Josephus' Wars of the Jews, IV. viii. 2. "The country between the two ranges of mountains which extend to the Lake of Asphalt is called 'the great plain.' Its length is 230 furlongs, and its breadth 120. It is divided in the midst by the river Jordan, and it contains two lakes, the Lake of Tiberias, and the Lake of Asphalt, of the most opposite natures; for the one is salt and barren, and the other sweet and full of life. In the summer season the plain is burnt up, and from the excessive drought the air becomes pestilential; for the whole plain is without water except the Jordan; and so it results that the palm-groves on its banks are flourishing—but less so those that are further off."

The Four Rivers of Lebanon—The physical peculiarities of the Jordan—Its importance as the river of Palestine—Unfrequented—Historical scenes. I. Vale of Siddim and Dead Sea: 1. Battle of the Kings; 2. Overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah; 3. Appearance of the DEAD SEA. 4. Vision of Ezekiel; 5. En-gedi. II. Plain—Terraces of the Jordan; 1. Plain of Abel-Shittim—Encampment of the Israelites—Views from Pisgah—Balaam—Moses—Burial-place of Moses—Passage of the Jordan; 2. Jericho—At the time of the capture—Of the prophets—Of Christ; 3. Bethabara—Scene of the Preaching of John—Scene of the Temptation—Baptism in the Jordan—Bathing of the Pilgrims.

# THE JORDAN AND THE DEAD SEA.

THE history of the Jordan cannot be viewed without a consideration of the physical peculiarities which mark its relation to Palestine and to the world, and which must here be once for all noticed in detail.

The Four Rivers in their courses.

It is a characteristic of all the four rivers of the Lebanon, that they are almost precluded by the circumstances of their rise from attaining their natural outlet in the sea.[1] To compare their position with that of rivers and mountains on a far larger scale, it is as if the Amazon and Orinoco after being confined within the lines of the Andes, were either lost in the Pampas without reaching the Atlantic, or by a violent turn in their course escaped into the Pacific. The Orontes and Leontes both flow parallel to the Mediterranean, for the greater part of their channels—shut out from it by the high wall of Lebanon. At the last moment, as it were, of their existence, they make a sudden turn westward, and descend into the sea. The Orontes[2] finds its outlet by doubling back upon itself, so that its course for the last thirty miles is parallel to the great body of its own stream. The Leontes, though with a less rapid change, has to force its way through the narrow pass produced by the sudden offshoot which Anti-Libanus throws out westward,

[1] See Chapters II. and XII. This peculiarity of the rivers is well stated in Anderson's Geological Description in the Official Report of Lynch's Expedition, pp. 80, 81.

[2] The modern name of the Orontes, El Aazy "the rebellious," is said to be derived partly from its flowing contrary to all the other streams, and partly from its wild and rapid current, which tears away all the bridges that men attempt to throw over it. (Schwarze, p. 57.)

as if with the very object of preventing its escape. A tremendous ravine of many miles marks what has been well called "its difficult and romantic contest with the everlasting pillars of the Lebanon for a free passage to the Mediterranean Sea."[1] The Barada alone issues into what would have been the natural exit for all—the plain of Syria, on the way to the Indian Ocean. But the basin-like character of that plain, combined with the effect of the burning waste beyond, stops short its career in wide marshy lakes, just beyond the city of Damascus.

The peculiarities of the Jordan.

The Jordan combines in itself the peculiarities which belong to the other three. Rising in the fork of the two ranges of Anti-Libanus, it first runs by necessity within these two enclosing walls, parallel to the Mediterranean from north to south, as the Orontes from south to north. Its streams—for in this stage it can hardly be called a single river—are first received into the high lake of Merom, which might seem destined to absorb its waters, as in the case just mentioned of the river of Damascus. But two causes prolong its existence—first the continual supply which its own stream and that lake itself receives from the adjacent springs in the limestone cliffs of Lebanon—secondly, and in a more remarkable degree, the depression in the valley which begins here, and opens a course for the river to descend in its collected volume, and with increased rapidity downwards for three hundred feet into the Sea of Galilee. Again it might seem to have met with its end, but again it plunges through twenty-seven rapids, through a fall of a thousand feet,[2] through what is the lowest and final stage of its course. Like the Leontes and Orontes, it would now seem intent on making every effort to escape—darting first to the right, then to the left, then to the right again, and thus descending so

[1] See an excellent description of the ravine of the Litâny or Leontes in Dr. Thompson's able essay on the sources of the Jordan, in the Bibliotheca Sacra (iii. 205). He conjectures that this rent was produced by the same convulsion that occasioned the depression of the Dead Sea. It is also described by Van de Velde (i. 113). "A monster serpent chained in the yawning gulf . . . where she writhes and struggles evermore to escape her dark and narrow prison, but always in vain, save only near the sea-shore, where her windings reach a close."

[2] The only known instance of a greater fall is the Sacramento river in California.

deviously and capriciously as to present the unparalleled spectacle of a course only sixty miles[1] in actual length, increased to two hundred by the infinite multiplication of its windings. But unlike the northern rivers of the Lebanon, the Jordan is doubly and trebly confined as well within its own successive terraces, as within the two high mountain-walls which accompany it on either side with undeviating regularity till they see it fall into its lowest depth in the Dead Sea. From this—its last receptacle—the Jordan emerges no more.

It has thus three distinct stages—the first ending in the Lake of Merom, the second in the Sea of Galilee, and the third in the Dead Sea. The two earlier stages will be noticed as we ascend its course. The third stage, on which we now enter—the "great plain" of the later Jews; the "Aulon" or "channel" of the Greek geographers; the "Ghor" or "sunken plain" of the modern Arabs[2]—as it is the one in which the peculiar characteristics of the region are most signally exhibited, so it is the only one in which the river itself is connected with the Sacred history.

The singular relations of the Jordan to the rest of the world were unknown to the Israelites. But its strange results as affecting their own country were familiar to them as to us; and must have heightened in every age the charm which hangs over the mysterious valley. They must have been struck at all times by its great depression, to the depth of no less than three thousand feet below the mountains of Judæa—which is marked by the never-failing notice of the "going up" from, or the "going down" to its level, in the numerous allusions to the journeys up and down those high mountain-passes, from the first invasion of Joshua to the last journey of our Lord. They must have known habitually, what to us is known only through two adventurous expeditions—the

[1] Official Report of Lynch, pp. 30, 149, 205. "The Jordan is the crookedest river what is," is the homely but forcible expression of the English Expedition (Journal As. Soc., xviii. 113), for the same characteristic which Pliny (H. N. v. 15) describes more rhetorically "amnis, quatenus locorum situs patitur, *ambitiosus*."

[2] For the name "The great plain," see Josephus, Bell. Jud. IV. viii. 2. For the "Aulon" and the "Ghor," Ritter; Jordan, 481.

swift descent of the stream as it leaves the Sea of Galilee, —from which in all probability is derived the one[1] name by which it is called in the Old Testament, "the Jordan" or "the Descender."[2] They must have been struck, too, by the innumerable windings which in this descent it carves for itself in its deep bed—"a gigantic green serpent" as seen from the adjacent heights threading its tortuous way through its tropical jungle. They knew well the beauty and richness of this mazy line of forest, "the pride[3] of the Jordan," the haunt of the lions, who, from the neighbouring Desert sheltered themselves in the reedy covert. They carefully marked in their geographical vocabulary the singular contrast so well described by Josephus,[4] between the naked Desert on the one hand, and on the other hand the rich vegetation along the winding banks of the river, and in the circles produced by its tributary streams. Throughout the several narratives of the Old Testament the distinction is always observed between the inhabited "round" or "circles"[5] of

[1] It is never called the "river" or "brook," or any other name than its own, "The Jordan." See Appendix.

[2] A striking illustration is contained in Joshua, iii. 16, where the word for the "coming down" of the waters of the Jordan is precisely the same as that used in the singular for the river itself. Abulfeda and the old Arabic writers call it El Ordann. The Arabs near Tel-El-Khady call it Ed-Dan. But as a general rule its ancient name is represented by "Sheriah," the "watering-place," or "Sheriat el-Khebir," "the great watering-place," to distinguish it from "Sheriat el-Mandhur," the Hieromax. (Newbold, in Journal As. Soc., xvi. 12.)

[3] "Gaon," is rightly translated "pride" in Zech. xi. 3, and wrongly, "swelling," in Jer. xii. 5; xlix. 19; l. 44; usually in connection with the lions. Reland (p. 274), quotes a good description of the Jordan from Phocas, the pilgrim of the 12th century, which shows that up to that time the jungle was still so regarded. "In the twisting and winding streams of the Jordan (ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἑλικοειδέσι καὶ ἀγγυλοστρόφοις ῥυαῖς), as is likely, there are certain portions of the lands, next to the river, marked off, with a vast mass of reeds growing in them. In these herds of lions are wont to dwell."

[4] Josephus, Bell. Jud. IV. viii. 2.

[5] "Ciccar" and "Geliloth." These two curious terms (in the English version rendered 'plain' or 'region,') though occasionally with a wider application, usually denote the Jordan-valley—being applied respectively to its upper and its lower stage. It is tempting to derive this usage (with Reland, p. 274) from the windings of the stream; and it is not at any rate impossible that this may have suggested or confirmed the invariable use of "ciccar," the circular Oasis of Jericho and of the five cities. In later times no doubt the words were taken merely as provincial terms for "region," and as such were translated both in the LXX, and in the New Testament, ἡ περιχώρος, "the surrounding neighbourhood." It has been suggested to me that the Scottish word "links" is an analogous case. The "Links of Forth," probably derived from "linken," *to bind*, would thus correspond to the original use of the words "ciccar and geliloth," whilst "the Links of St. Andrew," and "of Leith," would be instances of the word applied to dis-

the Jordan, and the uninhabited "Desert"[1] through which it flows.

And lastly, it must have been impossible to overlook the singularity of the river, not merely in its ordinary aspect, but in the more eccentric phenomena which more or less powerfully affected its historical character. How far there are to be found any traces of strictly volcanic agency in the limestone bed of the Jordan-valley is still a question. But, such as there are, they are found nowhere else in Palestine, and if the agency which they seem to indicate was manifested in earlier times with greater force than at present, it would be the more impressive from its rarity. Of this nature are the warm springs, which, both on the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, burst forth from the sides of the hills—the remains of lava which are said to exist on the shores of both lakes, —the earthquakes which have within the memory of man shaken down the cities of Safed and Tiberias—the masses of bitumen which are still found in the southern lake. That some such means were employed in the catastrophe of the Five Cities is now generally acknowledged. If any of the other extraordinary convulsions—such as the withdrawal of the waters of the Jordan, the earthquake which overthrew Jericho, and that which afterwards in the same neighbourhood struck a panic into the Philistine host,[2]—should have been effected by similar means, the student of the Old Testament will discover in the indications which still exist, a remarkable illustration and confirmation of the historical character of the Sacred records—the more so, because the secondary causes of such phenomena must to the historians themselves have been wholly unknown.

The great river of Palestine, but unfrequented.

Two general remarks occur before descending into detail on the several scenes of the history of the Jordan. On the one hand, it is the only river deserving of the name

tricts, where the original meaning has no place, and is merged in the general sense of "shore," or "bank." See Appendix.

[1] The word for the Desert-plain of the Jordan is almost always "Arabah," or "Araboth," being the continuation of the appellation now confined exclusively to the Desert-valley south of the Dead Sea. See Appendix.

[2] Josh. iii. 16; vi. 20. 1 Sam. xiv. 15.

which flows south of the Lebanon. Those which fall into it from the eastern hills,—the Hieromax, the Jabbok, and the Arnon, are too remote from historical Palestine to be of importance. The few streams which flow westward into the Mediterranean, such as the Belus, the Kishon, and those of the Plain of Sharon, are too insignificant ever to have attracted attention, in comparison of the full volume of water poured by the Jordan in an unfailing supply through the whole length of the country. As such it was emphatically the River of Palestine; and its name is thus used in the Book of Job as the synonym of a perennial stream.[1] But on the other hand, in contrast to the rivers of other countries, the Jordan from its leaving the Sea of Galilee to its end, adds hardly a single element of civilisation to the long tract through which it rushes. Whilst Damascus, whilst Antioch, whilst Egypt, derive their very existence from their respective rivers, the Jordan presents the singular spectacle of a river almost wholly useless — so far as civilised man is concerned — through the long ages of its history. It is, indeed, still the "Sheriat el-Khebir," the "great watering-place" of the Bedouin tribes; and so it must always have been. But it is the river of a Desert. "The Desert," as we have seen, is the ordinary name by which its valley was known — hardly a single city or village rose upon its actual banks. Within the narrow range of its own bed it produces a rank mass of vegetation, but this luxuriant line of verdure only sets off more completely the contrast of life with death, which is its characteristic feature.

This singular fate of the Jordan is the direct result of the depression of its channel. The depth of the valley in the bottom of which it flows, prevents its waters from escaping, like those of the Nile, to fertilise anything beyond its own immediate bed; but the tropical temperature

[1] In the description of the Behemoth, or hippopotamus, in Job xl. 23, it is said, "He trusteth that he can draw up *Jordan* into his mouth." As the hippopotamus is not a native of Syria, it is clear that the word is used as a general term for any river. This single expression is a strong indication that the Book of Job, or at least this portion of it, must have been composed by an inhabitant of Palestine. See Appendix, *Jarden*.

to which its whole plain is thus exposed, whilst calling out into almost unnatural vigour whatever vegetation receives the life-giving touch of its waters, withers up every particle of verdure that is found beyond their reach. As a separation of Israel from the surrounding country, —as a boundary between the two main divisions of the tribes—as an image of water in a dry and thirsty soil— it played an important part; but not as the scene of great events, or the seat of great cities.[1] Its contact with the history of the people is exceptional, not ordinary,—confined to rare and remote occasions, the more remarkable from their very rarity.

Historical scenes connected with it.

I. These instances we may now proceed to examine. The earliest is one which at first might seem to militate against what has just been said. There was once a time in the far distance of patriarchal ages, when the Jordan was not thus isolated. At the time of the first migration of the herdsmen of Chaldæa into the hills of Palestine, when Abraham and Lot looked down from the mountain of Bethel, on the deep descent beneath them, and Lot chose for himself the 'circle' of the Jordan, that 'circle' was different from anything that we now see. "It was well watered everywhere as the garden of the Lord, and like the land of Egypt." And this description is filled out in detail by subsequent allusions. It is described as a deep "valley," distinguished from the surrounding "desert" by its fertile "fields."[2] If any credence is to be attached to the geological conclusions of the last fifty years, there must have been already a lake at its extremity, such as that which terminates the course of the Barada at Damascus, or of the Kowik at Aleppo.— Then, as now, it must have received in some form or other the fresh streams of the Jordan, of the Arnon, of En-gedi, of Callirrhoe; and, at the southern end, as Dr. Robinson has observed, more living brooks than are to be found in all the rest of Palestine. On the banks of one or some of these streams there seems to have been an oasis or collection of oases, like that which is

The Vale of Siddim.

[1] Plin. H. N. v. 15. "Accolis invitum se præbet."

[2] "Emek," "Arabah," "Siddim." See Appendix.

still from the same causes to be found on a smaller scale in the groves of En-gedi and of Jericho,[1] and in the Plain of Gennesareth,[2] or, on a larger scale, in the Paradise of Damascus.[3] Along the edge of this lake or valley, Gentile and Jewish records combine in placing the earliest seat of Phœnician civilisation. "The Tyrians," such is the account of Justin,[4] "first dwelt by the Assyrian [or Syrian] lake before they removed to Sidon." Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, are—with Lasha (probably Laish) by the sources of the Jordan, and Sidon on the sea-shore,—mentioned as the first settlements of the Canaanites.[5] When Lot descended from Bethel, "the cities of the 'round'" of the Jordan formed a nucleus of civilised life before any city, except Hebron, had sprung up in Central Palestine.

Battle of the Kings.

On those cities, as on the most promising spoil, the kings of the remote East descended; as Damascus on the north of Palestine, so were these on the south. For twelve years they were subject to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and in the thirteenth they rebelled. Then took place the first recorded invasion of Palestine by Assyria,[6] embracing in its sweep the whole range of mountains east of the Jordan down to Petra on the south, and the wilderness of Amalek on the east. The final struggle was in the Vale of Siddim. In that "Vale of the Fields" was fought the first battle of Palestine; two of the five kings were slain in the conflict, and the routed army fled up the steep passes of the enclosing hills. The victors carried off their spoil and captives, and retreated up the long Valley of the Jordan on their homeward march. Far up the valley, at the very source of its river, just as they were on the point of crossing the range of Hermon, they were overtaken by the avenger. "Abram the Hebrew,"[7] with

[1] See p. 300.

[2] See Chapter X.

[3] See Chapter XII.

[4] Justin, Histor. xviii. 3, 2 (See Kenrick's Phœnicia, 47). Josephus, Bell. Jud. IX., places all the cities in what he calls "the Sodomite district," *i.e.* at the south end.

[5] Gen. x. 19.

[6] Gen. xiv. Tuch (in an article in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, translated in Journal of Sacred Literature, i. 84,) argues with great probability that the object of these Oriental kings was to secure the commercial route to the Gulf of Akaba. Against his supposition that El Paran, their southernmost point, was Elath, is the fact that the word *Midbar* ("*the wilderness*,") is used instead of "*Arabah*."

[7] Gen. xiv. 13.

his three hundred and eighteen armed slaves, and his ally Mamre of Hebron, was upon their track; at that point, then the Sidonian Laish, but afterwards the Israelite Dan, he attacked them by night, and chased them over the mountain-ridge far into the plain of Damascus.

Overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah.

2. This is the earliest authentic record of Canaanite history, and exhibits the vale of the Jordan as it was never exhibited again. Even that record shows indications,—like the earthquake at Pompeii which preceded the volcano of Vesuvius,—that a change was at hand. Pits of bitumen are there described as existing in the vale of Siddim.[1] The name of Sodom (*burning*), if it be not derived from the subsequent catastrophe, shows, like the "Phlegræan" fields of Campania, that the marks of fire had already passed over the doomed valley. The name of "Bela," the old name of "Zoar," was understood by Jewish tradition—perhaps fancifully, yet certainly in accordance with probability—to allude to the fact of its frequent subversion by earthquakes.[2] In what precise manner "the Lord overthrew the cities" is not clearly indicated in the records either of Scripture or of natural remains. The great difference of level between the bottoms of the northern and the southern ends of the lake, the former being a depth of thirteen hundred, the latter only of thirteen feet, below the surface, confirms the theory that the southern end is of recent formation, and, if so, was submerged at the time of the fall of the cities, and that the vale of Siddim was the whole of the bay south of the promontory which now almost closes up its northern portion.[3] But, as Reland[4] long ago pointed

[1] Gen. xiv. 10.

[2] Jerome ad Isa. xv. (De Saulcy, i. 479.)

[3] This is Dr. Robinson's view, stated more precisely by Fallmerayer (Das Todte Meer, p. 88). I am anxious in stating this question to call attention to the great uncertainty in which it is still involved. If the very existence of volcanic agency in the historical period of Palestine (as already stated in p. 279) is still a matter of dispute, it is evident that the subject admits only of the most general statement.

[4] Reland, Palestina, p. 254. The only expression which seems to imply that the rise of the Dead Sea was within historical times, is that contained in Gen. xiv. 3, "the vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea." But this phrase may merely mean that the region in question bore both names; as in the similar expressions (verses 7 and 17) "En-Mishpat, which is Kadesh." "Shaveh, which is the King's Dale." It should, however, be observed that the word "*Emek*," translated "vale," is usually employed for a long, broad valley, such as in this con-

out, there is no reason, either in Scripture or history, for supposing that the cities themselves were destroyed by submersion, or were submerged at all; and the mode of the catastrophe is emphatically and repeatedly described to be not water, but fire. Further than this it is impossible to determine without more exact knowledge than we now possess.

A great mass of legend and exaggeration, partly the effect, partly the cause of the old belief that the cities were buried under the Dead Sea, has been gradually removed in recent years. The glittering surface of the lake, with the thin mist of its own evaporations floating over its surface, will now no more be taken for a gloomy sea, sending forth sulphureous exhalations. The birds which pass over it without injury have long ago destroyed the belief that no living creature could survive the baneful atmosphere which hung upon its waters. And, although we cannot accept without further confirmation the traces of sites which M. De Saulcy believes that he has recently discovered, yet there is nothing incredible in the fact that he should have at least found what were considered as the vestiges of the five devoted cities in the time of Josephus, Strabo, Tacitus, and of the writers of the New Testament, "set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire," [1]—not beneath the waters of the lake, but on its barren shores.

The Dead Sea.

But it has still its manifold interest, both physical and historical. Viewed merely in a scientific point of view, it is one of the most remarkable spots of the world. First, it may be regarded as one of the most curious of inland seas. It is thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean Sea, and thus the most depressed sheet of water in the world; as the Lake Sir-i-kol, [2]where the Oxus rises,—

"In his high mountain cradle in Pamere,"

nection would naturally mean the whole length of the Dead Sea. See Appendix.

[1] Josephus, Bell. Jud. IV. viii. 4; Strabo, xvi.; Tacit. Hist. v. 7. Jude 7.

[2] The Lake Sirikol is 15,600 feet above the level of the sea—that is nearly as high as Mont Blanc—and is a sheet of water fourteen miles long and one mile broad, on the high tableland called by the natives "Bam-i-duniah," "the roof of the world,"—a name not unfitly applied to the watershed of the Indus and Oxus. (Milner, in Petermann's Physical Atlas, p. 14.)

is the most elevated. . Its basin is a steaming cauldron,—a bowl, as it has been well described, which, from the peculiar temperature and deep cavity in which it is situated, can never be filled to overflowing. The river, itself exposed to the same withering influences, is not copious enough to furnish a supply equal to the demand made by the rapid evaporation. Further, this basin is the Gordian knot of all the theories which have been raised to account for the phenomena of the Jordan-valley. From the moment that Burckhardt discovered the valley of the Arabah between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, an hypothesis was naturally formed that this had been the original outlet of the Jordan into the latter sea, till its waters were detained by the sudden formation of the Dead Sea in the same convulsion, as it was supposed, that overthrew the five cities. But this theory is no longer tenable, since it has been found that the waters of the Arabah flow into the Dead Sea from a watershed almost midway between the two seas, and that the Gulf of Akaba is thirty-five feet higher than the Mediterranean, namely, more than thirteen hundred feet above the Dead Sea and Jordan-valley. It is clear that the cavity of the Dead Sea belongs to the same general conformation of country that produced both the Valley of the Jordan and the Arabah, and that therefore its first formation must be traced to a period long before historical times. A convulsion of such magnitude as not only to create a new lake, but to depress the Valley of the Jordan many hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and elevate the valley of the Arabah considerably above that level, must have shattered Palestine to its centre, and left upon the historical traditions of the time an indelible impression, of which, it is needless to say, not a trace is actually to be found. It seems to be concluded as most probable, that the whole valley, from the base of Hermon to the Red Sea, was once an arm of the Indian Ocean, which has gradually subsided, leaving the three lakes in its bed, with their connecting river.[1]

Its depth.

[1] "The valley of the Ghor, which is a vast longitudinal crevasse in calcareous and volcanic rocks extending from the southern roots of Libanus and Anti-Libanus to the Gulf of Akaba, from 1000 to 2000 feet deep, and from

Its saltness.

But, in connection with the Sacred History, its excessive saltness[1] is even more remarkable than its deep depression. This peculiarity is, it is believed, mainly occasioned by the huge barrier of fossil-salt which closes its southern end, and heightened by the rapid evaporation of the fresh water poured into it. Other like phenomena, though in a less striking form, exist elsewhere. In the Old World there are two great series of salt-lakes to be found. One is that which extends along the table-lands of Central Asia, of which the chief are the Caspian, the Aral, the Urumia, the Roozla, and the Elton. The other is that which, beginning in the Verde Islands, appears at irregular intervals along the great African Desert, till it terminates in this—the last and most eastern of the series.[2] In the New World the great salt-lake of Utah by its physical likeness to its Syrian prototype, has actually confirmed the belief of the Mormon settlers that on its shores they have found a second Land of Promise, and in its river a second Jordan. But, without entering into its wider relations, this aspect is important as that which most forcibly impressed the Sacred writers. To them it was the "salt sea," and nothing more. They exhibit hardly a trace of the exaggerations of later times. And

one to eight miles broad [this is understated], appears to have been caused by the forcible rending and falling in of the aqueous strata, resulting from the eruption and elevation of the basalt which bases it almost from its commencement to the Dead Sea. . . . Watery corrosion or abrasion can have had little influence in its formation. The great alterations in its surface commenced anterior to the historic period, and terminated probably in the catastrophe of Sodom." (Newbold, Journal As. Soc. xvi. 23.)

[1] Milner, in Petermann's Atlas, p. 30; Ansted's Elementary Geology, p. 38. It is sometimes supposed that the Dead Sea is the saltest water in the world. This is not quite accurate. The scale seems to be as follows:—Rain-water is the purest of all, then river-water, then fresh-water lakes, then the Baltic and the Sea of Azof, then the Ocean, then the Mediterranean, then the Caspian and Aral, then the Dead Sea, last the Lakes of Elton and Urumia. The saline particles in the water of the ocean are 4 per cent. That of the Dead Sea contains 26¼ per cent. That of Lake Elton (which is situated on the steppes east of the Volga, and supplies a great part of the salt of Russia) contains 29 per cent. The exact proportions of the waters of Lake Urumia are not stated. But Moritz Wagner, in his Travels in Persia, ii. 136, Leipsic, 1852, (quoted by Fallmerayer, Todte Meer, p. 54,) says that the salt and iodine of the water of this lake far surpass those of the Dead Sea. He also describes its exceeding buoyancy, and the fact, that whilst fish is found in neither lake, crustaceous animalculæ are found in the Urumia, (p. 137,) as madrepores are said to have been in the Dead Sea. Humboldt's Ansichten der Natur, ii. 91. Fallmerayer, p. 55.

[2] Ritter; Jordan, 766.

so it is in fact. It is not gloom, but desolation, which is the prevailing characteristic of the Sea of Death. Follow the course of the Jordan to its end. How different from the first burst of its waters in Mount Hermon, amongst the groves of Dan and Paneas![1] How different from the "riotous prodigality of life" which has marked its downward course, almost to the very termination of its existence! Gradually, within the last mile from the Dead Sea, its verdure dies away, and the river melts into its grave in a tame and sluggish stream, still, however, of sufficient force to carry its brown waters far into the bright green sea. Along the desert-shore, the white crust of salt indicates the cause of its sterility. Thus the few living creatures which the Jordan washes down into its waters, are destroyed. Hence arises the unnatural buoyancy and the intolerable nausea to taste and touch, which raise to the highest pitch the contrast between its clear, bitter waves and the soft, fresh, turbid stream of its parent river. Strewn along its desolate margin lie the most striking memorials of this last conflict of life and death; trunks and branches of trees, torn down from the thickets of the river-jungle by the violence of the Jordan, thrust out into the sea, and thrown up again by its waves, dead and barren as itself. The dead beach—so unlike the shell-covered shores of the two seas between which it lies, the Sea of Tiberias and the Gulf of Akaba—shelves gradually into the calm waters. A deep haze—that which, to earlier ages, gave the appearance of "the smoke going up for ever and ever,"—veils its southern extremity, and almost gives it the dim horizon of a real sea.[2] In the nearer view rises the low island close to its northern end, and the long promontory projecting from the eastern side, which divides it into its two unequal parts. This is all that I saw, and all that most pilgrims and travellers have seen of the Dead Sea. Beyond, at its southern end, rises the mountain of rock-salt; and on its sides are still seen the columnar fragment or fragments

[1] See Chapter XI.

[2] Compare the poetical expressions of Isai. xxxiv. 10, Rev. xiv. 11. Schwarze (pp. 44, 45,) repeats the old story about the birds—also the sulphur smoke, and the subterraneous exit of the Jordan. The Midrash says "it goes out of the Dead Sea into the mouth of the Leviathan."

standing out from it, doubtless the same appearance as that which Josephus describes as the pillar of Lot's wife, existing in his own day,[1] and seen by himself.

Vision of Ezekiel.

Often as the sea has been described by later writers, classical and modern, there is but one passage in the Old Testament where its peculiarities are fully brought before us. In the vision which reveals to Ezekiel the regeneration of the kingdom of God, the Prophet in the Temple-court sees the perennial spring of the Sacred Hill rising into a full and overflowing fountain beside the altar, and pouring forth a vast stream over the wide enclosure. He goes round to the eastern gate of the Temple, overhanging the defile of Kedron,—the waters have reached the gateway, and are rushing in a cataract down into the valley below. Into the valley the Prophet descends; and the waters rise higher and higher, till the dry course[2] of Kedron becomes a mighty river; and innumerable trees spring up along its sterile banks,—and through the deep defile, and its tributary courses, the waters issue out toward the 'circles'[3] of the Jordan; they "go down" through all the long descent into the 'desert-plain'[4] of Jordan, and reach the "sea." And when the stream—one, yet divided[5] as it rushes through the mountain-passes—forces its way into that dead lake, "the waters shall be healed;" everywhere they shall teem with life; the living creatures, washed by the Jordan into the sea, which else would die at once, shall live as the fresh stream touches them; there shall be a multitude of fish, even as "the fish of the great sea"—the Mediterranean; the fishermen standing all along its rocky shores from En-eglaim to En-gedi; only the marshes at its southern end, where the healing stream cannot penetrate, will still be given up to its old salt and barrenness. The imagery of this vision is often used in illustration of the spread of philanthropic or missionary beneficence; but its full force, as the Prophet first delivered it, can only be appreciated by

[1] Lynch's Expedition. Josephus, Ant., I. xi. 4.

[2] Ezek. xlvii. 5, 6, 7, "Nachal," translated "river."

[3] "Geliloth," translated "country," verse 8.

[4] "Arabah"—the word always used for "the Ghor," verse 8.

[5] Nachalaim, "the *two* torrents," ver. 9. Possibly down the two defiles of Jericho and of St. Saba.

those who have seen the desolate basin of the Salt Sea, and marked the features of its strange vicinity.

There is one peculiarity, to which I have before adverted, which would naturally suggest some of the details of this striking imagery,—the abundance of copious springs which from the limestone hills of Palestine pour forth their waters into the Jordan-valley. Two of them are mentioned by name in this very description. One, En-eglaim, "the spring of calves," is named only here, but is probably the same as the hot spring at the north-east end of the Dead Sea, known by the name of Callirhoe, to which Herod the Great resorted in his last illness for its healing virtues. The other is the more celebrated En-gedi, the one spot of life besides the five cities which has from age to age maintained an independent existence and interest on the shores of the Dead Sea.[1] Midway[2] on the western bank of the lake, the clear stream breaks out on a high platform elevated 400 feet above the shore, and, scattering rich vegetation all around, descends through the cliffs to the sea. This is En-gedi, "the spring of the wild goats, or gazelles," so called from the numerous ibexes, or Syrian chamois, which inhabit these cliffs. The oasis which it forms amidst the naked limestone precipices was the site of the ancient city, known by the name of the "city of palms," or of "the cutting of palms,"[3] (Hazazon-Tamar), doubtless from the grove of palms which then stood, but which has since entirely disappeared, around the rushing fountain. There, at the time of Chedorlaomer's great invasion, the settlement of Amorites was attacked by the Assyrian army, immediately before its descent into the plain and final victory over the kings of the five cities. In that same fastness dwelt, as it would seem, in later times, a branch of the Kenite tribe,[4] in "the city of palms," their eagle's

En-gedi.

[1] En-gedi I did not see. There is a full description of it in Robinson, ii. 209—215. It was first discovered by Seetzen in 1806.

[2] Plin. v. 17; Solin. 38.

[3] Gen. xiv. 7; 2 Chr. xx. 2.

[4] "The children of the Kenite went up out of the city of palm-trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which lieth in the south of Arad." (Judges, i. 16.) The "city of palms" may, of course, be Jericho, But Lightfoot (ii. 7.) justly contends that it may with equal propriety be En-gedi; which, much more naturally suits the context, and agrees with

"nest" "in the 'cliffs'"—in the numerous caverns with which the cliffs of En-gedi abound. And in those same caverns David afterwards with his followers took refuge; and yet again, at a still later time, the first hermits of Palestine—the solitary sect of the Essenes—had their chief seat at En-gedi; as afterwards the earliest Christian monastery of Palestine was planted not far distant, in the valley of the Kedron,—the romantic Convent of St. Saba.

Plain and Terraces of the Jordan Valley.

II. The history of the Jordan gradually carries us upwards on its course. In order to understand fully the scenes which follow, we must form an accurate conception of its stage between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee. Through this whole interval, the river runs between successive terraces, one, two, or three, according as the hills approach more or less near to its banks. It is crossed by three, or at most four, well-known fords. The first and second are marked by remains of Roman bridges, immediately below the Sea of Galilee, and again, immediately above its confluence with the Jabbok;[1] the third and fourth immediately above and below the present bathing-place of the pilgrims opposite Jericho.[2] No important streams join it on its western side; on its eastern side two, of almost equal magnitude, the Hieromax and the Jabbok. It is below the confluence of the latter stream that the rapid descent[3] begins. What may be its general character above this point is little known. But, south of the confluence, it begins to wear the aspect well-known to all travellers, and important in connection with the historical events which it has witnessed. The higher terraces on each side, immediately under the ranges of mountains, are occupied by masses of vegetation, of which I shall have occasion to speak again more particularly. This region is succeeded by the desert-

Balaam's allusion, in Numbers, xxiv, 21, "Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in the 'cliff,'" as appropriate to a place within his view, abounding in caverns and rocks, as it would be inappropriate either to the original seat of the great body of the Kenites on the shore of the Gulf of Akaba, or to the wide upland desert where they were afterwards found south of Judæa.

[1] For the bridges, see Schwarze, 49.

[2] Van de Velde, ii. 348.

[3] Lynch, 284.

plain, or "Arabah," properly so called, and from this desert-plain begin the regular descents to the bed of the Jordan. Of these, the first is over a long line of white argillaceous hills, somewhat resembling those in the Wâdy Feiran, down to a flat occupied chiefly with low shrubs of agnus-castus. The second descent is upon a still lower flat, occupied chiefly with a jungle of tamarisks and willows, and this last flat is, in most parts of the river's course, the bed of the river itself. Nearer its mouth, there is yet a third descent, consisting of a brake of canes and reeds. The actual stream of the Jordan, as it flows between these banks, is from sixty to a hundred feet wide, and varies from six to four feet in depth. Where it is widest, the bottom is mud; where narrowest, rock or sand.[1] Of these terraces the only one, probably, which is continuous through its whole course, is that of the jungle. The canes and reeds higher up the stream cease to form a continuous brake. The argillaceous hills on the eastern side approach so near the river, that they probably occupy the place of the highest terrace of agnus-castus on the west. But the long line of the jungle never ceases, and, as the valley contracts in its upper channel, sometimes extends across its whole width.[2]

Plain of Abel-Shittim.

1. The course of the river, thus diversified, is confined between the two ranges of hills, which, like those of the Nile-valley, extend with more or less regularity along the shores of the Dead Sea, and even to the Gulf of Akaba. In most parts of the Jordan, the plain thus enclosed is not more than eight miles in breadth, but immediately above the Dead Sea the mountains on each side retire, leaving a larger plain than usual; probably a distance of more than twelve miles across from range to range. It is this plain which becomes the scene of the next great events in the history of the river; and it is fortunately that of which the physical features are best known to travellers. We must imagine the Israelite host encamped on its eastern side. The place is so minutely specified, that it may be fixed in spite of the obscurity which still rests on

Encampment of the Israelites.

[1] Newbold, Journal of R. As. Soc. xvi. 21.

[2] Lynch, 228.

the further bank of the Jordan.[1] It was in the "desert-plains" of Moab, so called, probably, in contradistinction to the cultivated "fields" on the tableland above. It was in the long belt of acacia groves (*shittim*) which, on the eastern as on the western side of the Jordan, mark with a line of verdure the upper terraces of the valley. These groves indicate at once the issue of the springs from the roots of the eastern hills,[2] and the tropical climate to which the Israelites had now descended, and which brought them under these wild and thorny shades—probably for the first time since they had left them in the wilderness of Sinai. Their tents were pitched "from Abel-Shittim on the north to Beth-Jeshimoth on the south;"[3] from the 'meadow'[4] which marked the limit of those 'groves,' to the 'hamlet' or 'house'[5] which stood in the 'waste' on the shores of the Dead Sea. They looked straight across the Jordan to the green spot of Jericho[6] on the western bank. High above them rose the mountains to which their descendants gave the name of "Abarim,"—'those on the further side,'—the eastern wall of the valley—on whose tops they had so long sojourned, in their long struggle with the Amorites of Heshbon.

From these lofty summits were unfolded two successive views[7]—of the valley below, of the camp, of the

[1] In Deut. i. 1, the scene of the last words of Moses is described as "on the 'other' side Jordan in the wilderness, in the 'desert' 'before' the [sea of] 'Weeds,' between Paran and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth (LXX Αὐλών), and Dizahab (*καταχρύσεα*—"place of gold.") The difficulty here is, that whereas the expression, "on the 'other' side *Jordan*," confirmed by i. 5, ("on the 'other' side *Jordan in the land of Moab*,") fixes the scene to the north of the Dead Sea, all the other localities indicated are in the Arabah, south of the Dead Sea. Hengstenberg's explanation, quoted by Dr. Robinson ii. 600, only evades the difficulty.

[2] These springs and roots of the eastern hills are designated as "Ashdoth-Pisgah," "the issuings forth of Pisgah." See Appendix.

[3] Numb. xxxiii. 49.

[4] *Abel*-Shittim ("meadow of the acacias") of which the name is preserved in "Abila," is described by Josephus as still existing in his time on the spot, embosomed in palms, at the distance of six miles or more (60 stadia) from the Jordan. (Ant. IV. viii. 1; V. i. 1.) Possibly it is the same as appears once or twice in the Jewish war. (Bell. Jud. II. xiii. 2; IV. vii. 6.)

[5] Beth-Jeshimoth is the "house of the waste." Its southern position is fixed by the place which it holds in the enumeration of the towns of Reuben, (Joshua, xiii. 20.) Compare Josephus, Bell. Jud. IV. vii. 6.

[6] "'On' or 'above' Jordan 'of' Jericho." So this lowest stage of the river seems to have been called. (Numb. xxvi. 1.)

[7] The account of these views more properly belongs to the next chapter. But the historical connection will be best understood by their introduction here.

opposite hills—awakening thoughts most diverse to the two seers, but of almost equal interest to future times. From the "high places"[1] there dedicated to Baal, from the 'bare hill'[2] on "the top of the rocks," and lastly, from the cultivated[3] "field" of Zophim, on "the top of Pisgah," "from the top of Peor, that looketh[4] on the face of the waste,'"[4] the Assyrian Prophet, with the King of Moab by his side, looked over the wide prospect:— View from Pisgah.

> "He watch'd, till morning's ray
> On lake and meadow lay,
> And willow-shaded streams[5] that silent sweep
> Amid their bannered lines,
> Where, by their several signs,
> The desert-wearied tribes in sight of Canaan sleep."

He saw in that vast encampment amongst the acacia groves, "how goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel." Like the watercourses of the mountains, like gardens by the side of his own great river Euphrates,[6] with their aromatic shrubs, and their wide-spreading cedars—the lines of the camp were spread out before him. Ephraim, was there with "the strength of the wild bull" of the north; Judah, "couching like the lion" of the south; "a people dwelling alone," yet a mighty nation—"who can count the dust of Jacob, and the number of the fourth part of Israel?" He looked round from his high post over the table-lands of Moab,[7] to the line of mountains stretching away to Edom, on the south[8]—over the high platform of the Desert beyond the Dead Sea, where dwelt the tribe of Amalek,[9] then "first of the The view of Balaam.

[1] Numb. xxii. 41.

[2] "*Sheft*," (rendered "high place") Numb. xxiii. 3, 9.

[3] Numb. xxiii. 14.

[4] Numb. xxiii. 28.

[5] Probably few readers of "The Christian Year" enter into the accurate learning displayed in these lines. The "lake" and "meadow" have been sufficiently explained in what has just been said. The "willow-shaded streams," though not absolutely grounded on known fact, is yet an extremely probable description of the streams under the mountains of Pisgah. The torrent of Zared, a little further south, is so called from this circumstance, and the streams which, under a somewhat similar climate, fall into the lake of Genesareth from the Wâdy Hymam, are exactly of this character.

[6] Numb. xxiv. 6. The words "*the river*," "*ha*-nahar," with the allusion to the aromatic plants (translated *aloes*) and the cedars of the water-side,—neither of them images drawn from the scene before him,—show that he is thinking of his own country. There is the same comparison of Assyria to the cedar, by the *river-side* of the Tigris, in Ezekiel, xxxi. 4.

[7] Numb. xxiv. 17.

[8] Numb. xxiv. 18.

[9] Numb. xxiv. 20.

nations"—over the Kenite, not yet removed from his clefts in the rocks of En-gedi,[1] full in front of the Prophet's view. And for each his dirge of lamentation went up; till at the thought of his own distant land of 'Asshur'—of the land beyond the Euphrates[2]—of the dim vision of ships coming from the Western sea which lay behind the hills of Palestine, "to afflict Asshur and to afflict Eber"—he burst into the bitter cry, "Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!" and he rose up, and returned to his place.

The view of Balaam from the top of Pisgah and of Peor is the first of those which have made the name celebrated. But it is the second view, which within so short a time succeeded to it, whilst Israel was still encamped in the acacia groves, that has become a proverb throughout the world. To these same mountains of Abarim,[3] to the top of Pisgah—to a high-place dedicated to the heathen Nebo, as Balaam's standing-place had been consecrated to Peor—"Moses went up from the 'desert-plain' of Moab . . . over against Jericho."[4] In the long line of those eastern mountains, which so constantly meet the view of the traveller in all the western parts of Palestine, the eye vainly strives to discern any point emerging from this horizontal platform, which may be fixed as the top of Nebo. Nothing but a fuller description than has ever yet been given of these regions, can determine the spot where the great lawgiver and leader of his people looked down upon their embattled ranks, and over the "land which he was to see with his eyes, but was not to go in thither." But the general account leaves no doubt that the place intended is some elevation immediately above the last stage of the Jordan.[5] Northward, his eye turned

The view of Moses.

[1] Numb. xxiv. 21.

[2] Numb. xxiv. 22, 24. "Asshur" of course is Assyria. "*Eber*," is the "people *beyond* the Euphrates." "*Chittim*" is the west, represented by the island of Cyprus—the only island visible from the heights of Syria. On a clear evening at sunset it is visible "in the midst of the great wide sea," from the range of Lebanon above the sources of the Zahrany. (Forest's Narrative in Journal of American Oriental Society ii. 245.) See Chapter XII.

[3] It must have been the name of the whole eastern range. See Num. xxi. 11, and xxxiii. 44, 47.

[4] Deut. xxxiv. 1.

[5] De Saulcy vainly endeavours to transfer the top of Pisgah to the western side of the Dead Sea, seeking the name in Feshkah. It is true that no name like Pisgah is now known on the

to "all the land of Gilead," continuing the same eastern barrier as that on which himself stood, till it ended, far beyond his sight, in Dan. Westward, there were on the northern horizon, the distant hills of "all Naphtali." Coming nearer, was "the land of Ephraim and Manasseh." Immediately opposite, was "all the land of Judah;" beyond which, though unseen, lay "the utmost sea" and the Desert of "the south,"—Jerusalem[1] itself, in all probability, distinctly visible through the opening of the descent to Jericho. These were the four great masses of the future inheritance of his people, on which the narrative fixes our attention. Immediately below him was the 'circle' of the plain of Jericho, with its oasis of palm-trees, and far away on his left, though hardly visible, the last inhabited spot before the great Desert—"Zoar."[2] It was a view, doubtless, which in its full extent was to be imagined rather than actually seen. In this respect the Pisgah-prospect is a striking illustration of all the prophetic visions of the Sacred writings. The foreground of the picture alone was clearly discernible; its dim distances were to be supplied by what was beyond, though suggested by what was within, the range of the actual prospect of the seer. But between him and that "good land" the deep valley of the Jordan intervened. "So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord." In language less simple, but hardly less touching, the Jewish historian adds —"As he was bidding farewell to Eleazer and Joshua, whilst he was yet talking with them, a cloud suddenly

eastern side; but Jerome expressly asserts that it was familiar to the travellers of his day (De loc. Heb., voc. *Abarim*) and that Nebo was pointed out six miles from Heshbon (*Ib.* voc. *Naban*) "ad *orientalem* plagam" . . [probably we must read *occidentalem* plagam—as *vice versâ* of Tabor, it is said *occidentalem plagam* Legionis, where it should be *orientalem plagam*.] Burckhardt in travelling the country selected Gebel Attarous, apparently from its conspicuous position, as the most likely spot. "There is," he says, "a large heap of stones on the summit, overshaded by a wild pistachio tree." He also describes the mountain "as very barren," and "with an uneven plain on the top." But he gives no details by which to judge of its general appearance, nor the slightest indication of the view from the top. (Travels in Syria, i. p. 372). It is true that this is not strictly "over against Jericho," but this objection would not be fatal if the spot were otherwise appropriate.

[1] So large a portion of these mountains is visible from Jerusalem, that Jerusalem must in turn be visible from most of their summits.

[2] I have dwelt on the points expressly mentioned in Deut. xxxiv. 1—3.

stood over him, and he vanished[1] in a ravine." "He died in the mount whither he had gone up, and he was gathered unto his people, as Aaron his brother had died on Mount Hor, and was gathered to his people." His tomb, however, was not, like Aaron's, on the high mountain summit, an object of pilgrimage for future ages. "He died in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord, and he buried him in a 'ravine' in the land of Moab before Bethpeor, but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." In a ravine before Bethpeor,—that is, in front of the height from which Balaam's last prophecy had been delivered; and so, doubtless, somewhere in the gorges[2] of Pisgah. But beyond this, "no man knew." It is the first instance on record of the providential obliteration—so remarkably exemplified afterwards in the Gospel history—of the "holy places" of Palestine; the providential safeguard against their elevation to a sanctity which might endanger the real holiness of the history and religion which they served to commemorate. It is curious that, in spite of the mystery in which the grave of Moses was thus enveloped, a traditional sanctuary has arisen, not indeed on Mount Pisgah, but on a height immediately on the opposite side of the Dead Sea—a rude mosque, which is reverenced by the Mussulman world, as covering the tomb of "the Prophet Moses."[3] It is so sacred, that, lonely as its situation is, its entrance is rigidly barred against unbelievers, and its votaries are so numerous that the authorities of Jerusalem have, by a stroke of policy, fixed the days of the pilgrimage thither at the same time as the Greek Easter; so that at the very moment when Jerusalem might, it was feared, be in danger of a surprise from the influx of Christian pilgrims, a body of Mussulman pilgrims might be on the spot to defend the Holy City.

Burial-place of Moses.

[1] Josephus, Ant. IV. viii. 48.

[2] Such a 'ravine' is mentioned in connection with Bamoth, or the high places near Pisgah, in Num. xxi. 20.

[3] Nebi-Mousa; see De Saulcy, ii. 73. Van Egmont (i. 345) speaks of this tomb, as of a modern Mussulman saint. But the prefix of "Nebi" is nearly conclusive in favour of its being intended for the grave of Moses. There have been no "Prophets" since the death of Mahomet. Such is also the opinion of Jelal-ed-din (p. 390). "Hard by," he accurately notices, "is a red-sand mound by the road side." There is another grave of Moses near Hams (Schwarze 64).

From the heights of Pisgah we descend again to the encampment in the groves which had just witnessed the licentious rites of Midian.[1] And now the day was come for the greatest crisis that had taken place since the passage of the Red Sea. They were to "pass over the Jordan, to go in and possess the land which the Lord their God gave them to possess it."[2] For the first time, they descended from the upper terraces of the valley—"they removed from the 'acacia groves,'"—and "came to the Jordan, and lodged[3] there before they passed over." The exact spot is unknown; it certainly cannot be that which the Greek tradition has fixed, where the eastern banks are sheer precipices, of ten or fifteen feet high. Probably it was either immediately above or below, where the cliffs break away; above, at the fords, or below, where the river assumes the tamer character which has been before described, on its exit to the Dead Sea. Wherever was the point, however, it must have been the largest river that they had seen since they left the banks of the Nile; the largest even in its ordinary state, still more evidently so, if we take to the full the expression of the historian, that the Jordan was then in a state of flood—"overflowing all his banks at the time of the barley harvest." It was the same phenomenon which is described again in David's reign, when the adventurous Gadites passed the stream—"in the first month, when it had overflowed all its banks."[4] The time of the year, which must have corresponded to our April or May, is the same as that

Passage of the Jordan.

The Inundation.

[1] Numb. xxv. 1. [2] Josh. i. 11.
[3] Josh. iii. 1.
[4] 1 Chr. xii. 15. The time is fixed by the "first month," the barley-harvest, and "four days before the Passover." (Comp. Josh. iv. 19, and v. 10.) The English expedition down the Jordan speaks of the flood in winter as extending for the width of half a mile. (Journal of Geological Society, xviii. 116.) The question of the flood is well stated by Captain Newbold, who thinks that it never has risen in historical times above the lowest of the present terraces; but describes "the northern end of the whole valley as spread with a soft black alluvium, like that of the Nile. . . . The venerable trees and thick bushes which now occupy the wider channel, show that a considerable period has elapsed since the Jordan filled it as a *current*. It is subject to sudden rises from violent and sudden rains in the mountains around its sources, and in the Haurân and eastern mountains, south of Tiberias, the drainage of which is conveyed to the Jordan by the Hieromax and Jabbok, in consequence of which the passage of the river below the embouchure of these two streams is always uncertain and dangerous, especially for troops. . . . Above, the two upper lakes act as regulators." (Journal As. Soc. 24).

when it is usually visited by travellers; and as no extensive inundation has ever been witnessed by them, it is probable that the utmost that can be here implied is the rise of the river to the top of the lowest of its terraces, that, namely, which is occupied by the jungle; and the difference between this increase and what is now witnessed may be either from the river having worn a deeper channel, or from the greater fall of rain in earlier times, or from both causes combined. That there was such an increase, receives a slight confirmation in the fact that the remains of an ancient dyke have been observed at the issue of the river from the southern end of the Sea of Tiberias.[1] That it could not, however, have been very great, is indicated both by the passage of the Gadites under the same circumstances in the time of David, and also by the double passage[2] of the spies only four days before.

The drying up of the river.

On the broken edge of the river—so the scene which follows is placed before us by the narrative—the band of priests stood with the Ark upon their shoulders. At a distance of nearly a mile[3] in the rear, stood the great mass of the army. Suddenly the full bed of the Jordan was dried before them. High up the river—"very far"—"in Adam, the city which is beside Zaretan,"[4]—that is, at a distance of nearly thirty miles from the place of the Israelite encampment, "the waters which came down from above," from the Sea of Galilee, stood, and rose up in a barrier;[5] and "those that came down towards the sea of the 'Desert,' the salt sea, failed and were cut off." The scene presented to us, therefore, is of the river-bed dried up from north to south, as far as the eye could reach—an image which, however it may be explained, is important

[1] Light's Travels, p. 206.

[2] Josh. ii. 1, 23.

[3] Two thousand cubits. Josh. iii. 4.

[4] The city of "Adam" is only named here. But the situation of *Zaretan* is fixed by a comparison with 1 Kings vii. 46, to have been near Succoth at the ford of the river near the mouth of the Jabbok. Nor is this altered by the substitution of "Kirjath-jarim" in the LXX., which in this place is possibly the same as "Kirjathaim," Josh. xiii. 19.

[5] The word here used, "Ned," is only used of "water" with regard to the Jordan here; and of the waves of the sea poetically. (Ps. xxxiii. 7, Ps. lxxviii. 13, Exod. xv. 8.) The appearance of the drying up of the Jordan seems to be described by Antoninus Martyr in the sixth century, as if it occurred yearly at the visit of the pilgrims. See King's Morsels of Criticism, i. p. 281.

to bear in mind, to avoid a confused notion which is often formed from a supposed parallel with the account of the Red Sea. Then "they *came up* out of" the deep channel of the Jordan, and pitched their tents in the "desert-plains" which immediately succeed on its western side to the lines of vegetation that accompany the course of the river. JERICHO.

2. The first stage of the conquest of Palestine, which now follows, cannot be understood without fully representing the situation of JERICHO, one of the most important cities of Palestine, the capital, as it may be called, of the Valley of the Jordan, and the only important city in its whole course. That importance is derived from two causes. First, it stands at the entrance of the main passes from this valley into the interior of Palestine, the one branching off to the south-west towards Olivet, which commands the approach to Jerusalem, the other to the north-east, towards Michmash, which commands the approach to Ai and Bethel.[1] It was thus the key—the "*Chiavenna*"—of Palestine to any invader from this quarter. Secondly, it enjoys the full benefit of one, if not two, of those copious streams which, as we have seen, form the chief sources of such fertility as the Valley of the Jordan contains. The usual, that is the south-western, approach to Jericho exhibits this in the most striking form. After traversing for six hours the almost total desolation which marks the long descent from Jerusalem to the Valley of the Jordan—over bare limestone hills—the eye is suddenly caught by the sight of a thread of verdure at the bottom of a deep glen, the most romantic in the whole of Palestine, almost recalling by its depth and narrowness the defile of the Sîk on the approach to Petra. This green thread is the course of the torrent now called Kelt, possibly the ancient Cherith,[2] and, if so, doubtless deriving its name from the manner in which its

[1] See Chapter IV.

[2] 1 Kings xvii. 3. Robinson, B. R. vol. ii. p. 288. There are two other claimants to the honour of the Cherith. If "before," in 1 Kings xvii. 3, retains its usual signification of "east," then the most probable memorial of the Cherith is in the Wâdy *Alias* south of Mahanaim, opposite Bethshan. (Comp. Irby and Mangles, p. 305, Schwarze, 51.) But, if the word "before" can be taken in the sense of "towards," then the choice may still lie between the Wâdy Kelt and the 'Ain Fasael, a little north of the Wâdy Kelt. Of this an excellent description, in some

course is "cut" through these tremendous precipices. To any one who has seen the Barada, on the approach to Damascus,[1] the sight of the Wâdy Kelt at once suggests by anticipation the prospect which awaits him as he issues from the desert-hills. It bursts through the opening, and in the desert-plain of the Jordan, far and wide extends the green circle of tangled thickets, in the midst of which are the hovels of the modern village—beside which stood, in ancient times, the great city of Jericho. It is not, however, only or chiefly to the torrent stream of the Kelt, that Jericho owes its oasis. A little to the east of the issue of that stream into the plain, two living springs—one now, as always, called[2] Dûk, the other and larger, as well as more celebrated, now called the spring "of the Sultan," once "of Elisha,"—pour out of the foot of the same limestone-range, rills that trickle through glades of tangled forest-shrub, which, but for their rank luxuriance and Oriental vegetation, almost recall the scenery of an English park. "*As You Like It*," says one of the most graphic and accurate of Eastern travellers, "was in my head all day."[3] It is these streams,[4] with their accom-

respects well according with the scene in Elijah's life, is given by Van de Velde (ii. 309). "A steep and rocky track of more than a thousand feet led us onward. The further we came down the warm and fiery wind from the Ghor met us right in the face. . . . The air itself seemed to be fire. . . . And nature and we, all was burned. Thistles, grass, flowers, and shrubs grew here with rare luxuriance, but now everything was burned white like hay or straw, and this perhaps standing five or six feet high. My guides, as well as myself, thought we should die while in this gigantic furnace. At last we see living green. A thicket of wild fig trees and oak-shrubs mixed and intermixed with oleanders and thorny plants, seems as it were to hide itself at the base of the glowing rocks, keeping full vigour of life, notwithstanding the extraordinary heat. What may be the cause of this? It is a fountain of living waters which keeps the leaves of these trees green, whilst everything round about is consumed by drought and heat. 'This is Ain Fasael,' said my guide. There is a distance of three quarters of an hour between the fountain and the end of the valley in the plain of the Jordan. The rocks on both sides of the valley contain a great many natural caves. The central part of the narrow valley had been cultivated by aid of the brook. The cucumber gardens were yet green. . . . At the end of the valley stands a small 'Tel' covered with ruins. This must have been the Acropolis—and in its name 'Tel Fasael,' it is not difficult to recognise the fortress Phasaelus, built by Herod, and called after his son." For the tradition he refers to Bachiene (Heilige Geographie, p. 126, 130) and Brocardus.

[1] See Chapter XII.

[2] 1 Macc. xvi. 14, 15.

[3] Miss Martineau's Eastern Travel, p. 485. In the time of the Crusades the sugar-cane was grown here, and near 'Ain-Sultân, the sugar-mills and their aqueducts in part remain. Newbold, in Journal As. Soc. xvi. 31.

[4] "The water of Jericho," Joshua, xvi. 1.

panying richness, that procured for Jericho, during the various stages of its existence, its long prosperity and grandeur.

View of Jericho at the time of the capture.

Beautiful as the spot is now in utter neglect, it must have been far more so when it was first seen by the Israelite host at Gilgal. Gilgal—the rising ground[1] where, at Joshua's command, they "rolled" away the reproach of their uncircumcision—was about five miles distant from the river banks, at the eastern outskirts, therefore, of the great forest. Jericho itself stood at its western extremity, immediately where the springs issue from the hills. From that scene of their earliest settlement in Palestine, they looked out over the intervening forest to what was to be the first prize of the conquest. The forest itself did not then consist, as now, merely of the picturesque thorn, but was a vast grove of majestic palms, nearly three miles broad, and eight miles long. At Jericho, even the solitary relic of the palm-forest[2]—seen as late as 1838—has now disappeared. But as Joshua witnessed it, it must have recalled to him the magnificent palm-groves of Egypt, such as may now be seen stretching along the shores of the Nile at Memphis. Amidst this forest—as is, to a certain extent, the case even now—would have been seen, stretching through its open spaces, fields of ripe corn; for it was "the time of the barley harvest," and on the morrow after the passover, they ate for the first time "of the old corn of the land and parched corn in the self-same day."[3] Above the topmost trees would be seen the high walls and towers of the city, which from that grove derived its proud name, "Jericho, the city of palms," "high, and fenced up to heaven"—the walls over which the spies had been let down, and which were now to fall before their victorious countrymen. Behind the city rose the jagged range of the white limestone mountains of Judæa, here presenting one of the few varied and beautiful outlines that can be seen amongst the southern hills of Palestine. This

[1] Josh. v. 8. The "*hill*" (Gibeah) is probably one of the argillaceous hills which form the highest terrace of the Jordan, or the rising ground in the forest itself.

[2] See Chap. II. p. 143.

[3] Josh. v. 11.

range is the "mountain"[1] to which the spies had fled, whilst their pursuers vainly sought them on the way to the Jordan; there they had been concealed, doubtless in the caverns with which the side of the mountain is perforated, the same which in later ages afforded shelter to the hermits who there took up their abode, in the belief that this was the mountain of the Forty Days' Fast of the Temptation—the "Quarantania," from which it still derives its name.

Jericho in the time of the Prophets.

The same causes which made Jericho of such importance in this first stage of the Hebrew conquest, would also render necessary its complete destruction, with the curse on its rebuilder. A place of such strength was not to be left to be occupied by any hostile force that might take possession of it. But, again, these same causes occasioned its successive restorations, which exceed, probably, those of any other city in Palestine, except Jerusalem. First, although the actual site of Jericho long lay desolate, yet Gilgal, the scene of their first encampment, not two miles distant,[2] which enjoyed the same general advantages of the shade and the streams of the noble forest, became the first regular settlement of Israel.[3] The ground of Gilgal was the first that was pronounced "holy."[4] On its hill, during the long wars in the interior of Palestine, the Tabernacle remained, till it found its resting-place in Shiloh.[5] And in those sacred groves were celebrated, in later times, the solemn assemblies of Samuel and of Saul,[6] and of David on his return from exile.[7] But Jericho itself, in the reign of Ahab,[8] if not before, rose from its ruins. A school of prophets[9] gathered round the spot almost immediately, and in the glimpses of their history we catch the same natural features with which the story of the first capture has already made us familiar. Elijah

[1] Josh. ii. 22.

[2] For the relative situation of Jericho and Gilgal, see Jos. Ant. V. i, 4; Bell Jud. IV. viii. 2.

[3] Ewald (Geschicte 2nd edit. ii. 318) well compares this rise of the first Israelite settlement out of the rude memorials of the passage, with the analogous rise of Cairo from Fostat—the tent of Amrou.

[4] Josh. v. 15.

[5] Josh. xviii. 1.

[6] 1 Sam. vii. 16; x. 8; xi. 14, 15; xiii. 7, 9; xv. 33.

[7] 2 Sam. xix. 15, 40.

[8] 1 Kings xvi. 34.

[9] 2 Kings ii. 5.

and Elisha came to it from Bethel,[1] down the same pass of Michmash that in other times was the route of invading armies into the interior of Palestine. From Jericho, they two "went on" to the banks of the Jordan, whilst the sons of the prophets stood on the upper terraces, "afar off;" and there, nearly at the same spot where Moses had vanished from the eyes of his countrymen, Elijah also was withdrawn—as the prophets imagined, carried away, to "one of the mountains," or "one of the ravines,"[2] which line the eastern wilderness, into which they knew he had retired. Next, in the same vicinity, occur the several scenes of which Elisha is the main figure. The spring whose "waters" he "healed," is probably that which now bears his name. He, too, "went up" the ascent through the pass to Bethel, where, in the forest now destroyed, lurked the two she-bears.[3] In his dwelling on the rising swell[4] near Gilgal, he received the visit of Naaman, who from thence "went down" to the Jordan, murmuring at the contrast of its turbid "waters" with the clear "rivers" of his native Damascus."[5] Into the jungle on the banks of the river, the sons of the prophets descended to cut boughs for their huts, and "as one was felling a beam" from the branches which overhung the stream, "the axe-head fell into the water."[6]

The third stage in the history of Jericho is that in which its palm-groves and gardens of balsam were given by Antony to Cleopatra.[7] They were first farmed for her, and then redeemed for himself by Herod the Great, who made this one of his princely residences, in which he was living at the time of his death. It was this Roman

[1] 2 Kings ii. 2, 4. If the reading of the Hebrew text, "they *went down*," is right, then the *Gilgal* spoken of in ii. 1, cannot be that near Jericho; and another *Gilgal* must be sought in the mountains north-west of Bethel; where some such place is indicated by the ancient Canaanite kingdom of the "nations (Goiim) of *Gilgal*," between Dor and Tirzah (Josh. xii. 23), and where a modern village exists, called *Djilfilia*. See also Deut. xi. 30. But the LXX read ἦλθον "they came."

[2] 2 Kings ii. 16. The LXX in verse 8, as if with a slightly different reading, renders the words "on dry ground," by ἐν ἐρήμῳ, "in the wilderness."

[3] 2 Kings ii. 23, 24.

[4] 2 Kings v. 24. The word "Ophel," translated "tower," is probably a "swelling," and in every place, except this and Isa. xxxii. 14, where this is evidently its signification, is applied to Ophel, the fortified hill in Jerusalem south of Moriah. See Appendix, *s. v.*

[5] 2 Kings v. 12, 14.

[6] 2 Kings vi. 2, 5.

[7] Josephus, Ant. XV. iv. 2.

Jericho in the time of Christ.

Jericho through which Christ passed on His final journey to Jerusalem — passed along the road beside which stood the sycomore tree;[1] went up into the wild dreary mountains; caught from the summit of the pass the first glimpse of the line of trees and houses on the summit of Olivet; and so went His way through the long ascent, the scene of His own parable of the Good Samaritan, till He reached the friendly home perched aloft on the mountain side—the village of Bethany.

Scene of the preaching of John.

3. Was this wilderness of His last approach — so we naturally ask—the same as that which witnessed His earliest trials? Was the reach of the Jordan, which Joshua and Elijah crossed, the same as that which was consecrated by His first entrance into His public ministry? It is difficult to determine. But the indications of the narrative point to a locality further north than the scene which the tradition of the Greek and Latin Churches has selected—influenced, doubtless, in part, by the convenience of a spot near Jerusalem. "In the wilderness of Judæa,"[2]—"in all the country about Jordan,"—are the general expressions of the three first Evangelists, which would apply to the whole of the southern valley of the Jordan. St. John, however, with greater precision, adds, "in *Beth-abara*[3] (the house of passage) *beyond Jordan*," which seems to confine "the wilderness" generally to the eastern bank, and the special locality to the more northern ford,[4] near Succoth, the same by which

[1] Luke xix. 4. See Chapter XIII.

[2] Matt. iii. 1; Mark i. 3.; Luke iii. 3.

[3] John i. 28, 29. It is with considerable hesitation that I lay any stress on the name "Bethabara." All the oldest MSS. (A, B, C, E, F, G, K, L, M, S, V, X, Δ) and nearly all the versions, read not "Bethabara" but "Bethany;" and Origen, in his commentary on the passage, tates that in his time this reading prevailed in "almost all the MSS" (*σχέδον πάντα τὰ ἀντίγραφα*). But considering the great improbability of the alteration of the familiar word "Bethany" into the comparatively unknown "Bethabara"—considering also that in the locality Origen still found the name "Bethabara"—considering, finally, that if the Evangelist had meant to distinguish it from the Judæan Bethany, he would have written Βηθανίᾳ *τῇ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου*, or, at any rate, placed Βηθανίᾳ in close connection with *πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου*—it seems most likely that Origen was right in altering the text, and being, as he says, "persuaded that we ought to read Bethabara." The northern situation of Bethabara is implied in Epiphanius (Hær. 535). Those who read Βηθανίᾳ, make it "the house of boats," in allusion to the ferry-boat. Comp. in that case, 2 Sam. xix. 18.

[4] Van de Velde (ii. 471) makes this to be itself Bethabara.

Jacob had crossed from Mahanaim, by which the Midianites endeavoured to escape in their flight from Gideon, and where Jephthah slew the Ephraimites.[1] That it was this more northern spot is also confirmed by the mention of the time that it took for the return from the Jordan to Nazareth, apparently not more than a day, which might be possible from Succoth, but would certainly not be possible from Jericho. And on a subsequent occasion John is described as baptising in Ænon ("the springs"), "near to Salim,"[2] which must, probably, be the same "Salem[3]" as that near Shechem, close to the passage of the Jordan near Succoth, and far away from that near Jericho.

If this be so, the scenery of the exact spot of John's baptism, though visited by two or three travellers, has never been described. This is, perhaps, of less importance, because the images, and even associations, of the whole valley are so similar, that what applies to one spot must, more or less, apply to all. The "wilderness" of the desert-plain, whether on the western or eastern side, is the most marked in the whole country, and never has been inhabited, except for the purposes of ascetic seclusion, as by the Essenes, and the hermits of later times. Wide as was the moral and spiritual difference between the two great Prophets of the Jordan wilderness, and the wild ascetics of later times, yet it is for this very reason important to bear in mind the outward likeness which sets off this inward contrast. Travellers know well the startling appearance of the savage figures, who, whether as Bedouins or Dervishes, still haunt the solitary places of the East, with "a cloak,"—the usual striped Bedouin blanket—"woven of camel's hair, thrown over the shoulders, and tied in front on the breast; naked, except at the waist, round which is a girdle of skin; the hair flowing loose about the head."[4] This was precisely the description of Elijah—whose last appearance had been

[1] Gen. xxxii. 22; Jud. vii. 24; xii. 5, 6.

[2] John, iii. 23. Compare the description of the numerous springs near the tomb of Sheyhk *Salem*, near Wâdy Chusech. (Van de Velde, i. 346.)

[3] See Chap. V.; note on Gerizim.

[4] See Light's description of two Egyptian Dervishes in Syria (p. 135).

on this very wilderness, before he finally vanished from the eyes of his disciple. This, too, was the aspect of his great representative, when he came, in the same place, dwelling, like the sons of the prophets, in a leafy covert woven of the branches of the Jordan-forest, preaching, in "raiment of camel's hair," with a "leathern girdle round his loins," eating the "locusts and wild honey" of the desert—the "wild honey" or "manna," which drops from the tamarisks of the desert-region, and ceases on reaching the cultivated districts of Jericho and Judæa. To the same wilderness, probably that on the eastern side, Jesus is described as "led *up*"[1] by the Spirit—up into the desert-hills whence Moses had seen the view of all the "kingdoms" of Palestine — "with the wild beasts"[2] which lurked in the bed of the Jordan, or in the caves of the hills—"where John was baptising, beyond Jordan."

Scene of the Temptation.

If from the general scene we turn to the special locality of the river banks, the reason of John's selection is at once explained. He came "baptising," that is, signifying to those who came to him, as he plunged them under the rapid torrent, the forgiveness and forsaking of their former sins. It was in itself no new ceremony. Ablutions, in the East, have always been more or less a part of religious worship—easily performed, and always welcome. Every synagogue, if possible, was by the side of a stream or spring; every mosque, still, requires a fountain or basin for lustrations in its court. But John needed more than this. He taught, not under roof or shelter of sacred buildings, but far from the natural haunts of men. He proclaimed repentance, not only to handfuls of men here and there, but to the whole nation. No common spring or tank would meet the necessities of the multitudes "who, from Jerusalem and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan, came to him confessing their sins."[3] The Jordan, by the very peculiarity of its position, which, as before observed, renders its functions so unlike those of other Eastern streams, now seemed to have met with its

Baptism in the Jordan.

[1] Matt. iv 1. [2] Mark i. 13. [3] Matt. iii. 5.

fit purpose.[1] It was the one river of Palestine—sacred in its recollections—abundant in its waters; and yet, at the same time, the river, not of cities, but of the wilderness—the scene of the preaching of those who dwelt not in king's palaces, nor wore soft clothing. On the banks of the rushing stream the multitudes gathered—the priests and scribes from Jerusalem, down the pass of Adummim; the publicans from Jericho on the south, and the Lake of Gennesareth on the north; the soldiers on their way from Damascus to Petra, through the Ghor, in the war with the Arab chief Hareth; the peasants from Galilee, with ONE from Nazareth, through the opening of the plain of Esdraelon. The tall "reeds" or canes in the jungle waved, "shaken[2] by the wind;" the pebbles of the bare clay hills lay around, to which the Baptist pointed as capable of being transformed into "the children[3] of Abraham;" at their feet rushed the refreshing stream of the never-failing river. There began that sacred rite, which has since spread throughout the world, through the vast baptistries of the southern and Oriental churches, gradually dwindling to the little fonts of the north and west; the plunges beneath the water diminishing to the few drops which, by a wise exercise of Christian freedom, are now in most churches the sole representative of the full stream of the Descending River.

The interest, which thus attaches to the Jordan, is one which it possesses to an extent probably enjoyed by no other sacred locality in the Holy Land. In the mosaics of the earliest churches at Rome and Ravenna, before Christian and Pagan Art were yet divided, the Jordan appears as a river-god, pouring his streams out of his urn. The first Christian Emperor had always hoped to receive his long-deferred baptism in the Jordan, up to the moment when the hand of death

[1] It may be observed that the only other extensive baptisms recorded outside of Jerusalem, are at Salim (John iii. 23), where there was "much water," and at Samaria (Acts viii. 12), whose abundant streams have been described elsewhere. See Chapter V.

[2] "What went ye out into the wilderness to see? a reed shaken with the wind?" Matt. xi. 7. See p. 291.

[3] "God is able of *these stones* to raise up children unto Abraham." Matt. iii. 9.

struck him at Nicomedia. The name of the river has, in Spain and Italy, by a natural association, been turned into a common Christian name for children at the hour of the baptism which served to connect them with it. Protestants, as well as Greeks and Latins, have delighted to carry off its waters for the same sacred purpose, to the remotest regions of the West. Of all the practices—superstitious, if we choose so to call them—of the Oriental Churches in Palestine, none is more innocent or natural than the ceremony repeated year by year at the Greek Easter—the bathing of the pilgrims in the Jordan. It has often been witnessed by European travellers. I venture to describe it from my own recollections, for the sake both of the general illustration which it furnishes of the present forms of Oriental Christianity, and also as presenting the nearest likeness that can now be seen in the same general scenery to the multitudinous baptisms of John. Once a year—on the Monday in Passion Week—the desolation of the Plain of Jericho is broken by the descent from the Judæan hills of five, six, or eight thousand pilgrims, who are now, from all parts of the old Byzantine Empire, gathered within the walls of Jerusalem. The Turkish governor is with them, an escort of Turkish soldiers accompanies them, to protect them down the desert-hills, against the robbers who, from the days of the Good Samaritan downwards, have infested the solitary pass. On a bare space beside the tangled thickets of the modern Jericho,—distinguished by the square tower, now the castle of its chief, and called by pilgrims the 'House of Zacchæus,'—the vast encampment is spread out, recalling the image of the tents which Israel here first pitched by Gilgal. Two hours before dawn, the rude Eastern kettle-drum rouses the sleeping multitude. It is to move onwards to the Jordan, so as to accomplish the object before the great heat of the lower valley becomes intolerable. Over the intervening Desert, the wide crowd advances in almost perfect silence. Above is the bright Paschal Moon—before them moves a bright flare of torches—on each side huge watchfires break the darkness of the night,

Bathing of the pilgrims.

and act as beacons for the successive descents of the road. The sun breaks over the eastern hills as the head of the cavalcade reaches the brink of the Jordan. Then it is, for the first time, that the European traveller sees the Sacred River, rushing through its thicket of tamarisk, willow, and agnus-castus, with rapid eddies, and of a turbid yellow colour, like the Tiber at Rome, and about as broad—sixty or eighty feet.[1] The chief features of the scene are the white cliffs and green thickets on each bank, though at this spot they break away, on the western side, so as to leave an open space for the descent of the pilgrims. Beautiful as the scene is, it is impossible not to feel a momentary disappointment at the conviction, produced by the first glance, that it cannot be the spot either of the passage of Joshua, or of the baptism of John. The high eastern banks (not to mention the other considerations named before) preclude both events. But in a few moments the great body of the pilgrims, now distinctly visible in the breaking day, appear on the ridge of the last terrace. None, or hardly any, are on foot. Horse, mule, ass, and camel, in promiscuous confusion, bearing whole families on their backs —a father, mother, and three children, perhaps, on a single camel—occupy the vacant spaces between and above the jungle in all directions.

If the traveller expects a wild burst of enthusiasm, such as that of the Greeks when they caught the first glimpse of the sea, or the German armies at the sight of the Rhine, he will be disappointed. Nothing is more remarkable in the whole pilgrimage to the Jordan, from first to last, than the absence of any such displays. Nowhere is more clearly seen that deliberative business-like aspect of their devotion, so well described in Eothen, unrelieved by any expression of emotion, unless, perhaps, a slight tinge of merriment. They dismount, and set to work to perform their bathe;[2] most on the open space, some further up amongst the

[1] So Nowbold, Journal R. As. Soc., xv. 20.

[2] The slight variations in earlier times are given in Ritter, vol. ii. p. 536. The landing-place was once cased with marble, and a large cross was planted in the middle of the stream.

thickets; some plunging in naked—most, however, with white dresses, which they bring with them, and which, having been so used, are kept for their winding-sheets. Most of the bathers keep within the shelter of the bank, where the water is about four feet in depth, though with a bottom of very deep mud. The Coptic pilgrims are curiously distinguished from the rest by the boldness with which they dart into the main current, striking the water after their fashion alternately with their two arms, and playing with the eddies, which hurry them down and across, as if they were in the cataracts of their own Nile; crashing through the thick boughs of the jungle which, on the eastern bank of the stream, intercepts their progress, and then recrossing the river higher up, where they can wade, assisted by long poles which they have cut from the opposite thickets. It is remarkable, considering the mixed assemblage of men and women, in such a scene, that there is so little appearance of levity or indecorum. A primitive domestic character pervades in a singular form the whole transaction. The families which have come on their single mule or camel, now bathe together, with the utmost gravity; the father receiving from the mother the infant, which has been brought to receive the one immersion which will suffice for the rest of its life, and thus, by a curious economy of resources, save it from the expense and danger of a future pilgrimage in after-years. In about two hours the shores are cleared; with the same quiet they remount their camels and horses; and before the noonday heat has set in, are again encamped on the upper plain of Jericho. . . . Once more they may be seen. At the dead of night, the drum again wakes them for their homeward march. The torches again go before; behind follows the vast multitude, mounted, passing in profound silence over that silent plain—so silent that, but for the tinkling of the drum, its departure would hardly be perceptible. The troops stay on the ground to the end, to guard the rear, and when the last roll of the drum announces that the last soldier is gone, the whole plain returns again to its perfect solitude.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## PERÆA, OR THE TRANS-JORDANIC TRIBES.

Psalm xlii. 6. "My soul is cast down within me: therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites, from the 'mountain' Mizar."

I. General character of the scenery. II. First view of the Holy Land. III. Frontier land. IV. Isolation. V. Pastoral character of the country and its inhabitants. VI. Land of exile. Last view of the Holy Land.

# PERÆA, AND THE TRANS-JORDANIC TRIBES.

WHO that has ever travelled in Palestine has not longed to cross the Jordan-valley to those mysterious hills which close every eastward view with their long horizontal outline, their overshadowing height, their deep purple shade? It is this which probably constitutes the most novel feature of the Holy Land to any one who first sees it with his own eyes. Partly from the slight historical interest which attaches to Eastern compared with Western Palestine, partly from the few visits paid to those insecure regions, it has usually happened that general descriptions of the country almost omit to notice the one elevating and solemn background of all that is poor and mean in the scenery of Palestine, properly so called. To those who, like myself, have been unable to cross the Jordan and explore those unknown heights, this distant view is the sole impression left by the mountain range of Ammon and Moab. But it is an impression which may assist them in forming some notion of the interior of the region, as described by those who have had better fortune and more abundant leisure.[1]

[1] I have to express my thanks to the Rev. G. Horsley Palmer, for most of the facts of this chapter. No other traveller, to my knowledge, has explored this district so thoroughly—certainly none whom I have consulted has described it so vividly and intelligibly. The northern portion of the trans-Jordanic territory—including Gaulonitis, the Haurân, and Trachonitis,—I have left unnoticed, partly because it was not needed for the elucidation of the history, partly because it will be for the first time fully described by Mr. Porter, in his forthcoming work on Damascus.

General character of the scenery.

I. The mountains rise from the valley of the Jordan to the height, it is believed, of two or three thousand feet, and this gives them, when seen from the western side, the appearance of a much greater actual elevation than they really possess; as though they rose high above the mountains of Judæa on which the spectator stands. As they are approached from the Ghor, the horizontal outline which they always wear when seen from a distance is broken; and it is described, that when their summits are attained, a wholly new scene bursts upon the view; unlike anything which could be expected from below—unlike anything in Western Palestine. A wide table-land appears tossed about in wild confusion of undulating downs, clothed with rich grass throughout, and, in the northern parts,[1] with magnificent forests of sycomore, beech, terebinth, ilex, and enormous figtrees. These downs are broken by three deep defiles, through which the three rivers of the Jarmuk, the Jabbok, and the Arnon, fall into the Jordan. On the east, they melt away into the vast red plain which, by a gradual descent, joins the level of the plain of the Haurân, and of the Assyrian desert. This is the general picture given of the trans-Jordanic territory.

The first view of the Holy Land from the east.

II. What is the history of which this is the theatre? First, its mere outline, even as seen from the western side of the Jordan, suggests the fact that those heights, everywhere visible in central Palestine, must have commanded the first view of the Promised Land in all approaches from the east. It is said by those who have visited those parts, that one remarkable effect produced, is the changed aspect of the hills of Judah and Ephraim. Their monotonous character is lost, and the range when seen as a whole is in the highest degree diversified and impressive. And the wide openings in the western hills, as they ascend from the Jordan-valley, give such extensive glimpses into the heart of the country, that not merely the general range, but particular localities can be discerned with ease. From a point above the Dead Sea,

[1] The upper range of Gilead, *i. e.* south of the Jabbok, is oak and arbutus—the central, arbutus and fir—the lower, valonidi oak—the ilex throughout (Lord Lindsay, ii. 122). Ammon is outside the forest range. (Ibid. p. 121.)

Bethlehem,[1] and Jerusalem can both be seen in the same prospect. From the Castle of Rubad, north of the Jabbok, are distinctly visible Lebanon, the Sea of Galilee, Esdraelon in its full extent, Carmel, the Mediterranean, and the whole range of Judah and Ephraim. "It is the finest view," to use the words of the traveller from whom most of the information contained in this chapter is derived, "that I ever saw in any part of the world." This view—so multiplied and so beautiful—must have been the very prospect which presented itself to the eyes, first of Abraham, and then of Jacob, as they descended from these summits on their way from Mesopotamia; it must have been substantially the same as that which was unfolded before the eyes of Balaam and Moses, when, as we have seen,[2] the Sacred Narrative draws out these several features in the utmost detail. It is in all probability the view which furnished the framework of the vision of "all the kingdoms of the world" which was revealed in a moment of time to Him who was driven up from the valley below to these mountains at the opening of His public ministry. Difficult as it may be to decide the precise spot intended by the name of Pisgah, the accounts given of these trans-Jordanic heights show that this matters little; the whole range is one vast Pisgah, with the deep shades of the Jordan-valley beneath, the Land of Promise beyond; whilst close around lies the beautiful country, so long the halting-place though not the permanent home of Israel after his weary passage through the Arabian Desert.

Frontier-land.

III. For, again, it was the frontier-land of Palestine, and therefore, through all its history, the first conquered, the first lost, by the hosts of Israel. The great table-lands, the "cultivated fields" of Moab and Ammon, as distinct from the "wilderness" into which these lands die on the east, and the "desert-plains" of Moab in the Jordan-valley at the foot of the mountains,—were the rich prize first wrested from Moab and Ammon[3] by the Amorite kings, and from them by the Israelites under Moses; Ammon and Moab themselves remaining uninjured

[1] Compare the view from Heshbon, as described in Schwarze (in voce *Heshbon*).

[2] See Chapter VII. pp. 293—265.

[3] Numb. xxi. 26—29.

in the border of the wilderness which they still occupied. This first stage of the conquest of Canaan is too briefly described to receive any detailed elucidation from the localities, even if they were better known than they are. All that we can discern is the approach of Israel through the eastern Desert skirting the confines of Moab and Ammon; and at last meeting the Amorite king "in the wilderness" at Jahaz.[1] There was fought the first pitched battle between Israel and Canaan, and the victory was followed by the subjugation of the whole kingdom from the torrent of the Arnon on the south, to the torrent of the Jabbok on the north. Eastward the unconquered tribe of Ammon still compressed their limits—but the whole of the rich pasture was theirs, up to the point where it melts away into the steppes of the wilderness. Within the range of this ancient kingdom of Sihon were planted the tribes of Reuben and Gad. Another step had to be taken before a fitting settlement could be procured for the powerful fragment of Manasseh, which had joined its fortunes to these two tribes. Another battle, also on the junction of the rich lands with the wilderness, was fought at Edrei; and the high mountain-tract of Gilead and Bashan, from the deep ravine of the Jabbok up to the base of Hermon, was added to the territory.[2]

As it was thus first occupied by the Israelites, so it subsequently became the border-land between Palestine and the nations of eastern Asia. From its midway position it necessarily bore the brunt of all the incursions of the Syrians of Damascus, when Ramoth-Gilead became the scene of so many sieges and battles, as the fortress for which both kingdoms contended; and for the same reason it was the first to resist and the first to fall before the arms of the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser. In this respect the range of Gilead remained faithful to the description given by the two Patriarchs who of old parted on its summit; as the boundary line between the tribes of Canaan and those of Mesopotamia. "This heap is a witness between me and thee this day. . . .

[1] Numb. xxi. 23; Jud. xi. 20.

[2] Deut. iii. 1.

The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor judge betwixt us." [1]

Isolation.

IV. From this aspect of the country, we naturally pass to its isolation from the rest of Palestine. However much connected by vicinity and race with their western kinsmen, the dwellers in eastern Palestine have always been distinct. It has been to the main body of the people, what Scotland or Ireland has been to the chief course of English history. Inhabited from the earliest times by races of a stock, separate and even hostile, the table-lands east of the Jordan were never occupied by the nations on the west, except through acts of aggression and conquest. The Amorite chiefs, Og and Sihon, established themselves on the acclivities of these heights, but only to be themselves dislodged in turn by the Israelites; the Amorite kings of Palestine Proper not striking a blow in defence of their trans-Jordanic brethren. And the Israelite tribes who settled there hardly ever exercised any influence over their countrymen on the western banks, were carried into captivity long before them, and were succeeded by settlers not of Jewish, but of Gentile origin; and the whole country is, as has been already observed, a comparatively unknown region to the present inhabitants of Palestine. This separation is in part owing to the great natural rent which the Jordan has created between the two districts; but it is also owing to some peculiarities of the country itself.[2]

Pastoral character of the country.

V. It was the forest-land, the pasture-land of Palestine. The smooth downs received a special name,[3] expressive of their contrast with the rough and rocky soil of the west. The "oaks" of Bashan, which still fill the traveller with admiration, were to the prophets and psalmists of Israel the chief glory of the vegetation of their common country. The vast herds of wild cattle, now seemingly extinct,

[1] Gen. xxxi. 48, 53. Gilead is "the heap of witness."

[2] The complete isolation of the present inhabitants of the trans-Jordanic Palestine, may be estimated by the notions of geography communicated to Buckingham by the people of Salt. They maintained that there were only four seas in the world, of which *two were the sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.* (Buckingham, c. 2).

[3] *Mishor.* See Chapter VI. and Appendix.

but which then wandered through those woods,—as those of Scotland through its ancient forests,—were, in like manner, at once the terror and pride of the Israelite,—"the fat bulls of Bashan." Flocks, too, there were of every kind—"rams and lambs, and goats,' and bullocks, all of them fatlings of Bashan."[1]

It is striking to remember, that with this land in their possession—a land of which travellers say, that in beauty and fertility it as far surpasses western Palestine as Devonshire surpasses Cornwall—the Israelites nevertheless pressed forwards, through the Jordan-valley, up the precipitous ravines of Jericho and Ai, and settled in the rugged mountains of Judah and Ephraim, never to return to those beautiful regions which had been their first home in the Promised Land. "The Lord had made them ride on the high places of the earth, that they might eat the increase of the fields; and he made them to suck honey out of the 'cliff' and oil out of the flinty rock; butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat, and .... the pure blood of the grape."[2] So, we are told, spoke their Prophet-leader, whilst they were still in enjoyment of this rich country. Yet forwards they went. It was the same high calling—whether we name it impulse, destiny, or Providence—which had already drawn Abraham from Mesopotamia, and Moses from the Court of Memphis. They knew not what was before them, they knew not what depended on their crossing the Jordan—on their becoming a settled and agricultural, instead of a nomadic, people—on their reaching to the shores of the sea, and from those shores receiving the influences of the Western world, and sending forth to that Western world their influences in return. They knew not; but we know; and the more we

[1] Ezek. xxxix. 18.

[2] Deut. xxxii. 13, 14. All these expressions seem to have peculiar reference to their home in the trans-Jordanic territory; that being the whole of Palestine that they had seen at the time when Moses is represented as uttering these words. "The high places"—and "the fields," are specially applicable to the table-lands of Gilead; and still more, the allusions to the herds and flocks. In like manner is not Ps. cxxxvi. peculiarly adapted to the trans-Jordanic tribes? It is difficult else to account for the stress laid on the conquest of Sihon and Og, to the entire exclusion of the conquest of Canaan.

hear of the beauty of the trans-Jordanic territory, the greater is the wonder,—the greater, we may almost say, should be our thankfulness,—that they exchanged it for Palestine itself, inferior, as it might naturally have seemed to them, in every point, except for the high purposes to which they were called, and for which their permanent settlement on the eastern side of the Jordan would, humanly speaking, have wholly unfitted them. What a change would thus have been made in their destiny is best seen by following up the history of the tribes which did so separate themselves from their brethren.

Pastoral and nomadic character of the tribes east of the Jordan.

The great excellence of the eastern table-land was, as has been said, in pasture and in forest,—"a place for cattle."[1] In the encampment of Israel two tribes, Reuben and Gad, were pre-eminently pastoral. They had "a very great multitude of cattle." For this they desired the land, and for this it was given to them, "that they might build cities for their little ones, and *folds for their sheep.*"[2] In no other case is the relation between the territory and its occupiers so expressly laid down, and such it continued to be to the end. From first to last, they alone of the tribes never emerged from the state of their Patriarchal ancestors. When Joshua bade them return to their possessions, it was not to their "houses," but to their "tents." When, on their return, they reached the Jordan—the boundary between themselves and their more settled brethren,—they erected, like the true Children of the Desert, the huge stone of division to mark the frontier, which their more civilised kinsmen mistook for an altar;[3] just as Jacob and Laban had in earlier times raised a similar cairn on the heights of Gilead; just as the traveller now sees the "Hadjar Alouin,"—the pile of stones that denotes the boundary of the Alouin and of the Towâra tribes at the head of the Gulf of Akaba. Of their subsequent history this is still the prevailing feature. Reuben is the most purely nomadic, and, therefore, the most

Reuben.

[1] It is still the favourite tract of the Bedouin shepherds. "Thou canst not," they say, "find a country like the Balka." Buckingham, i. 369.

[2] Numbers xxxii. 1, 4, 16, 24, 26, 36.

[3] Josh. xxii. 4—10.

transitory. He is to the eastern tribes what Simeon is to the western. "Unstable as water," he vanishes away into a mere Arabian tribe; "his men are[1] few,"—it is all that he can do "to live and not die." We hear of nothing beyond the multiplication of "their cattle in the land of Gilead," their "wars with the Bedouin 'sons of Hagar,'" their spoils of "camels fifty thousand, and of sheep two hundred and fifty thousand, and of asses two thousand."[2] In the great struggles of the nation he never took part. The complaint against him in the Song of Deborah is the summary of his whole history. "By the 'streams' of Reuben,"—that is, by the fresh streams which descend from the eastern hills into the Jordan and the Dead Sea, on whose banks the Bedouin chiefs then, as now, met to debate,[3]—"in the 'streams' of Reuben great were the 'decrees.' Why dwellest thou among the sheep 'troughs' to hear the 'pipings' of the flocks?[4] By the 'streams' of Reuben great were the searchings of heart." Gad has a more distinctive character, something of the lion-like aspect of Judah. In the forest-region south of the Jabbok, "he dwelt[5] as a lion." Out of his tribe came the eleven valiant chiefs who crossed the fords of the Jordan in flood-time to join the outlawed David, "whose faces were like the faces of lions, and were as swift as the 'gazelles' upon the mountains."[6] Those heroes were but the Bedouins of their time. The very name of Gad expressed the wild aspect which he presented to the wild tribes of the east. "Gad is a 'troop of plunderers;' a troop of plunderers shall 'plunder' him, but he 'shall plunder' at the last."[7] What broke up the great tribe of Manasseh into two parts, and left one to follow the fortunes of its kindred house of Ephraim in the settled life of the western hills, and the other to wander over the pastures and forests of Gilead and Bashan, is not expressly said. But there, also, the same character prevails. The sixty, or the thirty, towns

Gad.

Manasseh.

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 6.—The English version has added "not" from the LXX.

[2] 1 Chr. v. 9, 10, 20, 21.

[3] Herder (Heb. Poes. p. 192). Comp. Numb. xxi. 17; Ex. xv. 25.

[4] Jud. v. 15, 16. Ewald (Geschichte, 2nd edit. iii. 88), renders it "the piping of the flocks," in allusion to the shepherd-songs, of which David's is the earliest known specimen.

[5] Deut. xxxiii. 20.

[6] 1 Chr. xii. 8, 15.

[7] Gen. xlix. 19; comp. xxx. 11.

of Jair, the ancient chief of the tribe of Manasseh, were not called cities, but Bedouin 'villages of tents.'[1] "Gilead," in the Song of Deborah, is said "to dwell beyond the Jordan in 'tents.'"[2] Such as was the general character of the tribe, were also its individual heroes who, at rare intervals, acquired a national importance. How much more intelligible does Jephthah become, when we remember that he was raised up, not from the regular settlements of Judah and Ephraim, but from the half-civilised region of the eastern tribes; in the wildness of his freebooting life, in the rashness and ignorance of his vow, in the savage vengeance which he exacted from the insolence of Ephraim,—a Bedouin chief rather than an Israelitish judge. And, yet more, how lively an image do we form of the grandest and the most romantic character that Israel ever produced—Elijah the Tishbite—when we recollect that he, too, was born amongst the forests of Gilead, and found his first refuge in the clefts of the Cherith;[3] that the shaggy hair, the rough camel's hair mantle girt by the leathern girdle round his naked body; the fleetness of foot, with which, "when the hand of the Lord was upon him," he outran the chariot of Ahab; the sudden appearances and disappearances, which baffled all the zeal of his enemies and his friends to discover him; the long wanderings into the Desert of southern Arabia to "Horeb, the Mount of God;" all are special characteristics of the Bedouin life, which were dignified but not destroyed by his high prophetic mission. And the fact that this special mission was entrusted, not to a dweller in royal city or Prophetic school, but to one who, in manner of life and in outward aspect, and to a great extent by his place of birth, was a genuine son of the Desert, is in remarkable accordance with the dispensations of Providence both in earlier and later times. Elijah the Gileadite, in his witness for the unity of God against the idolatries of Phœnicia, was the fitting successor of those who had been the heralds of the same

[1] Havoth-Jair. See Appendix.
[2] Judges v. 17.
[3] 1 Kin. xvii. 1, 3. The birth-place of Elijah was pointed out to Irby and Mangles at "Gilead Gilhood," near Salt. (Irby and Mangles, p. 300). For the position of the Cherith, see Chap. VII.

truth before; the wandering Chief from Ur of the Chaldees, the Arabian Shepherd in Mount Sinai.

The land of exile.

VI. There is one final and touching interest with which the "land beyond the Jordan" is invested, by virtue of its position, as a portion, and yet not a portion, of the land of Israel. It was emphatically the land of exile,—the refuge of exiles. One place there was in its beautiful uplands, consecrated by the presence of God in primeval times. "Mahanaim," marked the spot where Jacob had divided his host into "Two Hosts," and seen the "Two Hosts" of the angelic vision. To this scene of the great crisis in their ancestor's life the thoughts of his descendants returned in after-years, whenever foreign conquest or civil discord drove them from their native hills on the west of the Jordan. The first instance was when Abner rallied the Israelites round the unfortunate Ishbosheth, after the rout of Gilboa, and "brought him over" the Jordan "to Mahanaim."[1] The second was when David fled from Absalom. Then, for the only time since the conquest, the whole interest of Israelite history is transferred to the trans-Jordanic territory. The scenes of that mournful period are but imperfectly brought before us; but so far as they are, they agree with all that we know of the localities. David crossed the Jordan by the fords of Jericho, and ascended the eastern heights till he came to Mahanaim. The people that came with him spread themselves out beyond the cultivated table-lands into the "wilderness" of the steppes of Haurân. Whilst they were there, "hungry and weary and thirsty," the chiefs of the surrounding tribes, Shobi of Ammon, and Machir and Barzillai of Manasseh, brought the produce which formed the pride of their rich lands and pastures—"wheat and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse, and *honey*, and *butter*, and *sheep*, and *cheese of kine*."[2] The forest of Ephraim, in which the decisive battle was fought, as the narrative implies,[3] was

[1] 2 Sam ii. 8.

[2] 2 Sam. xvii. 27, 28, 29.

[3] It is said in 2 Sam. xvii. 24, 26, that "Absalom and all the men of Israel *passed over* Jordan . . . and pitched in the *land of Gilead*." The name of "the forest of *Ephraim*" may be explained from the connection of blood

also on the east of the Jordan, and if so, the thick woods of oak and terebinth curiously illustrate the defeat and death of Absalom, "the forest devouring more people than the sword," and the prince himself caught in "the thick boughs of 'the' great 'terebinth.'" [1]

The refuge that the trans-Jordanic hills afforded to David, they afforded also to David's greater Son. "Peræa,"—'the land beyond' (the Jordan),—as it was called in the Greek nomenclature of its Roman conquerors, still occupied the same relation, secluded and retired from the busy world which filled the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and of the Sea of Galilee. Thither, as we have seen, our Lord probably retired after His baptism; thither, also, in the interval of danger which immediately preceded the end of His earthly course.[2]

The Last view of the Holy Land from the east.

To this same characteristic is to be traced its last historical significance. Somewhere on the slopes of Gilead, near the scene of Jacob's first view of the land of his descendants and of the capital of the exiled David, was Pella, so called by the Macedonian Greeks from the springing fountain,[3] which likened it to the birth-place of their own Alexander. This was the city known so well in Christian history as the refuge of the little band which here took shelter when the armies of Titus gathered round Jerusalem.[4] The view from it is thus described:—"In the fore-ground at my feet was the Jordan, flowing through its wood of terebinths. On the other side rose gently the plain of Beisan, surmounted by the high eminence of that name. In the distance were the mountains of Gilboa . . . .

with the trans-Jordanic Manasseh. It is more difficult to account for the statement that Ahimaaz in hastening from the scene of the battle to announce the news to David at Mahanaim, ran by the way of 'the Ciccar' (xviii. 23), a word only used elsewhere in connection with the valley of the Jordan. It is possible, however, that there may have been a place, or region, so called on the table-lands, as the LXX seem to suppose, here alone not translating it. Or Mahanaim may have been so situated with regard to the battle-field as to be more easily accessible by a descent to the plain of the Jordan, than over the hills themselves. Or it may be (as Ewald explains it), a manner of quick running. Geschichte, iii. 237.

[1] 2 Sam. xviii. 8, 9.

[2] Matt. iv. 1; John, x. 39, 40; xi. 54.

[3] Van de Velde (ii. 357), seems to have found this fountain where it has hitherto been vainly sought—near Tabakhat-Takhil.

[4] Euseb. H. E. iii. 5.

Between Gilboa and the mountains of Galilee the eye wanders over the wild plain of Jezreel, till it rests upon the faint blue cliffs of the extremity of Carmel which forms its western boundary." [1]

We may dwell on this view, for it is one which must have been again and again reproduced under like circumstances. From these heights Abner in his flight from the Philistines, and David in his flight from Absalom, and the Israelites on their way to Babylon, and the Christian Jews of Pella, caught the last glimpse of their familiar mountains. There is one plaintive strain which sums up all these feelings;—the 42nd Psalm. Its date and authorship are uncertain, but the place is, beyond doubt, the trans-Jordanic hills, which always behold, as they are always beheld from, western Palestine. As before the eyes of the exile, the 'gazelle' of the forests of Gilead panted after the fresh streams of water which thence descend to the Jordan, so his soul panted after God, from whose outward presence he was shut out. The river, with its winding rapids, "deep calling to deep," lay between him and his home. All that he could now do was to remember the past, as he stood "in the land of Jordan," as he saw the peaks of "Hermon," as he found himself on the eastern heights of Mizar,[2] which reminded him of his banishment and solitude. As we began, so we end this brief account of the Peræan hills. They are the "Pisgah" of the earlier history: to the later history they occupy the pathetic relation that has been immortalised in the name of the long ridge from which the first and the last view of Granada is obtained; they are "the Last Sigh" of the Israelite exile.

[1] Van de Velde, ii. 355.

[2] Ps. xlii. 1, 6. What special mountain is thus intended, cannot be ascertained. But it must have been somewhere on the eastern side.

# CHAPTER IX.

## PLAIN OF ESDRAELON.

Rev. xvi. 16. "He gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Ar-Magoddon."

General features:—I. Boundary of northern and central tribes. II. Battle-field. 1. Victory over Sisera—2. Victory over the Midianites—3. Defeat of Saul—4. Defeat of Josiah. III. Richness and fertility of Issachar—Jezreel—Engannim. IV. Tabor—Sanctuary of the northern tribes. V. Carmel—Scene of Elijah's sacrifice. VI. Nain.

# PLAIN OF ESDRAELON.

On descending from the hills of Manasseh, the traveller leaves the province of Samaria, and enters on that of Galilee, embracing two spheres of wonderful, though most different, interest,—the great battle-field of Jewish history, and the chief scene of Our Lord's ministrations. It is the former of these two distinct spheres that first claims our attention.

General features.

To any one who has traversed the almost undistinguishable undulations of hill and valley from Hebron to Samaria, it is a striking contrast and relief to come upon a natural feature so remarkable as the Plain of Esdraelon. No better test of Dr. Robinson's[1] high geographical powers can be given than an ocular comparison of his description of the plain with its actual localities. There are various points from which it can be seen to great advantage. The heights above Jenin, the summit of Tabor, and the eastern end of Carmel, may be especially mentioned. Its peculiarities are briefly told. It is a wide rent of about twelve miles in width, between the mass of southern Palestine which we have just left, and the bolder mountains of northern Palestine, which are in fact the roots of Lebanon. It consists of an uneven plain, running right from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea on the west, to the valley of the Jordan on the east. Its central and widest portion reaches straight across without interruption from the hills

[1] See Robinson, B. R., vol. ii., p. 227, 230. I had every opportunity of verifying this accuracy on the spot. For the details I refer to the map.

of Samaria to those of Galilee. This is what, for the sake of distinction, may be specially termed "the plain of Megiddo." On the west and the east, though never losing its free and open character, it is broken and contracted. On the west it is narrowed into a pass, through which flows its only stream, the Kishon; and beyond this the plain opens out again, as already described,[1] round the Bay of Acre, watered by a stream of shorter course, the Belus, descending from the hills of Galilee immediately above. On the east it rises into a slight elevation which forms the water-shed of the country,—a peculiarity which it shares with the vale of Shechem and the vale of Cœle-Syria, where the rise which divides the streams is equally imperceptible. From thence, on the one side, descends the Kishon; its winding course, from which it derives its name, indicating at the same time the almost uninterrupted level through which it passes. On the other side, towards the Jordan, descend three branches having much the same relation to the main body of the plain as the "legs," as they are called, of Como and Lecco bear to the main body of the Lake of Como. Each of these branches is bounded by nearly isolated ranges rising out of the plain itself, namely, Mount Gilboa, that commonly called Little Hermon[2] by English travellers, but "Dûhy" by the natives,—and Mount Tabor, which is an offshoot from the hills of Galilee. The southernmost of these branches is a cul-de-sac. The central branch makes a rapid descent to the Jordan, and is more properly known by the name of the "Valley of Jezreel," which, in its Greek form of "Esdraelon," has been communicated to the whole plain. The northernmost branch, between Little Hermon and Tabor, also descends to the Jordan, but, in so doing, opens to the north-east into a side-plain, as it were, distinguished by the mountain called the Horns of Hattin,—enclosed between the hills of Galilee and those which immediately skirt the Sea of Tiberias.

The aspect of the plain itself in spring-time is of a vast

[1] See Chapter VI.

[2] The name "Little Hermon" is a mistaken inference from Ps. xlii. 6; lxxxix. 12; and has no foundation in the Bible.

# PLAIN OF ESDRAELON & GALILEE.

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waving cornfield; olive trees here and there springing from it. Perhaps its greatest peculiarity is the sight of a prospect so wide, so long, and so rich, with so slight a trace of water: the Kishon is till within a few miles of its mouth a mere winter torrent. The ranges of Gilboa and Little Hermon, as well as of the two masses of hill which bound it on the north and south, are almost entirely bare. Of the two great exceptions,—Carmel on the south-west, and Tabor on the north-east, I shall speak separately. In all of them, however, at least as viewed from the heights of Manasseh, a more varied outline is presented, which indicates an approach to a new form of country. Lastly, the plain and the mountain-sides are dotted with villages, almost all retaining their ancient names, and situated for the most part, (not like those of Judæa on hill-tops, or Samaria in deep valleys, but) as in Philistia, on the slopes of the ranges which intersect and bound the plain, or else on slight eminences rising out of it.

These are the general features of this famous plain. Their connection with its history is obvious.

Boundary of the northern tribes.

I. First, a glance at its situation will show that, to a certain extent, though not in an equal degree, it formed the same kind of separation between the mass of Central Palestine and the tribes of the extreme north, as the Valley of the Jordan effected between that same mass and the trans-Jordanic tribes in the east. We shall have occasion to recur to this point in speaking of Galilee, properly so called.

Battle-field of Palestine.

II. Secondly, it must always have been the main passage for egress and regress of those nations, whether civilised or migratory, who, repelled from the mountain fastnesses of Palestine, took up their position for attack or defence in the level country. And bounded as it is by the hills of Palestine on both north and south, it would naturally become the arena of war between the lowlanders who trusted in their chariots, and the Israelite highlanders of the neighbouring heights.[1] To this cause

[1] See Chapter II. An apt illustration is furnished by the analogous battle-field of Scotland—the plain of Stirling—situated in like manner at

mainly it owes its celebrity, as the battle-field of the world, which has, through its adoption into the language of the Apocalypse, passed into a universal proverb. If that mysterious book proceeded from the hand of a Galilean fisherman, it is the more easy to understand why, with the scene of those many battles constantly before him, he should have drawn the figurative name of the final conflict between the hosts of good and evil from "the place which is called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon,"[1] that is, 'the city or mountain of Megiddo.'

It is remarkable, that none of the battles which secured the conquest of Palestine to the Israelites were fought in this field. Most, as we have seen,[2] took place in the south: one only in the north, and that[3] far away from Esdraelon. This was but a natural consequence of the general inferiority of the cavalry of Israel. Whenever the Israelites, in aggressive movements could choose their arena, they selected their own element, the mountains and the mountain-passes. The battles of Esdraelon, on the other hand, were almost all forced upon them by adverse or invading armies; and though some of their chief victories were won here, yet this plain is associated to the mind of an Israelite with mournful at least as much as with joyful recollections: two kings perished on its soil; and the two saddest dirges of the Jewish nation were evoked by the defeats of Gilboa and Megiddo.[4] Accordingly, it is not till the time when the Canaanitish nations had begun to recover from the panic left by the victorious arms of Joshua, that we find the beginnings of the long series of the battles of Esdraelon which have lasted ever since.

1. The first of these occasions was, that in which "the

the opening of the highlands, and in like manner the scene of almost all the decisive battles of Scottish history.

[1] Rev. xvi. 16. Armageddon might be the grecised form of the Hebrew Ar, 'a fortified city.' But the probable reading is not *Armageddon*, but *Harmagedon*, (Ἁρ μαγεδών) from Hon or Har, a 'mountain.'—And even if the aspirate were omitted, it is analogous to the case of 'Ar Gerizim.' (See Chap. V. *note*.) It is hardly necessary to add that the real meaning of Armageddon sets aside all such fanciful interpretations as have endeavoured to fix it in Italy or the Crimea.

[2] See Chapters IV. and VII.

[3] See Chapter XI.

[4] 1 Sam. xxxi.; 2 Chr. xxxv. 22—25.

Lord delivered Sisera into the hand of Barak." The double account of that great event in prose and verse enables us to fix with unusual precision its several points and circumstances. The oppressor was Jabin, king of Hazor, successor and namesake of the chief who had roused the northern confederation against Joshua.[1] The northern regions, therefore, of Palestine, in the neighbourhood of his own capital, the northern tribes, Zebulun, Naphthali and Issachar, were those which he would chiefly harass. On them accordingly the brunt of the battle fell. But they were joined also by the adjacent tribes of Central Palestine—Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin.[2] Those only of the extreme west, south, and east, were wanting.[3] Both armies descended alike from the mountains of Naphthali, but they were "drawn" to opposite points in the plain. Barak and Deborah, with their small body of devoted troops were gathered on the broad summit of Tabor;[4] the host of Sisera, with its nine hundred iron chariots naturally took up its position on the level plain of Megiddo, on its south-western extremity by the banks of the Kishon, and near Taanach,[5] the name of which is still preserved in a village on the slope of the hills skirting the plain on the south. It was one of the towns which the Canaanites had still retained;[6] and it would, therefore, be a natural rallying-point for the great Canaanite host of Jabin hard by "the waters of Megiddo," probably the pools in the bed of the Kishon. The Prophetess, on the summit of Tabor, gave the signal of the battle, when Barak was to rush down from his secure position and attack the army in the plain. At this critical moment (so Josephus[7] directly informs us, and so we learn indirectly from the Song of Deborah), a tremendous storm of sleet and hail gathered from the

Deborah and Barak.

Battle of the Kishon.

[1] Lord Arthur Hervey, in his candid and learned work on the Genealogies of Christ, suggests that this narrative may be merely a repetition of that recorded in Josh. xi. 1—12. But, however well such an identification of the two events may accord with the confused chronology of the period, it is hardly reconcilable with the geography.

[2] Jud. v. 14, 15, 18. [3] Jud. v. 16, 17.

[4] Ant. IV. x. 12. A village south-west of Tabor, near the sources of the Kishon, is called "Sheykh *Abrik*." It is possible (Schwarze, 167), but hardly probable, that this is a recollection of Barak's victory.

[5] Jud. v. 19. [6] Jud. i. 27.

[7] Ant. V. v. 4.

east, and burst over the plain of Esdraelon, driving full in the faces of the advancing Canaanites. "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera,"[1] and as "the rains descended," "the wind blew" and "the flood came,"[2]—the flood of the torrent; and "the stream" rose in its bed, and "beat vehemently" against the chariots and horses entangled on its level shores, and "the 'torrent' of Kishon swept them away; that ancient 'torrent,' the 'torrent' Kishon."[3] In that wild confusion, when the strength of the Canaanite "was trodden down," and "the horsehoofs were broken by the means of the prañsings, the pransings of their mighty ones," the captain of the host sprang down from his war-chariot, and fled away on his feet. He fled into the northern mountains, to a spot which he hoped would be friendly. In the upland basin of Kedesh, far away from their settlements of the south, a tribe of the Bedouin Kenites had pitched their black tents under the oaks, called from their encampment,—a strange sight amidst the regular cities and villages of the mountains,—'the oaks of the wanderers.'[4] It is needless to pursue the story; all the world knows the sight which Jael, the chieftainess of the house of Heber, showed to Barak, when she lifted up the curtain of the tent, and showed him his enemy dead, with the tent-nail driven through his temples.

Victory over the Midianites.

2. The next battle was of a very different kind, and one of which the present aspect of the plain can give a clearer image. No one in present days has passed this plain without seeing or hearing of the assaults of the Bedouin Arabs, as they stream in from the adjacent Desert. Here and there, by the well-side, or amongst the bushes of the mountains, their tents or their wild figures may always be seen—the terror alike of the peaceful villager and the defenceless traveller. What we now see on a small scale constantly, is but a miniature representation of the one great visitation which lived for ages afterwards in the memory of the Jewish people—the invasion, not of the

[1] Jud. v. 20.
[2] Matt. vii. 25—27. See Chap. XIII.
[3] Jud. v. 21, 22.
[4] Mistranslated "The plain of Zaanaim." Jud. iv. 11.

civilised nations of Assyria or Egypt, or of the Canaanite cities, but of the wild population of the Desert itself—"the Midianites, the Amalekites, and the Children of the East."[1] They came up with all the accompaniments of Bedouin life, "with their cattle, their tents, and their camels;" they came up and "encamped" against the Israelites, after "Israel had sown," and "destroyed the increase of the earth," and all the cattle[2] [in the maritime plain] "till thou come unto Gaza; as 'locusts' for multitude, both they and their camels without number." The very aspect and bearing of their sheykhs is preserved to us. The two lesser chiefs, ("princes" as they are called in our version,) in their names of Oreb and Zeeb, "the Raven" and "the Wolf," present curious counterparts of the title of "the Leopard," now given to their modern successor, Abd-el-Aziz, chief of the Bedouins beyond the Jordan. The two higher sheykhs or "kings," Zebah and Zalmunna, are mounted on dromedaries, themselves gay with scarlet mantles, and crescent-ornaments and golden earrings,[3] their dromedaries with ornaments and chains like themselves; and as in outward appearance, so in the high spirit and lofty bearing which they showed at their last hour, they truly represented the Arabs who scour the same regions at the present day.

Such an incursion produced on the Israelites amongst their ordinary wars a similar impression to that of the invasion of the Huns amongst the comparatively civilised invasions of the Teutonic tribes. They fled into their mountain fastnesses and caves as the only refuge; the wheat even of the upland valleys of Manasseh had to be concealed from the rapacious plunderers.[4] The whole country was thus for the first time in the hands of the Arabs. But it was in the plain of Esdraelon that then, as

[1] Jud. vi. 3. There is another nomadic incursion at a later time, of which but few traces are left—that of the Scythians—or nomads of the north, in the reign of King Josiah, known only through the brief notice in Herodotus, and the allusions in the writings of Zephaniah and Jeremiah. One of those few traces, however, shows that they settled like their predecessors and successors in the plain of Esdraelon. From them, Bethshan, on the sides of Mount Gilboa, probably derived its Greek name of "Scythopolis." (Pliny, v. 18).

[2] Jud. vi. 3, 4, 5.

[3] Jud. viii. 21, 26.

[4] Jud. vi. 11.

now, the Children of the Desert fixed their head quarters. "In the valley of Jezreel,"[1] that is, in the central eastern branch of the plain, commanding the long descent to the Jordan, and thus to their own eastern deserts, "they lay all along the valley like 'locusts' for multitude," and "their camels"—unwonted sight in the pastures of Palestine—"were without number, as the sand by the sea-side" on the wide margin of the Bay of Acre, "for multitude."[2] As in the invasion of Sisera, so now, the nearest tribes were those which first were moved by a sense of their common danger. To the noblest of the tribe of Manasseh—to one whose appearance was "as the son of a king," and whose brothers, already ruthlessly slain by the wild invaders on the adjacent heights of Tabor, were "each one like the children of kings"—was entrusted the charge of gathering together the forces of his countrymen. All Manasseh was with him; and from the other side of the plain there came Zebulun and Naphthali, and even the reluctant Asher, to join him.[3] On the slope of Mount Gilboa the Israelites were encamped by a spring, possibly the same as that elsewhere[4] called 'the spring of Jezreel,' but here, from the well-known trial by which Gideon tested the energy of his army, called "the 'spring' of trembling."[5] On the northern side of the valley, but apparently deeper down in the descent towards the Jordan,[6] by one of those slight eminences[7] which have been before described as characteristic of the whole

Battle of Jezreel.

[1] Jud. vi. 33. [2] Jud. vii. 12.
[3] Jud. vi. 35.
[4] 1 Sam. xxix. 1, in the Auth. Vers. incorrectly "a fountain."
[5] Jud. vii. 1. "The 'spring' (mistranslated "well") of Harod;" that is of 'trembling,' in evident allusion to the repetition of the same word in verse 3, "Whoever is fearful and 'trembling.'" The modern name of this spring is "Ain Jahlood,"—the "spring of Goliath." This may perhaps originate, as Ritter observes, in a confused recollection of the Philistine battle in the time of David, but more probably arose from the false tradition current in the sixth century, that this was the scene of David's combat with Goliath (Ritter; Jordan, p. 416). Schwarze (164) ingeniously conjectures that it is a reminiscence of an older name attaching to the whole mountain—and thus explains the cry of Gideon; "Whoever is fearful and afraid, let him return, and depart early from Mount Gilead." But "Gilead" may there be either a corruption of (what in Hebrew strongly resembles it) "Gilboa,"—or we may adopt Ewald's explanation, that it was the war-cry of Manasseh—eastern as well as western—and that hence "Mount Gilead" was employed as a general phrase for the whole tribe. (Geschichte, 2nd edit. ii. 500.)
[6] Hence the expression, "the host of Midian was beneath him in the valley." Jud. vii. 8.
[7] "Gibeah," rightly translated *hill*, as distinct from *mountain*. Jud. vii. 1.

plain, was spread the host of the Midianites. It was night, when from the mountain side Gideon and his servant descended to the vast encampment. All along the valley, within and around the tents, the thousands of Arabs lay wrapt[1] in sleep, or resting from their day's plunder, and their innumerable camels couched for the night in deep repose round about them. One of the sleepers, startled from his slumbers, was telling his dream to his fellow,—a characteristic and expressive dream for a Bedouin, even without its terrible interpretation—that a cake of barley bread, from those rich corn-fields, those numerous threshing-floors of the peaceful inhabitants whom they had conquered, rolled into the camp of Midian and struck a tent, and overturned it, so that it lay along on the ground.[2] Reassured by this good omen, Gideon returned for his three hundred trusty followers, the trumpets were blown, the torches blazed forth, the shout of Israel, always terrible, always like "the shout of a king,"[3] broke through the stillness of the midnight air; and the sleepers sprang from their rest, and ran hither and thither with the dissonant "cries"[4] so peculiar to the Arab race. "And the Lord set every man's sword against his fellow, even through all the host;" and the host fled headlong down the descent to the Jordan, to the spots known as the 'house of the Acacia' (Beth-shittah), and the "border" of the 'meadow of the dance' (Abel-meholah).[5] These spots were in the Jordan-valley, as their names indicate,[6] under the mountains of Ephraim. To the Ephraimites, therefore, messengers were sent to intercept the northern fords of the Jordan at Beth-barah.[7] There the second conflict took place, and Oreb and Zeeb were seized and put to the sword, the one on a rock, the other at a winepress, on the spot where they were taken. The two higher sheykhs, Zebah and Zalmunna, had already passed before the Ephraimites

Battle of Beth-barah.

[1] Such is the form of the Hebrew word translated "lay." Jud. vii. 12.
[2] Jud. vii. 13.
[3] Numb. xxiii. 21.
[4] Jud. vii. 21.
[5] Jud. vii. 22.
[6] The "acacia" is never found on the mountains—the "meadow" is peculiar to the streams of the Jordan. Compare also Zererath (verse 22) with 2 Chr. iv. 17. See Appendix, *Abel*.
[7] The LXX reads Βαιθήρα. See Chapter VII.

appeared; Gideon, therefore, who had now reached the fords from the scene of his former victory, pursued them into the eastern territory of his own tribe Manasseh. The first village which he reached in the Jordan-valley was that which from the "booths" of Jacob's ancient encampment bore the name of Succoth[1]: the next higher up in the hills was that which from the vision of the same patriarch bore the name of Peniel, 'the Face of God,' with its lofty watch-tower. Far up in the eastern Desert—amongst their own Bedouin countrymen "dwelling in tents"—"the host" of Zebah and Zalmunna "was secure" when Gideon burst upon them. Here a third victory completed the conquest. The two chiefs were caught and slain—the tower of Peniel was razed; and the princes of Succoth were scourged with the thorny branches of the acacia groves of their own valley.[2]

This success was perhaps the most signal ever obtained by the arms of Israel; at least, the one which most lived in the memory of the people. The 'spring' of Gideon's encampment—the rock and the winepress which witnessed the death of the two Midianite chiefs, were called after the names then received; and the Psalmists and Prophets long afterwards referred with exultation to the fall of "Oreb and Zeeb, of Zebah and Zalmunna, who said, Let us take to ourselves the 'pastures'[3] of God in possession"—"the breaking of the rod of the oppressor, as in the day of Midian."[4] Gideon himself was by it raised to almost royal state, and the establishment of the hereditary monarchy all but anticipated in him and his family.

Defeat of Saul.

3. From the most memorable victory we pass to the most memorable defeat of Israel. The next great engagement which took place in this plain, and nearly on the same spot, was that of Saul with the Philistines.[5] The Philistines

[1] Gen. xxxiii. 17. See Appendix, *Soc.*

[2] Jud. viii. 16.

[3] Such is the more accurate translation, as well as the more vivid in the mouths of the nomad chiefs. Ps. lxxxiii. 12.

[4] Isa. ix. 4.

[5] 1 Sam. xxix. xxxi. It is possible that the battle in which the Ark was taken, and the sons of Eli killed, was on the same spot. "Aphek," which means "strength," and thus is naturally applied to any fort or fastness, is so common a name in Palestine, that its mention in 1 Sam. xxix. 1, is not of itself sufficient to identify it with the spot so called near Jerusalem, in 1 Sam. iv. 1; and the scene of the first Philistine victory must therefore remain uncertain, since there is nothing in the details o the

appear to have gathered all their strength for a final effort; and having marched up the sea coast, to have encamped, like the Midianites, in that part of the plain properly called "the valley of Jezreel." The spot on which their encampment was fixed was on the northern side of the valley, in one passage called Aphek, and in another Shunem. The name of Aphek has perished, but that of Shunem is preserved, with a slight alteration, in a village which still exists on the slope of the range called Little Hermon,—possibly the same as the "Hill of Moreh,"—on the north of the valley, under which had been pitched the tents of Zebah and Zalmunna. On the opposite side, nearly on the site of Gideon's camp, on the rise of Mount Gilboa, hard by the "spring of Jezreel," was the army of Saul, the Israelites as usual keeping to the heights, whilst their enemies clung to the plain. It was, whilst the two armies were in this position, that Saul made the disguised and adventurous journey by night over the shoulder of the ridge on which the Philistines were encamped, to visit the witch at Endor, situated immediately on the other side of the range, and immediately facing Tabor. Large caves which, at least to modern notions, accord with the residence of the Necromancer, still perforate the rocky sides of the hill.[1]

Battle of Mount Gilboa.

The onset took place the next morning. The Philistines instantly drove the Israelites up the slopes of Gilboa, and however widely the rout may have carried the mass of the fugitives down the valley to the Jordan, the thick of the fight must have been on the heights themselves; for it was "on Mount Gilboa" that the wild Amalekite, wandering like his modern countrymen over the

battle to fix it. But the mention of Ebenezer in 1 Sam. iv. 1, compared with the mention of the same name in 1 Sam. vii. 12, in connection with Mizpeh, would induce us to fix it in the south, and therefore identify it with the "Aphek" mentioned in Josephus (Bell. Jud. II. xix. 1), as situated near the western entrance of the pass of Bethhoron. The same doubt attaches to the scene of the defeat of Benhadad (1 Kings xx. 26), also at "Aphek." But there again the mention of the "*plain*" under the name "*Mishor*,"—in every other instance applied to the table-lands on the east of the Jordan (see Appendix, s. v.) —points to the "Aphaca," mentioned by Eusebius, to the east of the sea of Galilee, and possibly preserved in the modern "Feik."

[1] Van de Veldo (ii. 383). I only saw the spot from Tabor, which also commands the relative view of Bethshan and Gilead, as given in p. 338.

upland waste, "chanced" to see the dying king; and "on Mount Gilboa" the corpses of Saul and his three sons were found by the Philistines the next day. So truly has David caught the peculiarity and position of the scene which he had himself visited only a few days before the battle[1]—"The beauty of Israel is slain upon *thy high places:* O Jonathan, thou wast slain upon *thine high places,*" as though the bitterness of death and defeat were aggravated by being not in the broad and hostile plain, but on their own familiar and friendly mountains. And with an equally striking touch of truth, as the image of that bare and bleak and jagged ridge rose before him with its one green strip of table-land, where probably the last struggle was fought,—the more bare and bleak from its unusual contrast with the fertile plain from which it springs—he broke out into the pathetic strain —"Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no rain upon you, neither dew, nor *fields of offerings:* for there the shield of the mighty was vilely cast away,—the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil."[2]

On the slope of this range—still looking down into the Valley of Jezreel, but commanding also the view of the Jordan—a high spur of rock projects, on which stands the village of Beisan, once the city of Bethshan. It was one of the Canaanite strongholds which had never been taken by the Israelites,[3] and accordingly was at once open to the victorious Philistines. They stripped and dismembered the royal corpse. The head was sent to the great Temple of Dagon, probably at Ashdod; but the armour was dedicated in the Temple of the Canaanite Ashtaroth at Bethshan,[4] and the headless body with the corpses of his three sons fastened to the wall, overhanging the open place in front of the city gate.[5] That wall overlooked the valley of the Jordan, into which the Valley of Jezreel there opens. In the hills of Gilead, which are seen rising immediately beyond, was a town which Saul had once saved from a

Bethshan and Jabesh-Gilead.

[1] 1 Sam. xxix. 2.
[2] 2 Sam. i. 6, 19, 21, 25.
[3] Jud. i. 27.
[4] That this was the distribution cannot be doubted on a comparison of 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, and 1 Chr. x 8, 10.
[5] Such is the proper force of "the *street* of Bethshan," 2 Sam. xxi. 12.

cruel enemy.[1] The inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead remembered their benefactor.[2] Their "valiant men" came, under cover of the "night," across the Jordan, carried off the bodies, and buried them under 'the terebinth'[3] of their own city, where they lay till they were disinterred by David, to be buried in their ancestral cave at Zelah in Benjamin.[4]

Defeat of Josiah.

4. The next battle—the last of which we have any distinct notice—was hardly less mournful than that of Saul. It was in the last days of the Jewish monarchy, when the northern kingdom had been already destroyed, that Palestine was first exposed to the disastrous fate which involved her in so long a series of troubles from this time forward—that of being the debateable ground between Egypt and the further East; first, under the Pharaohs and the rulers of Babylon; then under the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ. "In the days of Josiah, Pharaoh-Necho king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the Euphrates,"—possibly landing his army at Accho, more probably, as the expression seems to indicate, following the track of his predecessor Psammetichus, and advancing up the maritime plain till he turned into the plain of Esdraelon, thence to penetrate into the passes of the Lebanon. "King Josiah," in self-defence, and perhaps as an ally of the Assyrian king, "went against him."[5] The engagement took place in the central portion of the plain—the scene of Sisera's defeat—"the plain of Megiddo."[6] The "Egyptian archers," in their long array, so well known from their sculptured monuments, "shot at King Josiah," as he rode in state in his royal chariot, and "he was sore wounded," and placed in his "second[7] chariot" of reserve, and carried to Jerusalem to die. In that one tragical event, all other notices of the battle are absorbed. The exact scene of the encounter is not known. It would seem, however, to have been at a spot called after the name of a Syrian divinity—"Hadad-Rimmon"—that the king fell. On this consecrated place were uttered the lamentations,[8] con-

Battle of Megiddo.

[1] 1 Sam. xi. 1—11.
[2] 1 Sam. xxxi. 11. Jabesh (Yabes) was identified by Dr. Robinson on his second journey.
[3] 1 Chr. x. 12. *Elah.* See Appendix, *s.v.*
[4] 2 Sam. xxi. 14.
[5] 2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chr. xxxv. 20, 22.
[6] "Beka." 2 Chr. xxxv. 22.
[7] 2 Chr. xxxv. 24.
[8] Zech. xii. 11.

tinued at Jerusalem by one whose strains were only inferior in pathos to those of David over Saul;—"and all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah, and Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the Lamentations."[1]

Other battles there have been in later times—in the Crusades, and in the wars of Napoleon, which confirm the ancient celebrity of the Plain of Esdraelon; but of those one only deserves to be named in conjunction with these of which I have been speaking—that of Hattin,[2] which will be best considered elsewhere.

Richness of the plain of Esdraelon.

III. But there is another aspect under which the Plain of Esdraelon must be considered. Every traveller has remarked on the richness of its soil—the exuberance of its crops. Once more the palm appears, waving its stately tresses over the village enclosures. The very weeds are a sign of what in better hands the vast plain might become. The thoroughfare which it forms for every passage, from east to west, from north to south, made it in peaceful times the most available and eligible possession of Palestine. It was the frontier of Zebulun—"Rejoice, O Zebulun, in thy goings out." But it was the special portion of Issachar; and in its condition—thus exposed to the good and evil fate of the beaten highway of Palestine,—we read the fortunes of the tribe which, for the sake of this possession, consented to sink into the half-nomadic state of the Bedouins who wandered over it,—into the condition of tributaries to the Canaanite tribes, whose iron chariots drove victoriously through it. "Rejoice, O Issachar, in thy *tents* . . . they shall suck of the abundance of the seas [from Acre], and of the [glassy] treasures hid in the sands[3] [of the torrent Belus]. . . . Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two 'troughs:' and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute."[4] Once only did the sluggish tribe shake off this

Character of Issachar.

[1] 2 Chr. xxxv. 25.
[2] See Chapter X.
[3] Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19.
[4] Gen. xlix. 14, 15.

yoke; when under the heavy pressure of Sisera, "the 'chiefs' of Issachar were with Deborah."[1] But still they were looked up to—perhaps on account of this very choice of land—as "men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do,"[2]—and they, with the neighbouring tribes, were foremost in sending to David, on his accession, all the good things that their soil produced, "bread, and meat, and meal, cakes of figs, bunches of raisins, and wine, and oil, on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, .... for there was joy in Israel."[3]

In accordance with this general character of the plain, were some of its special localities. The park-like aspect which has already been noticed in the hills between Shechem and Samaria, breaks out again in this fertile district. The same luxuriant character which had rendered this whole region the favourite haunt of the four northern tribes, rendered it also the favourite resort of the later kings of Israel. Of all the numerous villages that now rise out of the plain on the gentle swells which break its level surface, the most commanding in situation is that which, in its modern name of Zerin, retains the ancient name of Jezreel. As Baasha had chosen Tirzah, as Omri had chosen Samaria, so Ahab chose Jezreel as his regal residence. It never indeed superseded his father's capital at Samaria, as that had superseded Shechem; but it was the chief seat of his dynasty for three successive reigns; and its importance is evident, from the fact that it gave its name to the whole plain, of which it thus became the chief city. It is now a mere collection of hovels. But its situation at the opening of the central eastern valley, so often described, commanding the view towards Carmel on one side, and to the Jordan on the other, still justifies its selection by Ahab and his Queen, as the seat of their court,[4] and its natural features still illustrate the most striking incidents in the scenes in which it appears in the Sacred History, of the overthrow of the house of Ahab. We see how up the valley from the Jordan, Jehu's troop might be seen advancing,—how in Naboth's "field"

PARK and PALACE of JEZREEL.

[1] Jud. v. 15.
[2] 1 Chr. xii. 32
[3] 1 Chr. xii. 40,
[4] 1 Kings xxi. 1; 2 Kings ix. 30.

the two sovereigns met the relentless soldier, — how, whilst Joram died on the spot, Ahaziah drove down the westward plain, towards the mountain-pass by the beautiful village of En-gannim,[1] but was overtaken in the ascent, and died of his wounds at Megiddo; how in the open place, which, as usual in Eastern towns, lay before the gates of Jezreel, the body of the Queen was trampled under the hoofs of Jehu's horses; how the dogs[2] gathered round it, as even to this day, in the wretched village now seated on the ruins of the once splendid city of Jezreel, they prowl on the mounds without the walls for the offal and carrion thrown out to them to consume.

These characteristics of the plain—perhaps the most secular in sacred history,—are not the only or the highest associations with which its natural features are connected. Two points still remain,—the most interesting in its whole expanse.

TABOR. IV. Two mountains, the glory of the tribe of Issachar, stand out among the bare and rugged hills of Palestine, and even among those of their own immediate neighbourhood, remarkable for the verdure which climbs—a rare sight in Eastern scenery—to their very summits. One of these is Tabor. This strange and beautiful mountain is distinguished alike in form and in character from all around it. As seen, where it is usually first seen by the traveller, from the north-west of the plain, it towers, like a dome—as seen from the east, like a long arched mound—over the monotonous undulations of the surrounding hills, from which it stands completely isolated, except by a narrow neck of rising ground, uniting it to the mountain-range of Galilee. It is not what Europeans would call a wooded hill, because its trees stand all apart from each other. But it is so thickly studded with them, as to rise from the plain like a mass

[1] Beth-gan, 2 Kings ix. 27. The name translated in the English version "the garden-house," is rightly preserved in the LXX. It is evidently the same as "En-gannim," 'the spring of the gardens' (Jos. xix. 21; xxi. 29); and as the modern *Jenin*, well known as the village on which all travellers descend from the hills of Manasseh. The garden-like character of the spot is still preserved; and the "spring" bubbles up in the centre of the village.

[2] So I chanced to see them there.

of verdure. Its sides much resemble the scattered glades in the outskirts of the New Forest. Its summit—a broken oblong—is an alternation of shade and greensward, that seems made for a national festivity; broad and varied, and commanding wide views of the plain from end to end.

Not the scene of the Transfiguration.

This description of itself tells us that it is not that peaked height which we imagine as the scene of the great event with which later traditions have connected it. The Transfiguration, as we shall elsewhere find,[1] probably took place far away. But we see in its insulated situation the probable origin of the mistake which transferred to the mountain of the Transfiguration the word "apart," which is really intended only for the disciples;—we see also everywhere scattered around the ruins of the town and fortress, which existing here, as it seems, at the very time of the Gospel History, render the truth of the tradition next to impossible. Still, if it must lose that last crowning glory, those glades and those ruins recall to us its old associations undisturbed.

The Fortress and sanctuary of the northern tribes.

The fortress, defended and repaired by Josephus, carries us back to the selection of this strong position for the encampment of Barak, before his descent upon Sisera. The open glades on its wide summit carry us back yet earlier, to a time, of which the very memory has perished, when it was the sanctuary of the northern tribes, if not of the whole nation. The aspect of these glades, so fitted, as I have said, for festive assemblies, exactly agrees with Herder's view,[2] that Tabor is intended, when it is said of Issachar and Zebulun, that "they shall call the people unto the *mountain;* there shall they offer sacrifices of righteousness."[3] It is true that, amidst the changes and wars which disordered the relations of the tribes, nothing afterwards is expressly said of the sacredness of Tabor. But in the gathering of the northern

[1] See Chap. XI. For the arguments against the connection of Tabor with the Transfiguration, see Robinson, B. R., iii. p. 221.

[2] Geist der Hebrnische Poesie (Herder, vol. xxxiv. p. 215.) The description given above was written from the spot, without any recollection, at the moment, of Herder's view. "According to the Midrash Gaikat on Deut. xxxiii. 19, it is the mountain on which the Temple ought of right to have been built . . . had it not been for the express revelation which ordered the sanctuary to be built on Mount Moriah." (Schwarze, p. 71.)

[3] Deut. xxxiii. 19.

tribes, first under Barak,[1] and again, as it would seem, under the brothers of Gideon,[2] and long afterwards, in "the net spread abroad on Tabor"[3] by the idolatrous priests of Issachar, some trace is discernible of the original purpose for which its striking situation and its pleasant forests so well adapted it. At any rate, we can understand how, when Psalmists and Prophets saw in the wide view from its summit, the snowy top of Hermon in the far north, and Carmel in the west,—they could truly feel "Tabor[4] and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name;" that surely "as Tabor is among the mountains, and Carmel[5] by the sea," God's judgments would come.

CARMEL. V. This brings us to the second great historical mountain of Esdraelon. "As Tabor" is through its peculiar form and elevation "among the mountains"—so is "Carmel," with its long projecting ridge, "by the sea." The name of Tabor is probably derived from its height—that of Carmel is certainly taken from the garden-like appearance which it shares with Tabor alone, and which, as it has no peculiarity of shape, is its chief distinction.[6] By this, its protracted range of eighteen miles in length, bounding the whole of the southern corner of the great plain, is marked out from the surrounding scenery. Rocky dells, with deep jungles of copse,[7] are found there alone in Palestine. And though to European eyes, it presents a forest-beauty only of an inferior order, there is no wonder that to an Israelite it seemed "the Park" of his country—that the tresses of the bride's head should be compared to its woods,[8]—that its 'ornaments'[9] should be regarded as the type of natural beauty,—that the withering of its fruits should be considered as the type of national desolation.[10]

The Convent. It is not the bluff promontory running into the sea, and crowned by its Convent, that represents, or even professes to represent, the scene which is the chief pride of the

[1] Jud. iv. 6.
[2] Jud. viii. 18.
[3] Hos. v. 1.
[4] Ps. lxxxix. 12.
[5] Jer. xlvi. 18.
[6] Appendix, *s. v.*
[7] This was probably the reason of its selection in later legends as the scene of the death of Cain, who there "went through briars and bushes as a wild beast." (Mandeville, Early Travellers, p. 186; Quaresmius, II. 8, 34.)
[8] Cant. vii. 5.
[9] Isa. xxxv. 2. Translated "excellency."
[10] Amos, i. 2; Isaiah xxxiii. 9; Nahum i. 4.

history of Carmel. The Convent derives its interest not from any connection, real or pretended, with the Prophet Elijah, but from the celebrated order of Barefooted monks that has sprung from it, and carried the name of Carmel into the monasteries of Europe. The large caves, indeed, which exist under the western cliffs—frequented by Christians, Jews, and Mussulmans, who have there left memorials in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and in the niches and prayer-mats of Arab devotion—may have been the shelter of Elijah and the persecuted prophets. The winding path through the rocks to the sea-shore below, must have been that by which Pythagoras, according to the idea of his biographer—himself a pilgrim to this "haunted strand"—descended, to embark in the Egyptian ship which he saw sailing beneath him.[1] Either on this same point of Mount Carmel, or at the modern village of Caipha immediately below it, was the village of Ecbatana, in which Cambyses died on his return from Egypt to Persia,[2] thus unexpectedly realising the prophecy that he should perish at Ecbatana. But the Convent itself is of comparatively recent date, the last effort of the Crusades; an offshoot of the fortress of Acre in the adjacent bay, founded by St. Louis in his brief and only visit to the shores of Palestine, and still bearing the sign of its French origin in the French flag which is unfurled on its towers, whenever a French ship or French steamer appears in sight on the Syrian waters.

The scene of Elijah's Sacrifice.

But it could never have been here that the great sacrifice took place which formed the crisis in Elijah's life, and which is brought before us with such minuteness of detail as to invite us to a full contemplation of all its circumstances. Carmel, as we have seen, is not so much a mountain as a ridge, an upland park, extending for many miles into the interior of the country. At the eastern extremity, which is also the highest point of the whole ridge, is a spot marked out alike by tradition and by natural features as one of the most authentic

[1] Jamblichus, Vit. Pyth. c. 3 (Williams in Dictionary of Classical Geography—*Carmel*).

[2] Herod. iii. 62, 64. Plin. v. 19, 8, 17.

localities of the Old Testament history.[1] The tradition is unusually trustworthy. It is one of the very few, perhaps the only case in which the recollection of an alleged event has been actually retained in the native Arabic nomenclature. Many names of towns have been so preserved, but here is no town, only a shapeless ruin, yet the spot has a name, "El-Maharrakah," "the Burning," or "the Sacrifice."[2] The Druses, some of whom inhabit the neighbouring villages, come here from a distance to perform a yearly sacrifice; and though it is possible that this practice may have originated the name, yet it is more probable that the practice itself arose from some earlier tradition attached to the spot. Nor has the tradition, whatever it be, any connection with the convent, which would in that case either have been founded nearer to the scene, or have fixed the scene nearer to itself. Indeed, it is a proof of the superiority of the Latin to the Greek monastic orders, that instead of inventing a spot, after the manner of the monks of Sinai, within the neighbourhood of their own walks, the monks of Carmel have left undisturbed the associations of a spot so remote from their convent, that none of its existing members have visited it more than once in their stay.[3]

But, be the tradition good or bad, the localities adapt themselves to the event in almost every particular. The summit thus marked out is the extreme eastern[4] point of the range, commanding the last view of the sea behind, and the first view of the great plain in front, just where the glades of forest, the "excellency of Carmel," sink into

[1] I have described this spot in greater detail from its having been so rarely visited. Quaresmius heard of it, but could not get there (ii. 893). The place was also visited (but not described) by Mr. Williams and by Lieutenant Symonds. Since the above account was written, from my own recollection, M. Van de Velde's description of the spot has been published; and from this I shall subjoin any additional particulars in the notes. The villages of the range of Carmel have hitherto been only given in Zimmermann's map. I have inserted them, according to our own observation, in the map of Esdraelon.

[2] The same name is applied to the scene of the Samaritan sacrifice on Gerizim. (De Saulcy, ii. 360.) It is also called "El Mazar," "the tomb," from a notion that the ruin is of that nature. —See Carne and Buckingham.

[3] Padre Carlo, who usually acts as host to the visitors to the convent, had been there, if at all, but once. He told M. Van de Velde that the place was near *Mansurch*, which is in the right direction, but not the right spot. (Van de Velde, i. 296.) We were directed there by the cook of the convent, Daoud or David.

[4] One lower declivity only lies immediately below it.

the usual barrenness of the hills and vales of Palestine. There, on the highest point of the mountain, may well have stood, on its sacred "high place," the altar of the Lord which Jezebel had cast down.[1] Close beneath, on a wide upland sweep, under the shade of ancient olives, and round a well of water, said to be perennial,[2] and which may therefore have escaped the general drought, and have been able to furnish water for the trenches round the altar—must have been ranged, on one side the king and people, with the eight hundred and fifty prophets of Baal and Astarte, and on the other side the solitary and commanding figure of the Prophet of the Lord. Full before them opened the whole plain of Esdraelon,[3] with Tabor and its kindred ranges in the distance; on the rising ground, at the opening of its valley, the city of Jezreel, with Ahab's palace and Jezebel's temple distinctly visible; in the nearer foreground, immediately under the base of the mountain, was clearly seen the winding stream of the Kishon, working its way through the narrow pass of the hills into the Bay of Acre.[4] Such a scene, with such recollections of the past, with such sights of the present, was indeed a fitting theatre for a conflict more momentous than any which their ancestors had fought in the plain below. This is not the place to enlarge

[1] The spot is marked by the ruin of a square stone building, amongst thick bushes of dwarf oak; which might be of any age, and in which, as stated above, the Druses come to sacrifice. M. Van de Velde (i. 321) describes it more particularly as "an oblong quadrangular building, of which the great door and both side walls are still partially standing." The large hewn stones suggest an older date than that of the Crusades. The place is probably the site of Vespasian's sacrifice. (Tac. Hist. iii. 78.) The rocky fragments lying around, as Van de Velde well suggests (i. 423), would naturally afford the materials for the "twelve stones" of which the natural altar was built. 1 Kings, xviii. 31, 32.

[2] So we were told by our guide from Asfyah. The exact spot is marked by an old olive tree, isolated from the olive grove which studs this lower plain, and which has been bought by the monks. M. Van de Velde was more fortunate in being able to examine this well for himself. He describes it (i. 325) as "a vaulted and very abundant fountain, built in the form of a tank with a few steps leading down to it, just as one finds elsewhere in the old wells or springs of the Jewish times."

[3] It is the best view of the plain that we saw.

[4] 1 Kings xviii. 40. On the descent from Carmel to the plain of Esdraelon a knoll was pointed out both to Mr. Williams and M. Van de Velde (i. 330) called "Tel-Kishon," or "Tel Sadi," or "Tel *Kasis*." The latter name ("hill of the Priests") naturally suggests the memorial of the massacre of the priests of Baal. It is possible (as Schwarze suggests, 49—74) that the modern name of the Kishon, Nahar Mukatta ("river of slaughter") may have the same derivation, though it may also refer to the bloody history of the whole plain.

upon the intense solemnity and significance of that conflict which lasted on the mountain-height from morning till noon, from noon till the time of the evening sacrifice. It ended at last in the level plain below, where Elijah "brought" the defeated prophets "down" the steep sides of the mountain "to the 'torrent' of the Kishon and slew them there."

The closing scene still remains. From the slaughter by the side of the Kishon, the King "went up"[1] at Elijah's bidding once again to the peaceful glades of Carmel, to join in the sacrificial feast. And Elijah too ascended to "the top of the mountain," and there, with his face upon the earth, remained wrapt in prayer, whilst his servant mounted to the highest point of all, whence there is a wide view of the blue reach of the Mediterranean Sea,[2] over the western shoulder of the ridge. The sun was now gone down, but the cloudless sky was lit up with the long bright glow which succeeds an eastern sunset. Seven times the servant climbed and looked, and seven times there was nothing; the sky was still clear, the sea was still calm. At last, out of the far horizon there rose a little cloud—the first that had for days and months passed across the heavens—and it grew in the deepening shades of evening, and at last the whole sky was overcast, and the forests of Carmel shook in the welcome sound of those mighty winds which in Eastern regions precede a coming tempest. Each from his separate height, the King and the Prophet descended. And the King mounted his chariot at the foot of the mountain, lest the long hoped-for rain should swell the torrent of the Kishon,[3] as in the days when it swept away the host of Sisera; and "the hand of the Lord was upon Elijah," and he girt his mantle round his loins, and, amidst the rushing storm with which the night closed in, "ran before the chariot," as the Bedouins of his native Gilead still run, with inexhaustible strength,

[1] 1 Kings xviii. 41.

[2] This was also observed by M. Van de Velde (i. 326). From the place where Elijah must have worshipped, the view of the sea is just intercepted by an adjacent height. That height, however, may be ascended in a few minutes, and a full view of the sea obtained from the top.

[3] M. Van de Velde (i. 327) considers the apprehension to have been, lest, the "deep layer of dust, in the dry plain of Esdraelon, should have been converted into thick mud."

to the entrance of Jezreel, distant, though still visible, from the scene of his triumph.

VI. Almost all the recollections of the plain of Esdraelon belong to the Old Testament. Yet we are now on the verge of the chief scenes of the New Testament, and the battle-field of Israel may have suggested to Him who must have crossed and re-crossed it on His many journeys to and from and through Galilee, those "victorious deeds" and "heroic acts" which Milton has ascribed to His early meditations:

> "One while
> To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
> Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth
> Brute violence, and proud tyrannic power."

But it is the poet only, not the Evangelist, who has ventured to throw even this passing thought into that peaceful career, and the one incident which connects Him with the plain of Esdraelon is remarkable for the striking contrast which it presents to all the other associations of the region.

Nain. On the northern slope of the rugged and barren ridge of Little Hermon, immediately west of Endor, which lies in a further recess of the same range, is the ruined village of *Nain*. No convent, no tradition, marks the spot. But, under these circumstances, the name is sufficient to guarantee its authenticity. One entrance alone it could have had—that which opens on the rough hill-side in its downward slope to the plain. It must have been in this steep descent, as, according to Eastern custom, they "carried out the dead man," that, "nigh to the gate" of the village, the bier was stopped, and the long procession of mourners stayed, and "the young man delivered back" to his mother.[1] It is a spot which has no peculiarity of feature to fix it on the memory; its situation is like that of all the villages on this plain; but, in the authenticity of its claims, and the narrow compass within which we have to look for the touching incident, it may rank amongst the most interesting points of the scenery of the Gospel narrative.

[1] Luke vii. 11—15.

# CHAPTER X.

## GALILEE.

Matt. iv. 13—16. "And leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nepthalim: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nepthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up."

Scenery of Northern Palestine—The Four Northern Tribes—Their wealth and their isolation—History in the New Testament. I. NAZARETH—Its upland basin—Its seclusion—Sacred localities. II. LAKE OF GENNESARETH: 1. Plain of Hattin and Mountain of the Beatitudes—Battle of Hattin; 2. View of the Lake of Gennesareth; 3. Later celebrity of Tiberias; 4. Plain of Gennesareth—The Sea of Life—Traffic—Fertility—Fisheries—Population; 5. Scene of the Gospel Ministry—"Manufacturing district"—The Beach—The Desert—The Demoniacs and the Feeding of the Multitudes—The Villages of the Plain of Gennesareth—The Destruction of Capernaum.

# GALILEE.

THE broad depression of Esdraelon was the natural boundary and debateable land between the central and northern tribes of Palestine. On the north of the plain rises another group of mountains, as distinct in character and form, as they are separate in fact, from those of Samaria and Judæa, and thus, in like manner, distinguished by the name of the chief tribe that dwelt among them, "the mountains of Naphthali," as the more southern were "the mountains of Ephraim" and "of Judah."[1] Scenery of Northern Palestine.

These hills are the western roots which Hermon thrusts out towards the sea, as it thrusts out the mountains of Bashan towards the Desert; and as such they partake of the jagged outline, of the varied vegetation, and of the high upland hollows which characterise in a greater or less degree the whole mass of the Lebanon range, in contrast to the monotonous aspect of the more southern scenery. So few travellers visit the interior of the Galilean mountains, that their beauty and richness is almost unknown. M. Van de Velde who, contrary to the usual course, entered Palestine from the north, contrasts them favourably even with the rich valley of Samaria. "It suffered, he says, "in my case from my having entered the rocky mountains of Ephraim from the much finer and truly noble Galilee."[2] And this beauty distinguishes Galilee even from other parts of Lebanon. "It struck me," says the same traveller, "that between Sidon

[1] Joshua xx. 7.

[2] Vol. i. 374.

and the Castle of Belfort the land was almost destitute of trees. The bare gray hills had impressed me with a sense of desolation, in spite of the many villages in that part of the land. In the district in which I have travelled—the Belad-Besharah—it was exactly the contrary; a scanty population, but a land rich in beauty and fertility; a thick wood of oaks and other trees continued for a considerable way now over the heights, again through valleys, but everywhere characterised by a luxuriance of verdure by which you can recognise at once the fertility of Naphthali's inheritance and the demolition of the cities. For it was only here and there that we saw a village from afar, whereas, were the population large, this wood would have been greatly cleared." [1]

The four northern tribes.

This distinction of scenery, together with the natural separation of the hills of the north, from those which we have hitherto traversed, contains the main explanation of the history of the northern tribes. Asher has been already described in connection with the maritime plain of Phœnicia on the skirts of which his possessions hung. Of the almost servile character of Issachar enough has been said in describing the plain of Esdraelon.[2] But they must be briefly recalled here, as sharing the general fortunes of the northern group, of which the two chief tribes—Naphthali and Zebulun—occupied the mountain-tract, overlooking and commanding the territory of the two others,—of Asher on the west, and Issachar on the south. All the four alike kept aloof from the great historical movements of Israel. With the exceptions already noticed, when the immediate pressure of northern invaders rallied them, first round Barak, and then round Gideon, in the Plain of Esdraelon, they hardly ever appear in the events of the Jewish history. They were content with their rich mountain-valleys, and their maritime coast. Zebulun is to "rejoice in his goings out." Asher was to "be blessed with children," [3] "acceptable to his brethren," dipping his foot in the "oil" of his olive-groves, to be shod with "the

[1] Vol. i. 170.
[2] See Chapters VI. and IX.
[3] Deut. xxxiii. 24, 25. There is here a play on the word "Asher" *blessed*, as in the analogous case of *Judah* and "*praise*," Gen. xlix. 8.

iron and brass"[1] of Lebanon. Naphthali was to be like a "spreading 'terebinth'" of the Lebanon forests[2]—"he putteth out goodly 'boughs.'" He is to be "satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord."[3] They were to have also their openings to wealth and power by traffic on sea and land. "Zebulun shall dwell at the 'shore' of the sea—and shall be for a 'shore' of ships, and his border shall be unto Zidon."[4]—"Asher abode in his 'creeks'"—Zebulun and Issachar are to "suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand."[5] Naphthali was "to possess the 'sea on' the south"[6]—that is, the thoroughfare and traffic of the Sea of Galilee. Their wealth.

All these points of contact with the surrounding nations tended to confirm their isolation from the rest of their countrymen. Ephraim and Judah were separated from the world by the Jordan-valley on one side, and the hostile Philistines on another; but the northern tribes were in the direct highway of all the invaders from the north, in unbroken communication with the promiscuous races who have always occupied the heights of Lebanon, and in close and peaceful alliance with the most commercial and enterprising nation of the ancient world—the Phœnicians. From a very early period, their joint territory acquired the name which it bore under a slightly altered form in the distribution of the country into a Roman province—"Galil, Galilah, Galilæa."[7] It would seem to be merely another mode of expressing what is indicated by the word "Ciccar" in the case Their isolation.

[1] Iron is found in Lebanon. (Russegger, i. 693; Volney, i. 233; Burckhardt, 73.) Copper (the true translation of the word rendered *brass*) is nowhere now found, but its frequent mention in connection with the Tyrians justifies the allusion.

[2] Gen. xlix. 21. Mistranslated "a hind let loose—he giveth goodly words." Compare the "Terebinths of the Wanderers," wrongly translated "the plains of Zaanaim," near Kadesh Naphthali (Judges iv. 11), with the description of that very country by Van de Velde (ii. 407), "a natural park of oaks and terebinths." Not knowing the meaning either of "plains," or "Zaanaim," he says, "I have fruitlessly sought for the name." He also speaks of the wooded basins—gardens "surrounded by dark-leaved oak-woods, whilst, here and there, thick tufted branches of the Carob might be seen rising aloft,"—"a garden that has no end,"—bushes and trees "infinite in number," between Nazareth and Safed, ib. ii. 407. Josephus (Bell. Jud. III. iii. 2) speaks of Galilee, as "planted thick with all kinds of trees."

[3] Deut. xxxiii. 23. [4] Gen. xlix. 13.

[5] Deut. xxxiii. 19. See Chapters VI. and IX.

[6] So xxxiii. 23, may be translated.

[7] Josh. xx. 7, Heb. "Galil." 2 Kings xv. 29, "Galilah."

of the Jordan-valley—"a circle" or "region"—and as such implies the separation of the district from the more regularly organised tribes or kingdoms of Samaria and Judæa. Gradually, too, it came to be regarded as the frontier between "the Holy Land," and the external world,—"Galilee of the Gentiles,"[1] a situation curiously illustrating, if it did not suggest, the use of the word in ecclesiastical architecture—"the Galilee" or Porch of the Cathedral of Palestine. Twenty of its cities were actually annexed by Solomon to the adjacent kingdom of Tyre; and formed with their territory the "boundary" or "offscouring" ("Gebul" or "Cabul"[2]) of the two dominions—at a later time still known by the general name of "'the boundaries' ("coasts" or "borders") of Tyre and Zidon."[3] In the first great transportation of the Jewish population, "Naphthali and Galilee" suffered the same fate as the trans-Jordanic tribes, before Ephraim or Judah had been molested.[4] In the time of the Christian era this original disadvantage of their position was still felt; the "speech of Galileans" "bewrayed" them by its uncouth pronunciation;[5] and their distance from the seats of government and civilisation at Jerusalem and Cæsarea gave them their character for turbulence or independence, according as it was viewed by their friends or their enemies.

Galilee in the New Testament.

This isolation, which renders the history of Galilee an almost entire blank in the Old Testament, is the cause of its sudden glory in the New.

NAZARETH.

I. It is one peculiarity of the Galilean hills, as distinct from those of Ephraim or Judah, that they contain or sustain green basins of table-land just below their topmost ridges. Such are those which the traveller sees from the summit of Tabor, or further north from the slopes of Hermon. Such apparently was that ancient

[1] Isa. ix. 1; Matt. iv. 15.

[2] Such seems to be the play of the words of Hiram. "And Hiram came out from Tyre to see the cities which Solomon had given him; and he said, What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? And he called them the land of *Cabul* unto this day." 1 Kings ix. 12, 13. For the difference of Galilean customs and dialect, see Lightfoot (ii. 77, 78), Renan's *Langues Semitiques* (i. 213).

[3] Matt. xv. 21; Mark vii. 24—31 Luke vi. 17.

[4] 2 Kings xv. 29.

[5] Matt. xxvi. 73.

sanctuary, the birth-place of Barak—known only by its significant name, and its selection as the northern city of refuge, corresponding to Shechem in central, and Hebron in southern Palestine; the only historical name of these secluded tribes—Kedesh-Naphthali, "the Holy Place of Naphthali." Such, too, although less elevated, was the Roman capital of Galilee—Dio-Cæsarea, or Sepphoris,[1] situated in the green plain of Buttauf in the hills immediately above Acre.

Its upland basin,

But such above all is NAZARETH. Fifteen gently rounded hills "seem as if they had met to form an enclosure" for this peaceful basin—"they[2] rise round it like the edge of a shell to guard it from intrusion. It is a rich and beautiful field" in the midst of these green hills[3]—abounding in gay flowers,[4] in fig-trees, small gardens, hedges of the prickly pear; and the dense rich grass affords an abundant pasture. The village stands on the steep slope of the south-western side of the valley; its chief object, the great Franciscan Convent of the Annunciation with its white campanile and brown enclosure.[5]

From the crest of the hills which thus screen it, especially from that called "Nebi-Said," or "Ismail," on the western side, is one of the most striking views in Palestine—Tabor with its rounded dome, on the north-east, —Hermon's white top in the distant north, Carmel and the Mediterranean Sea to the west; a conjunction of those three famous mountains probably unique in the views of Palestine;—and in the nearer prospect, the uplands in which Nazareth itself stands; its own circular basin behind it; on the west, enclosed by similar hills,

[1] Josephus Ant. XVIII. ii. 1. The fullest account of Sepphorieh, and of the remains of its magnificent church, is given by Dr. Clarke, iv. 134. The church was built by Josephus, Count of Tiberias, A.D. 330. (Epiph. Hær. ii. 1.)

[2] This account is partly from my own recollections, partly in the words of Dr. Richardson, whose description of Nazareth is unusually faithful and vivid. (See Modern Traveller, p. 304.)

[3] Richardson speaks of them as *barren*, and Quaresmius (ii. 818), as *barren, white*, chalky hills, and says the town thence derives its name of Medina Abiad, "the white city." This confirms Schwarze's remark (p. 178), who says that he has "*ascertained* from ancient documents that the town of Nazareth was called the White Town"—"Laban."

[4] Hence possibly its name, according to the old interpretation of it, as "flowery." (See von Raumer, Palästina, p. 119.)

[5] See Chapter XIV.

overhanging the plain of Acre, lies the town of Sepphorieh, just noticed as the Roman capital, and brought into close, and as far as its situation is concerned, not improbable connection with Nazareth, as the traditional residence of the Virgin's parents. On the south, and south-east, lies the broad plain of Esdraelon, overhung by the high pyramidal hill, which, as the highest point of the Nazareth range, and thus the most conspicuous to travellers approaching from the plain, has received, though without any historical ground, the name of the "Mount of Precipitation." These are the natural features which for nearly thirty years met the almost daily view of Him who "increased in wisdom and stature" within this beautiful seclusion. It is the seclusion which constitutes its peculiarity and its fitness for these scenes of the Gospel history. Unknown and unnamed in the Old Testament, Nazareth first appears as the retired abode of the humble carpenter. Its separation from the busy world may be the ground, as it certainly is an illustration, of the Evangelist's play on the word "He shall be called a Nazarene." Its wild character high up in the Galilean hills may account both for the roughness of its population, unable to appreciate their own Prophet, and for the evil reputation which it had acquired even in the neighbouring villages, one of whose inhabitants, Nathaniel of Cana, said: "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" There, secured within the natural barrier of the hills, was passed that youth, of which the most remarkable characteristic is its absolute obscurity; and thence came the name of NAZARENE, used of old by the Jews, and used still by Mussulmans, as the appellation of that despised sect which has now embraced the civilised world.

and its seclusion.

It was not to be expected that any local reminiscences should be preserved of a period so studiously, as it would appear, withdrawn from our knowledge. Two natural features, however, may still be identified, connected—the one by tradition, the other by the Gospel narrative, with the events which have made Nazareth immortal. The first is the spring or well in the green open space,[1] at the

The Spring of the Annunciation.

[1] For this and the other "Holy Places" of Nazareth see Chap. XIV.

north-west extremity of the town, a spot well known as the general encampment of such travellers as do not take up their quarters in the Franciscan convent. It is probably this well, which must always have been frequented, as it is now, by the women of Nazareth, that in the earliest local traditions of Palestine figured as the scene of the Angelic Salutation to Mary, as she, after the manner of her countrywomen, went thither to draw water. The tradition may be groundless, but there can be little question that the locality to which it is attached exists, and that it must have existed at the time of the alleged scene. The second is indicated in the Gospel history by one of those slight touches which serve as a testimony to the truth of the description, by nearly approaching but yet not crossing the verge of inaccuracy. "They rose," it is said of the infuriated inhabitants, "and cast him out of the city, and brought him to 'a brow of the mountain' (ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους) on which the city was built, so as to 'cast him down the cliff'" (ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτὸν). Most readers probably from these words imagine a town built on the summit of a mountain, from which summit the intended precipitation was to take place. This, as I have said, is not the situation of Nazareth. Yet, its position is still in accordance with the narrative. It is built "upon," that is, on the side of "a mountain," but the "brow" is not beneath but over the town, and such a cliff (κρήμνος) as is here implied, is to be found, as all modern travellers describe, in the abrupt face of the limestone rock, about thirty or forty feet high, overhanging the Maronite convent at the south-west cover of the town.

The Rock of the Precipitation.

It is needless to dwell in detail on the other lesser scenes of our Lord's ministrations in the neighbourhood of his early home. Nain, at two or three hours' distance, in the Plain of Esdraelon, has been already mentioned.[1] The "parts," or "borders" of Tyre and Sidon are too indefinite to be dwelt upon. The claims of Cana[2] are almost equally

[1] See Chapter IX.

[2] Ewald. (Geschichte, vol. v. 147), infers—not without reason—from John ii. 1, 11; and iv. 46, that Cana was at that time the actual residence of the Holy Family.

balanced between the two modern villages of that name —the one situated at some distance in the corner of the basin of Sepphorieh, the other nearer in an upland village to the east of Nazareth.

THE LAKE OF GENNESARETH.

II. But the most important district of Galilee has not yet been mentioned.

1. And first, we must descend from the hills of Galilee once more into the Plain of Esdraelon, and leaving Tabor on the right, turn off into a wild lesser upland plain—now called the Ard-el-Hamma, which is an excrescence of the great plain on the north-west, as the plain of Acre is on the south-west. This undulating table-land, which skirts the hills of Galilee on the east, is broken by a long low ridge rising at its northern extremity into a square shaped hill with two tops, which give it the modern name of "the Horns of Hattin," Hattin being the village on the ridge at its base. This mountain or hill—for it only rises sixty feet above the plain—is that known to pilgrims as the Mount of the Beatitudes—the supposed scene of the "Sermon on the Mount." The tradition cannot lay claim to any early date; it was in all probability suggested first to the Crusaders by its remarkable situation. But that situation so strikingly coincides with the intimations of the Gospel narrative, as almost to force the inference that in this instance the eye of those who selected the spot was for once rightly guided. It is the only height seen in this direction from the shores of the Lake of Gennesareth. The plain on which it stands is easily accessible from the lake, and from that plain to the summit is but a few minutes' walk. The platform at the top is evidently suitable for the collection of a multitude, and corresponds precisely to the 'level place,'[1] (τόπου πεδινοῦ) to which He would "come down" as from one of its higher horns to address the people. Its situation is central both to the peasants of the Galilean hills, and the fishermen of the Galilean lake, between which it stands, and would therefore be a natural resort both to "Jesus, and His disciples"[2] when they retired for solitude from the shores of the sea, and also to the crowds who assembled

Plain of Hattin.

Mount of the Beatitudes.

[1] Luke vi. 17, mistranslated "plain."

[2] Matt. iv. 25—v. 1.

"from Galilee, from Decapolis, from Jerusalem, from Judæa, and from beyond Jordan." None of the other mountains in the neighbourhood could answer equally well to this description, inasmuch as they are merged into the uniform barrier of hills round the lake; whereas this stands separate—"the mountain,"[1] which alone could lay claim to a distinct name, with the exception of the one height of Tabor, which is too distant to answer the requirements.

Battle of Hattin.

The Crusaders gave it its present title—and it has another fatal association with their history, one of the few vivid recollections which rival the permanent interest of these Galilean localities. On that long dry ridge, under the burning midsummer sun of Syria, on the 5th of July, 1187, was encamped the Christian host, in the final crisis of the Crusades—and round the base of the hill on every side was the victorious army of Saladin ready for the attack. The attack was made; and under circumstances somewhat similar to those of the rout on Mount Gilboa, the Christian entrenchments on the hill were stormed, and one more was added to the long list of the battles of the Plain of Esdraelon—the last struggle of the Crusaders, in which all was staked in the presence of the holiest scenes of Christianity, and all miserably lost.[2]

View of the lake.

2. From the plain and from the mountain, thus doubly celebrated, the traveller descends to the Sea of Galilee. The first glimpse of its waters he will have had from the top of Tabor; they also lie opened out wide before him from the top of the Mount of Beatitudes. But the first full view, as it is approached by the regular road, is on the descent through the hills whose summits form the boundary of the plain of Hattin, and which on the other side slope abruptly down to the lake itself, as it lies a thousand feet below the level of the country. It is a moment, if any, when recollections of the past disarm any attempts to criticise the details of the actual scene. Yet, whether it be tame and poor, as some travellers say, or

[1] The use of the same word (τὸ ὄρος) in Matt. xv. 29, throws some doubt on this inference.

[2] The battle is sufficiently described in Robinson (vol. iii. pp. 241—248).

eminently beautiful, as others, there is no doubt that it has a character of its own which shall here be, if possible, described. It is about thirteen miles long, and in its broadest parts six miles wide, that is, about the same length as our own Winandermere, but of a considerably greater breadth. In the clearness of the eastern atmosphere, it looks much smaller than it is. From no point on the western side can it be seen completely from end to end; the promontory under which Tiberias stands cutting off the southern, as the promontory over the plain of Gennesareth, the northern extremity; so that the form which it presents is generally that of an oval. But what makes it unlike any of our English lakes is the deep depression, which gives it something of the strange, unnatural character that belongs in a still greater degree to the Dead Sea and in some degree to all lakes of volcanic[1] origin, such as those of Alba, Nemi, and Avernus. The hills on the eastern side partake of the horizontal outline which belongs to the whole eastern barrier of the Jordan-valley. But the western mountains, especially those at the northern end, are varied in form, and this variety is increased when they are seen mingled with the long arch of Tabor, with the horned platform of Hattin, and with the jagged summits of Safed, standing out from the offshoots of Lebanon. Their appearance, even in the view from the west, where alone they are usually seen, presents a complication of striking features, such as is hardly elsewhere visible in Palestine; and this must be still more the case, in the aspect[2] which they present to a spectator on the opposite eastern shore; now for the most part entirely unfrequented.

As we descend through the rocky walls which encompass it, its peculiar situation makes itself more strongly felt. Another climate begins. In the summer or late spring, all travellers speak of the oppressive heat, as they sink below the bracing atmosphere of the hills of Galilee into the deep basin of the Jordan lake. In the early spring[3] it is not so: but even then the natural features at once

[1] See Ritter; Jordan, vol. i. 296.
[2] See Lord Lindsay's Letters, ii. p. 92.
[3] I was there on the 4th and 5th of April.

indicate that we are approaching the temperature of Jericho and the Dead Sea. The "Nabk," or thorn-tree, never seen in the higher plains, here breaks out along the hill-sides in thick jungles; and down on the beach the first object that catches the eye is Tiberias with its line of palms. Beyond rises the white dome that covers the warm springs, which send out their steaming waters over the beach into the lake,—an indication of that volcanic agency that has from time to time overthrown the cities in this neighbourhood, Tiberias and Safed, with a destruction for the time almost as terrible, though not as complete, as that which visited the older cities of the south. Along the edge of this secluded basin, runs the whole way round from north to south a level beach; at the southern end roughly strewn with the black and white stones peculiar to this district,[1] and also connected with its volcanic structure; but the central or northern part, formed of smooth sand, or of a texture of shells and pebbles so minute as to resemble sand, like the substance of the beach on the Gulf of 'Akabah. Shrubs, too, of the tropical thorn, fringe the greater part of the line of shore, mingled here and there with the bright pink colours of the oleander,

> "All thro' the summer night,
> Those blossoms red and bright,
> Spread their soft breasts—"[2]

long before they are in flower in the valleys of the higher country. On this beach, which can be discerned running like a white line all round the lake, the hills plant their dark base, descending nowhere precipitously, but almost everywhere presenting an alternation of soft grassy slopes and rocky cliffs, occasionally broken away so as to exhibit the red and gray colours so familiar in the limestone of Greece.

It is only, as its two extremities are approached, that the parent river, and its connection with the lake, can be clearly discerned. At each end, the western hills fall

[1] See Chapter II.

[2] Keble's Christian Year—Third Sunday in Advent. In the note to that passage "rhododendrons" is a mistake for "oleanders."

away in height, and recede from the shore. From these hills, on the south, the green line of vegetation appears distinctly, through which the Jordan issues from the lake through its wide open valley, descending towards the Dead Sea. In like manner, from the heights at the head of the lake, the entrance of the river is marked by the rich green plain of Batihah, stretching close up to the high wall of the eastern range.[1] Two isolated palms stand on the brink of the shore, as if to welcome its rushing waters.[2]

Jewish History of Tiberias.

3. These are the general features of the most sacred sheet of water that this earth contains. Before we descend to its more special localities, we must turn to its general history. Like Olivet at Jerusalem, like Nazareth, like Galilee generally, it is connected with no cycle of sacred associations but one, and that the holiest of all. In the generation indeed immediately succeeding the Christian era, a few incidents from the war of Vespasian are connected with the history of the lake; and in the next generation yet again there was established on its shores the great Jewish university which rendered Tiberias for three centuries the metropolis of the race.[3] Tiberias became the seat of the Patriarch, who exercised an almost Papal sway over the wide extent to which his exiled countrymen had been scattered. The ruins of the ancient city, the numerous tombs in the vicinity, one of which contains the remains of the great Maimonides, and the Jewish population, whose peculiar manners and features at once arrest the traveller's attention as he passes through the streets of the modern town,—attest the reverence in which it has been held by the distant settlements, whence Jews have for centuries come to lay their bones

[1] Pococke is the only traveller who has published any account of the Jordan between the Lakes of Merom and Gennesareth. But Mr. Williams has ascended it, and his account agrees with Pococke's in representing the great fall as commencing below Jacob's Bridge, after which it is a perpetual cascade, till within three miles of its entrance into the Sea of Galilee. The plain of Batihah is described by Robinson, B. R. iii. 302.

[2] I have described the lake as I saw it from these various points. The entrance and exit of the Jordan I saw only (as here indicated) from a distance. Keble's lines "on the Seventh Sunday after Trinity" are faithful on the whole, though "Tabor's lonely *peak*" is (see Chapter IX.), an inaccurate expression, and the "mountains terraced high with *mossy* stone," is an image belonging to the moist atmosphere of the West, not to the bare landscape of the East.

[3] See Lightfoot, ii. 26, 27; Milman's Hist. of the Jews, iii. 127.

in the neighbourhood. Tiberias, and Safed,—which overlooks the lake from its neighbouring heights,—are the two Holy Cities of the north, which, in the eyes of modern Judaism, almost rival the two Holy Cities of the south, Jerusalem and Hebron. Yet even this sanctity, by a strange coincidence or perversion of facts, has grown out of the series of events which alone give the lake its real fame. As at Jerusalem, the Rabbinical belief associated the Shechinah with Olivet, so here the selection of Safed and Tiberias as the "Holy Places" of the last efforts of Judaism, was dictated by the thought that they were both within sight of the lake from whose waters the Messiah would rise; that at Tiberias he would land, and at Safed establish his throne. "I have created seven seas, saith the Lord," (such was the Rabbinical belief,) "but out of them all I have chosen none but the Sea of Gennesareth." [1]

4. In the Old Testament only its name occurs as "Chinnereth,"[2] or "the sea of Chinnereth,"[3] either from a town[4] on its banks, or, more probably, from its oval shape, the "Lake of the Harp," or the "Lake of the Falls," from the cascades in which the Jordan enters and leaves it. Its "warm springs," too, were already specified under the name of "Hammath."[5] But it was not altogether unknown for the purposes of traffic. Situated in the midst of the Jordan-valley, on the great thoroughfare from Babylon and Damascus into Palestine, its waters seem to have answered a purpose like that served by the Lake of Lucerne between Italy and Germany. Hence the value to Naphthali of 'the sea of the south,' [6] to compensate for "the sea of the west" enjoyed by the kindred tribes of Asher, Issachar, and Zebulun; hence "the way of the sea" "beyond Jordan" of "Zebulun and Naphthali." [7] Along its banks, as we have already seen, the depth of its situation produced a tropical vegetation unknown in the

Traffic of the Lake.

[1] Lightfoot, ii. 6. See a striking scene described in Captain Allen's Dead Sea, vol. i. p. 345, in reference to this belief.

[2] Deut. iii. 17; Josh. xi. 2; 1 Kings xv. 20.

[3] Numb. xxxiv. 11; Josh. xii. 3; xiii. 27.

[4] Josh. xix. 35.

[5] Josh. xix. 35, afterwards known as "Emmaus." See Joseph. Ant. XVIII. ii. 3, and Reland, p. 302.

[6] Deut. xxxiii. 23.

[7] Isa. ix. 1; Matt. iv. 15.

Fertility of its shores.

hills above; and this vegetation was increased by the beautiful springs, which, characteristic of the whole Valley of the Jordan, are unusually numerous and copious along the western shore of this lake, scattering verdure and fertility along their short course. This fertility, everywhere apparent more or less in the thin strip of land which intervenes between the mountains and the lake, reaches its highest pitch in the one spot on the shore, where the mountains, suddenly receding inland, leave an open and level plain of five miles wide, and six or seven miles long. This plain is "the land of Gennesareth," identified by its remarkable agreement with the graphic though somewhat exaggerated description of Josephus of "the country of Gennesar." No less than four springs pour forth their almost full-grown rivers through the plain; the richness of the soil displays itself in magnificent cornfields; whilst along the shore rises a thick jungle of thorn and oleander, abounding in birds of brilliant colours and various forms; the whole producing an impression such as to the traveller of modern days recalls instantly the Valley of the Nile,—such as not unnaturally suggested the same notion to the Jews of old, who looked on one of these fertilising streams as a vein of the Nile, abounding even in the same fish, and producing the same effects on its banks.[1] This "Paradise" or "garden" of Northern Palestine (so we may best interpret the meaning of its name[2]) is doubtless the exact likeness of what the "Vale of Siddim" was, where stood the five cities when Lot saw that it was "well watered everywhere before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, *like the land of Egypt*."[3]

This contrast with the present aspect of its sister lake on the south gives to the natural features of the Sea of Galilee a peculiar interest. If the southern lake is the Sea of Death, the northern is emphatically the Sea of Life.[4] And it is still by nature, what it was at the time of the

[1] Josephus, Bell. Jud. III. x. 8.

[2] *Gennesar*. The first part of the word is evidently, *Gani*, "gardens," the latter, *Sar*, may be "Prince," the "Gardens of Princes," alluding, as the Rabbis say, to the Princes of Naphthali. (Lightfoot, ii. 71.)

[3] Gen. xiii. 10.

[4] The contrast of the two seas is well given in Schwarze, 46, and shortly in Josephus, Bell. Jud. IV. viii. 2.

Christian era by art also. With that turn for magnificent buildings which so distinguished his family, and which perhaps had been encouraged in himself by the sight of the splendid Roman villas along the shores of the Lucrine lake, where most of his own early life had been spent, the younger Herod and his brother Philip built two stately cities, called after the names of the Emperor Tiberius and the Princess Julia, daughter of Augustus. The first was near the warm springs at the southern extremity, and the other by the entrance of the Jordan at the northern extremity. But these, though probably the most conspicuous, and giving to the lake the beauty which we are accustomed to consider as peculiar to the shores of Como and Lugano, were not the chief centre of activity. This, doubtless, was to be found in the little plain, just described, crowded with towns and villages. Nor was the life confined to the land. The lake, probably from the numerous streams, including the Jordan itself, which discharge their produce into its waters, abounds in fish of all kinds, which there increase and multiply, as certainly as in the Salt Sea they are cast up dead upon the shore. From the earliest[1] times—so said the Rabbinical legends—the lake had been so renowned in this respect, that one of the ten fundamental laws laid down by Joshua on the division of the country was, that any one might fish with a hook in the Sea of Galilee, so that they did not interfere with the free passage of boats. Two of the villages on the banks derived their name from their fisheries;[2] and all of them sent forth their fishermen by hundreds over the lake; and when we add the crowd of ship-builders, the many boats of traffic, pleasure, and passage, we see that the whole basin must have been a focus of life and energy: the surface of the lake constantly dotted with the white sails of vessels, flying before the mountain gusts, as the beach sparkled with the houses and palaces, the synagogues and the temples of the Jewish or Roman inhabitants.

Villas of the Herods.

Fisheries.

5. It was to these scenes that He, whom His fellow-

[1] See Bava Cama, in the Babylonian Gemara, apud Reland, p. 260.

[2] The western and eastern Bethsaida ("house of fish").

Scene of the Gospel Ministry.

townsmen at Nazareth rejected, came. He "came down"[1] from the high country of Galilee, where he had hitherto dwelt; and from henceforth made his permanent home in the deep retreat of the Sea of Galilee. What has been already said at once gives the reason. It was no retired mountain-lake by whose shore he took up his abode, such as might have attracted the Eastern sage or Western hermit. It was to the Roman Palestine almost what the manufacturing districts are to England. No where, except in the capital itself, could He have found such a sphere for His works and words of mercy; from no other centre could "His fame" have so gone throughout all Syria;[2] no where else could He have so drawn round Him the vast multitudes who hung on His lips "from Galilee, from Decapolis, from Judæa, and from beyond Jordan,"[3] and ran "through that whole region round about," "carrying about in beds" through its narrow but crowded plain "those that were sick, wherever they heard he was;" and "whithersoever he entered," into any of the numerous "villages or cities," there "they laid the sick in the market-places,"[4] . . . . "many coming and going, so that He had not time so much as to eat."[5]

"Manufacturing district."

In that busy stir of life[6] were the natural elements, out of which His future disciples were to be formed. Far removed from the capital, mingled, as we have seen, with the Gentile races of Lebanon and Arabia,—the dwellers by the Sea of Galilee were free from most of the strong prejudices which in the south of Palestine raised a bar to His reception. "The people"[7] in "the land of Zebulun and Nephthalim, by the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles," had "sat in darkness," but from that very cause "they saw" more clearly "the great light" when it came: "to them which sat in the region and the shadow of death," for that very reason "light sprang up" the more readily. He came to "preach the Gospel to the poor," to "the weary and

[1] *κατῆλθεν*, Luke iv. 31; John iv. 47, 51.
[2] Matt. iv. 24. [3] Matt. iv. 25.
[4] *ὅλην τὴν περίχωρον ἐκείνην . . . ἀγροὺς . . . ἀγοραῖς.* Mark vi. 55, 56.
[5] Mark vi. 31.
[6] For the immense population of Galilee, see Josephus, Bell. Jud. III. iii. 2. "The least village," he says, doubtless not without his usual exaggeration, "contained 15,000 inhabitants."
[7] Matt. iv. 15, 16.

heavy laden"—to "seek and to save that which was lost." Where could He find work so readily as in the ceaseless toil and turmoil of these teeming villages and busy waters? The heathen or half-heathen "publicans" or tax-gatherers would be there, sitting by the lake side "at the receipt of custom." The "women who were sinners" would there have come, either from the neighbouring Gentile cities, or corrupted by the license of Gentile manners. The Roman soldiers would there be found quartered with their slaves,[1] to be near the palaces of the Herodian princes, or to repress the turbulence of the Galilean peasantry. And the hardy boatmen, filled with the faithful and grateful spirit[2] by which that peasantry was always distinguished, would supply the energy and docility which He needed for His followers. The copious fisheries of the lake now assumed a new interest. The two boats by the beach—Simon and Andrew casting their nets into the water—James and John on the shore washing and mending their nets—the "toiling all the night and catching nothing"—"the great multitude of fishes so that the net brake"[3]—Philip, Andrew, and Simon from "Bethsaida" the "House of Fisheries"[4]—the "casting a hook for the first fish that cometh up"—the "net cast into the sea, and gathering of every kind"[5]—all these are images which could occur nowhere else in Palestine but on this one spot, and which from that one spot have now passed into the religious language of the civilised world, and in their remotest applications, or even misapplications, have converted the nations and shaken the thrones of Europe.

These, doubtless, furnish the main reasons why the sea of Galilee and the plain of Gennesareth became the home of Christ. But the lesser features of its history and scenery agree no less with the Gospel narrative. I have said that, whilst the lake is almost completely surrounded by mountains, those mountains never come down into the water, but always have a beach of greater or less extent along

[1] Luke vii. 2.
[2] Joseph. Vita c. 42, 43, 50.
[3] Luke v. 2—10.
[4] John i. 44.
[5] Matt. xiii. 47; xvii. 27.

The beach of the Lake.

the water edge. It is on this smooth margin, "beside the lake of Gennesareth," that we must imagine Jesus "standing," looking out on the waters of the lake, then stepping into one of the "two 'boats'" that "stood" on its gradual slope, and bidding Peter launch out "into the deep."[1] It is along this same level shore (probably that of the plain of Gennesareth),—which then perhaps was less encumbered than at present with the thick jungle which lines its whole length—that the multitude gathered "by the sea[2] on the land," whilst He was stepping into "the boat."[3] From the boat of passage, that lay close by for the purpose, He addressed to them His teaching in parables; and they stood "on the 'beach.'"[4] On the same 'beach,'[5] whether of the delicate texture of sand and shells which lines the northern shores, or the rougher shingle that distinguishes the rest, the scene took place described in the last chapter of the Gospel according to St. John. There was the little crew in their boat on the waters of the lake. The early dawn had broken,[6] revealing, as it does, every cleft and broken cliff in distinct proportions all down the rocky sides of its enclosing hills. "On the beach" stood the solitary figure; and through the stillness of the morning air, not yet disturbed by the waking hum of the surrounding villages, came the gentle voice calling, after the manner of the East, "children," and bidding them cast their wide nets into the lake once more. Then came the sudden rush of fish into the net, "so that they were not able to draw it,"[7] and the recognition of the Lord. Peter, resuming the dress which, like eastern boatmen, he had thrown off whilst struggling with the net, leaped into the lake, and dashed through the shallow water to the shore, whilst his companions in the lesser boat,[8] in which alone they could approach the beach, dragged the net, and Peter, as he "went up"[9]

[1] Luke v. 1, 2, 4.
[2] Mark iv. 1.
[3] εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. Matt. xiii. 1.
[4] ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν. Ibid. 2.
[5] εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. John xxi. iv.
[6] πρωΐας γενομένης. Ibid.
[7] John xxi. 6.
[8] John xxi. 8. τῷ πλοιαρίῳ, as distinguished from τὸ πλοῖον. Yet perhaps this can hardly be insisted on. See John vi. 22, where the word πλοιάριον is undoubtedly applied to the same vessel which, in verses 17, 19, 21, is called πλοῖον. It is the tendency of modern Greek to substitute the diminutives everywhere.
[9] ἀνέβη. John xxi. 11.

out of the water, took it from their hands, and spread it on the level shore.

Again, a remarkable feature of the lake must always have been the concentration of varied life and activity in a basin so closely surrounded with desert solitudes. The plain of Gennesareth, enjoying its tropical climate, even now presents a striking contrast to the bare hills thinly dotted here and there with scanty grass, which embrace it. In ancient times, this near contrast of Life and Death, population and solitude, must have been brought to its highest pitch. It was those "desert places," thus close at hand, on the table-lands, or in the ravines of the eastern and western ranges which seem to be classed under the common name of "the mountain," that gave the opportunities of retirement for rest or prayer. "Rising up early in the morning while it was yet dark," or "passing over to the other side in a boat," He sought those solitudes, sometimes alone, sometimes with His disciples. The lake in this double aspect is thus a reflex of that union of energy and rest, of active labour and of deep devotion, which is the essence of Christianity, as it was of the life of Him in whom that union was first taught and shown.

This brings us to the consideration of the more particular scenes of which traces may be found. To the southern extremity there is no record that our Lord ever went. Tiberias, its chief city, was so nearly a Roman colony, its site, on the remains of an ancient burial-ground, so offensive to Jewish scruples,[1] that He who was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel would probably not have spent His labour in its precincts.

To the eastern side, however, several visits are described, two, it may be three, of such importance as to require special notice. The eastern shores of the lake have been so slightly visited and described, that any comparison of their features with the history must necessarily be precarious. Yet one general characteristic of that shore, as compared with the western side, has been indicated, which was probably the case in ancient times, though in a less

[1] Jos. Ant. XVIII. ii. 3.

degree than at present—namely, its desert character. The desert. Partly this arises from its nearer exposure to the Bedouin tribes; partly from its less abundance of springs and streams. There is no recess in the eastern hills; no towns along its banks corresponding to those in the Plain of Gennesareth. Thus this wilder region became a natural refuge from the active life of the western shores. It was "when He saw great multitudes about Him" that "He gave commandment to depart unto the *other side*;"[1] and again He said, "Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and rest awhile; for there were many coming and going, and they had no leisure so much as to eat."[2] The first of these occasions was in the morning. His immediate followers sent away the multitude, and took him even as He was in "the boat."[3] A crowd of lesser vessels were also on the lake, and there occurred one of those incidents to which every mountain-lake more or less, and the Sea of Galilee from its situation especially, is subject. Through one of the deep ravines, which have been described as breaking through the hills to the shore, The storm. there "came down a storm of wind"[4] on the lake. In a moment the still waters were roused as by 'an earthquake,'[5] and the waves filled the boat; in a moment, when "He rebuked the wind," "there was a great calm."[6] Almost every feature[7] in the story which follows can be traced to the locality. The demoniac described by St. Mark and St. Luke, is indeed such as might have been found on either side of the lake. He is the exact counterpart of the wild maniac described by Epiphanius, The demoniacs. at Tiberias,[8] who, like the Gadarene demoniac, refused all clothing, and wandered about the city. But the particulars are such as specially suit one spot only on the eastern side, the central ravine of the Wâdy Feik nearly opposite Tiberias. The "tombs," from which the demoniac issued the moment that he saw the boat touch the shore, would

[1] Matt. viii. 18.
[2] Mark vi. 31.
[3] Mark iv. 36.
[4] *κατέβη λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου.* Luke viii. 23.
[5] *σεισμὸς.* Matt. viii. 24.
[6] Mark. iv. 39.
[7] Here, I follow Lord Lindsay's account implicitly. He is the only traveller who has carefully described the eastern shores. I saw these places only with difficulty from the west.
[8] Adv. Hær. i. 10.

be those hewn in the rock on the approach to the ancient city, whether of Gamala [1] or Hippos, which still crowns a height at the top of the ravine. They are not (as is the case with the tombs of Gadara near the south-eastern extremity of the lake), behind, but in front, of the town, on the side of the "road" leading up to it through the ravine from the lake, and thus in conformity with the account which implies that the inhabitants of the city only learned what had happened after all was over. "In the tombs," "and in the mountains" which overhung the lake, the demoniac dwelt, and in his wilder paroxysms was driven beyond them into "the wilderness;" that is, into the eastern Desert which succeeds to these very hills. Upon the lower slopes [2] of the hills, on those grassy slopes which a straining eye can discern even from the western side, the vast herd of two thousand swine were feeding,—a feature of the scene, which could hardly have occurred except amongst the Gentile settlers on the eastern shores; as in like manner the Latin name of "Legion," by which the demoniac called himself, is the expression of a foreign image. The "cliff" [3] down which the frantic herd rushed into the lake, must have been, as already implied, not an abrupt precipice, but one of those rocky faces into which the slopes, both of the eastern and western hills, break away, and such as are found in this instance close to the lake, though not descending sheer into the lake itself.

The destruction of the swine.

The other great occasion of a visit to the eastern shore, was that on which [4] the multitudes were fed. Everything points to the north-eastern extremity of the lake. There,

The feeding of the multitudes.

[1] Origen says that most of the MSS. of Matt. viii. 28, in his time had *Gadara* or *Gerasa;* neither of which spots agreed with the scene; but that there was a place, *Gergesa*, near which a rock was actually pointed out as the scene of the event. It is a case nearly analogous to the choice between the readings of *Bethabara* and *Bethany*, in John i. 28, for the sake of which Origen adduces it. (See Chapter VII.) At the same time χώρα τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν or Γερασηνῶν, may mean only "the district of which Gadara (or Gerasa) is the capital."

[2] πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, "nigh—'at'—the mountains." Mark v. 11.

[3] κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ. Mark v. 13, Luke viii. 33. Elliott (Travels, ii. 338) describes the rocks here as precipices. But there is no such expression in the more trustworthy account of Lord Lindsay.

[4] See a good article in the Journal of Sacred Literature, viii. p. 354.

whilst Jesus went in a boat straight across "to the other side," the multitudes would be able to go on foot from the villages of the Plain of Gennesareth, along the shore round the head of the lake. "Bethsaida"[1] is the eastern city of that name, which, from the importance of the new city, Julias, built there by Philip the Tetrarch, would give its name to the surrounding Desert tract; its old appellation lingering in the mouths of the Galilean peasants, just as "Acco" and "Beth-gebra" have to this day persisted in spite of "Ptolemais" and "Eleutheropolis." The "desert place" was either one of the green table-lands, visible from the hills on the western side; or more probably, part of the rich plain at the mouth of the Jordan. In the parts of this plain not cultivated by the hand of man, would be found the "much[2] green grass" still fresh in the spring[3] of the year, when this event occurred, before it had faded away in the summer sun—the tall grass which, broken down by the feet of the thousands there gathered together, would make as it were 'couches'[4] for them to recline upon. Overhanging the plain was "the mountain[5]" range of Golan, on whose heights "Jesus sat with his disciples," and saw the multitude coming to them; and to which, when the feast was over, "He again retired." The contrary wind, which, blowing up the lake from the south-west, would prevent the boat from returning to Capernaum, would also bring "other boats" from Tiberias, the chief city on the south, to Julias, the chief city on the north, and so enable the multitudes, when the storm had subsided,[6] to cross at once, without the long journey on foot which they had made the day before.

The plain of Gennesareth.

But the most sacred region of the lake—shall we not say of the world?—is the little Plain of Gennesareth, which has been already mentioned, on the western shore. Few scenes have undergone a greater change. Of all the numerous towns and villages in what must have been the

[1] For the distinction of the eastern and western Bethsaida, see Reland, 564.
[2] Mark vi. 39; and John vi. 10.
[3] John vi. 4. "The Passover . . . was nigh."
[4] κλισίας. Luke ix. 14.
[5] John vi. 3—15.
[6] John vi. 16—24. Compare Blunt's Veracity of the Gospels, p. 68.

most thickly-peopled district of Palestine, one only remains. A collection of a few hovels stands at the south-eastern corner of the plain, —its name hardly altered from the ancient Magdala or Migdol[1]—so called, probably, from a watch-tower, of which ruins appear to remain, that guarded the entrance of the plain; deriving its whole celebrity from its being the birthplace of her, through whom the name of "Magdalen" has been incorporated into the languages of the world. A large solitary thorn-tree stands beside it. Its situation, otherwise unmarked, is dignified by the high limestone rock which overhangs it on the south-west, perforated with caves, recalling, by a curious, though doubtless unintentional coincidence, the scene of Correggio's celebrated picture.[2] A clear stream rushes past it into the sea, issuing in a tangled thicket of thorn and willow from a deep ravine at the back of the plain,—the Wâdy Hymam, the "Valley of Doves," so called, perhaps, from the perforations which still continue in the rocks, in Josephus's time the stronghold of robbers, now probably of wild pigeons. At the head of this ravine, is visible from most points of view in the plain, the horned platform of the Mount of the Beatitudes. Two other ravines open on the plain through its western barrier, which is formed of green swelling hills, slightly broken by rocky crests. The plain itself is level, and everywhere cultivated. Another stream flows through it from the north-western, as that of Magdala from its south-western, ravine; joined at its entrance into the plain by a third, from the most copious spring of the whole region, now, from its large circular basin,[3] called the "Round Fountain." There is yet a fourth, of equal breadth, but of shorter course, which, rising under a gigantic fig-tree, from which

[1] Lightfoot (ii. 308) placed Magdala on the eastern side. But "Magdala" must probably be the same as "Migdal-el" in Joshua xix. 38, and if so, in the territory of Napthali, that is, on the western side. This, too, is the natural conclusion from Matt. xv. 39, and the distance from Tiberias agrees with that given in the Mishna. (See Schwarze, p. 189.) It may be observed that as Herodotus (ii. 159) turns Megiddo into Magdalum, so some MSS., in Matt. xv. 39, turn Magdala into Magedon. (See Reland, Pal., p. 883; Von Raumer, Palästina, p. 118.)

[2] Probably the cave of *Telíman* or *Talmanutha*. (Schwarze, p. 189.)

[3] This I did not see. It is described only by Pococke (ii. 71) and Robinson (iii. 283).

it derives its name, "the Spring of the Fig-tree," falls into the lake at the north-eastern extremity of the plain, close by a high projecting rock, which overhangs a solitary khan (Khan Minyeh). Beyond this point northward, the hills, though always leaving a beach, again advance close to the lake. This is the northern boundary of the plain. Just beyond it is another spring, with a ruined mill (Tabigah), to which the cattle from the neighbouring hills descend to drink; and further on, near the head of the lake, the fragments of some large edifice amongst the jungle, known by the name of Tell Hûm, complete the signs of human habitation on the western shores.

In some part of this region the home of Christ was situated. The illustrations which it furnishes to His parables and teaching, are numerous and decisive, and shall be mentioned in speaking of that subject as a whole.[1] But there is nothing which enables us to fix with certainty the precise spots of the history of His residence. It would almost seem as if the woe pronounced against Capernaum had been literally fulfilled, as if the doom of the cities of the southern sea had been visited upon those of the north; as if it had been more tolerable for "the land of Sodom" in the day of its earthly judgment than for Capernaum. It has been indeed more tolerable in one sense; for the name, and perhaps even the remains, of Sodom are still to be found on the shores of the Dead Sea, whilst that of Capernaum[2] has, on the Lake of Gennesareth, been utterly lost. And in pronouncing that woe, it is possible that the comparison may have been suggested by the likeness, which I have noticed, between what must then have been the appearance of

Capernaum.

[1] See Chap. XIII.

[2] Capernaum has at different times been fixed—1, at Medjel (Fgmont); 2, at Khan Minyeh (Quaresmius and Robinson); 3, at the Round Fountain (De Saulcy, ii. 407); 4, at Tell Hûm (Sæwulf, p. 47, Williams, in Dr. Smith's Geog. Dict.). If there were any ruins, as De Saulcy supposes, at the Round Fountain, this is the most likely hypothesis; (1.) as being *in* the plain of Gennesareth; (2.) and yet not actually on the sea-shore (Epiph. Hær., ii. p. 438); and (3.) being close to the spring, which, more than any other, corresponds to the spring of Caphar Nahum in Josephus. In favour of Tell Hûm, are: 1, the name; 2, the ruins; 3, the fact, that its situation best agrees with the reception of Josephus at Capharnoma after his accident in the marsh at the head of the lake. (Vita, 27.) Against it is (1) the fact that there is no spring, (2) nor is it in the plain of Gennesareth.

the cities of the Plain of Gennesareth—(as is still, to a certain extent, the appearance of its outward features)—and what must have been in early ages the aspect of the Vale of Siddim. Still, it would be contrary to the general spirit of prophecy, whether in the Old or New Testament, to press this argument too far.[1] The woe, here as elsewhere, was doubtless spoken, not against the walls and houses of these villages, but against those who dwelt within them; and, as a matter of fact, it would appear that they did survive the terrible curse for many generations. There is no reason to doubt that the site at least of Capernaum was pointed out in the fourth century, when a church was built there by Joseph, Count of Tiberias.[2] It has since perished, with all the other sites of the Gospel cities, in the subsequent desolation which Arab hordes have brought on this once flourishing district. Yet although its disappearance cannot be ascribed to a direct judgment, there is another point of view in which it is worthy of notice. To any thoughtful student of the Gospel History it would have seemed that, of all places there recorded, the scene of our Lord's permanent residence—of His home for the three most important years of His life—would have been regarded as far more worthy of preservation, than any other spot connected with His earthly course. None other could have witnessed so many of His works and words. To no other could His disciples have returned with such fond and familiar recollections, as that where they first became acquainted with Him, and which had witnessed the greater part of their intercourse with Him. Yet it is this which has passed away, without even a memorial or tradition to mark its place. The Sea of Galilee, with its towns, became, as we have seen, sacred in the eyes of the Jewish nation of a later time; and to their zeal we owe the retention of the names, and to some extent, the buildings, of Tiberias and of Magdala. But the Christian Church seems hardly to have made an effort to seek or to recover what ought to have been its

[1] See Chapter VI.

[2] Epiph. Adv. Hær. i. 11.

historical sanctuaries on these wonderful shores.[1] Whatever may have been the origin of this neglect—whether the difficulty of securing a hold on regions so firmly occupied by a hostile race, and so constantly exposed to Arab depredations, or the theological controversies which fixed the attention of the Christian world on questions connected rather with the Nativity and Death, than with the life and works, of Christ—the effect in the subsequent appreciation of the sacred localities is indisputable. Compared with Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem, it may be almost said that Capernaum is an unknown name. It has gone, and, in its very destruction, remains a warning that for the preservation even of the holiest places no special interposition is to be expected; that we must be content with general, not particular certainty: as at Jerusalem, so also in Galilee.[2]

[1] The few traditional localities on the lake are manifestly wrong. 1. The Latin Church at Tiberias (a dependency on the Latin Convent at Nazareth) represents the scenes of Matt. xiv. 31—34, of Matt. xvii. 27, and of John xxi. 15, all of which are expressly stated to have occurred elsewhere. 2. The spot of the feeding of the five thousand is pointed out in the ravine between Hattin and Tiberias. This, which is contradicted by the whole tenor of the Gospel narrative, was probably selected for the convenience of pilgrims, who could not cross to the eastern side, and because of the five basaltic rocks, which are supposed to represent the five loaves. 3. The scene of the demoniacs was fixed at the rock of Khan Minyeh; also no doubt for the convenience of the western side.

[2] See Chapter XIV.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE LAKE OF MEROM AND THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN.

Judges xviii. 9, 10, 29. "'Arise, that we may go up against them: for we have seen the land, and, behold, it is very good. When ye go, ye shall come unto a people secure, and to a large land: for God hath given it into your hands; a place where there is no want of any thing that is in the earth.' . . ?. And they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father, who was born unto Israel: howbeit the name of the city was Laish at the first."

Matt. xvi. 13. "Jesus came into the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi.

I. Upper valley of the Jordan—Kedesh-Naphtali—II. Lake of Merom—Battle of Merom—III. Sources of the Jordan.—1. Dan—2. Cæsarea Philippi—Hazor—Paneas—The Transfiguration.

# THE LAKE OF MEROM AND THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN.

Upper valley of the Jordan.

THE Sea of Galilee, as we have seen, has no sacred associations but those of the New Testament. One peaceful Presence dwells undisturbed on its shores and its waters from end to end. But the moment that the traveller emerges from its basin, he finds himself once more in the scenes of the old wars of the earliest times. The last object which he saw on the south before descending into its deep basin was the encampment of Barak; and now on ascending and advancing northwards, he is again amidst the troubled times of Joshua and the Judges.

Mounting from the shores of the Plain of Gennesareth, wider and wider glimpses of the lake open before he sees it for the last time. The broad opening at its southern end marks the rapid descent of the Jordan-valley; Tabor, with the Mount of the Beatitudes as its outpost, is long visible above it. Over the wild green hills which skirt the feet of the commanding heights of Safed, he reaches the long undulating plain enclosed between the two lines of Anti-Libanus—the uppermost stage of the Jordan. The northern horizon is closed by Hermon with its double[1] snow-clad peak, and beyond by Lebanon with its many heads in the further distance.

Ranges of Naphthali and Manasseh.

On the eastern range which still retains its horizontal character, was Golan (of which the name is preserved), the sanctuary of the trans-Jordanic Manasseh.[2] On the

[1] Hence the plural number "Hermonites," or "Hermons," used in Psalm xlii. 6.

[2] Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8; xxi. 27—now Djaulan.

western, which is broken and varied, are perched here and there castles of crusading celebrity, but mostly without any ancient interest. Amongst them, modern research has identified Kedesh-Naphthali,[1] the birthplace of Barak —the sanctuary, as its name implies, of the great tribe of Naphthali, by which the whole of this western range was occupied. All these places, it would seem, partake of the general character of the cities of this region—standing on rocky spurs or ridges, above green peaceful basins, high among the hills.[2]

Kedesh-Naphthali.

II. But it is on the plain and its river that the main historical interest is concentrated. The plain is broken by wild downs, studded with Arab encampments—covered with countless herds of cattle—chiefly the "bulls" and 'buffaloes'[3] of Hermon and Bashan, which wander over the wide plain, and wallow or repose at full length in the copious streams, here as elsewhere in the Jordan-valley, descending from the western declivities. The rocks here begin to exchange the gray colour of the limestone formation of Central Palestine for the dark basalt—the "iron" as it was called in ancient days—of Bashan.[4] In the centre of this plain, half morass,[5] half tarn, lies the uppermost lake of the Jordan, about seven miles long, and in its greatest width, six miles broad, the mountains slightly compressing it at either extremity,[6] surrounded by an almost impenetrable jungle of reeds, abounding in wild-fowl—the sloping hills near it scoured by herds of gazelles.

Lake of Merom.

This lake, now called Hûleh, in old times bore the name of Merom, and afterwards of Samachon,

[1] Robinson, iii. 355. Judges, iv 6.

[2] See Forrest, in Journal of American Oriental Society, ii. 242, 244.

[3] The "buffalo" is the "reem," (mistranslated "unicorn") of the Old Testament. The pilgrim Willibald (p. 17) describes them as gigantic sheep.

[4] For the question whether *basalt* is derived from this, its main seat, in *Bashan*, see Von Raumer, (Palästina, 84.)

[5] "The whole plain, taken together, is the largest marsh I have ever seen." Account of the Sources of the Jordan, by the Rev. W. Thompson, an American missionary, whose description of this region in the third volume of the Bibliotheca Sacra, is by far the best extant. A great part of it is extracted in Kitto's Scripture Lands, p. 107, n. It is, perhaps, in this marshy region, rather than in the present *Abil*, that we ought to look for Abel Bethmaachah, also called Abel-Maim—the *meadow of waters*. 2 Kings xv. 29; 2 Chr. xvi. 4.

[6] "I asked an Arab if I could not reach the lake through the swamp. He regarded me with surprise for some time, as if to ascertain whether I was in earnest, and then, lifting his hand, swore by the Almighty, the Great, that not even a wild boar could get through." (Thompson.)

both probably from its upland situation,—"The High Lake."[1] On its shores was fought the third and last conflict of Joshua with the Canaanites. After the capture of Ai and the battle of Beth-horon, which secured to him the whole of the south and centre of Palestine—a final gathering of the Canaanite races took place in the extreme north, under the king, who bore the hereditary title of Jabin,[2] and the name of whose city, Hazor, still lingers in the slopes of Hermon, at the head of the plain. Round him were assembled the heads of all the tribes who had not yet fallen under Joshua's sword. As the British chiefs were driven to the Land's End before the advance of the Saxon, so at this Land's End of Palestine were gathered for this last struggle, not only the kings[3] of the north, in the immediate neighbourhood, but from the Desert-valley of the Jordan south of the sea of Galilee, from the maritime

Battle of Merom.

[1] See Reland's Palestine, p. 262. This explanation of *Merom* is undoubted. Three explanations are given of *Samachon*, by which it is called in Josephus (Bell. Jud., III. x. 7; IV.,i. 1.) and all later writers. 1. From the Arabic *Samak*, "high," and thus a translation of *Merom*. 2. From the Chaldaic *Samak*, "red," in allusion to its muddy waters, as distinct from the clear basin of the Sea of Galilee. 3. From the Arabic *Samach*, "a fish." This last, in itself reasonable, becomes improbable from the fact that it could hardly be given as a distinctive epithet, in comparison with the plentiful fisheries of the Lake of Gennesareth. 4. From *Sabac*, "a thorn," so called from the thorny jungle round it. (See Lightfoot, Chorograph. Ant. i. 4; ii. p. 5.) It is called *Sabac* in the Babylonian, *Samac* in the Jerusalem Talmud, by the same interchange as *Jamnia* and *Jabnia*. (*Ib.* ii. 15.) The name of *Huleh*, as applied to the lake, is as old as the Crusades. (Robinson, iii. 356.) But as applied to the vicinity, it is at least as old as the Christian era. Josephus states (Ant. XV. x. 3) that Augustus gave Herod Οὐλάθαν καὶ Πανίαδα, and Οὐλάθα is clearly the Greek form of Huleh, as Οὖλος (Ant. I. vi. 4) is of *Hul* in Genesis x. 23. (Fleischer, in Zeitschrift D. M. G., ii. 423.) If it is called after this *Hul*, the patriarch, we may compare the tomb of Sitteh *Hulch*, the Lady Huleh, near Baalbec. It would seem that the whole country is called by this name, Beled-el-Hûleh (See Schwarze, 41), and the Lake, therefore, is probably called from the district, and not *vice versâ*. The Ghwaranieh Arabs on its banks call it the Lake of El-Mallahah (the salt), and so it is called by William of Tyre (xviii. 13), (Newbold, Journ. As. Soc., xvi. 18), possibly from the saline crust which Burckhardt describes on its south-west shores (i. 316). This probably is the explanation of the name of *Mellahah* given to the clear spring at its north-west extremity, and which was so called as being held by the neighbouring Arabs to be the source of the lake. Schwarze speaks of it (p. 29) as Ain *Malka* ("spring of the King"). Another name given by the Arabs to this lake, from the fertility of its shores, is Bahr Hit (the Sea of Wheat).

[2] Josh. xi. 1.

[3] It is useless to seek for the precise localities of these northern principalities. *Achshaph* appears from the present Hebrew text (though not from the LXX) of Joshua xix. 25, to have been near the coast of Phœnicia. *Madon* is in the LXX. *Maron*, the same word as that used for *Merom*; and and *Shimron* is, in Josh. xii. 20 (according to the Hebrew text), called *Shimron-meron*. This, however, is a different word in its origin from *Merom*.

plain of Philistia, from the heights above Sharon, and from the still unconquered Jebus, to the Hivite who dwelt in the valley of Baalbec. . . . "under Hermon;" all these "went out, they and all their hosts with them, even as the sand is upon the seashore in multitude, . . . and when all these kings were met together, they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom to fight against Israel."[1] The new and striking feature of this battle, as distinct from those of Ai and Gibeon, consisted in the "horses and chariots very many," which now for the first time appear in the Canaanite warfare, and it was the use of these which probably fixed the scene of the encampment by the lake, along whose level shores they could have full play for their force. It was this new phase of war which called forth the special command to Joshua, nowhere else recorded: "Thou shalt hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire." Nothing is told us of his previous movements. All that we know is, that on the eve of the battle he was within a day's march of the lake. On the morrow, by a sudden descent, like that which had raised the siege of Gibeon, he and all the people of war "fell"[2] like a thunderbolt upon them "in the mountain"[3] slopes of the plain, before they had time to rally on the level ground. In the sudden panic "the Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them, and chased them" westward over the mountains above the gorge of the Leontes "to Sidon," and eastward to the "plain" of "Massoch" or "Mizpeh."[4] The rout was complete, and the cavalry and chariots which had seemed so formidable were visited with special destruction. The horses were hamstrung, and the chariots burned with fire. And it is

[1] Josh. xi. 5.

[2] "*Fell*," Josh. xi. 7. So the word is to be literally translated, as in the corresponding passage, Job i. 15, "The Sabeans *fell* upon them."

[3] Joshua xi. 7. The LXX reads, ἐξέπεσαν επ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ὀρείνῃ; adding apparently בָּהָר after or instead of בָּהֶם.

[4] This is still further fixed by the use of the word *Beka*, then, as now, the name for the plain of Cœle-Syria, and also by the precise description of it, (xi. 17), "The 'plain' of Lebanon under Hermon." In this case the eastward direction (verse 8) is spoken of in reference to Sidon; and Baal Gad will be the Temple of the God of Destiny (Gad) in Baalbec. (See Ritter, iv. 229.) Mizpeh, or (LXX) Massoch, will then be some place in this plain. Misrephoth-maim cannot be identified, but its name ("the flow of waters") is naturally applied to the rise or to the exit of the Leontes from the Valley of Baalbec.

not till the revival of the city of Hazor, under the second Jabin, long afterwards,[1] that they once more appear in force against Israel, descending, as now, from this very plain. Far over the western hills Joshua pursued the flying host, before "he turned back," and "took Hazor," and "burned it" to the ground.[2] The battle of the Lake of Merom was to the north, what the battle of Beth-horon had been to the south;—more briefly told, less complete in its consequences, but still the decisive conflict by which the four northern tribes were established in the south of Lebanon, by which Galilee, with its sacred Sea, and the manifold consequences therein involved, was included within the limits of the Holy Land.

III. The Lake of Merom no more appears in history.[3] But its geographical interest, at which we have already glanced, as the point from which the Jordan finally issues in its downward course, carries us on to the springs of those immortal streams, which here, for the first time, unite in one unbroken and distinct river. The undulating plain still continues, but narrowing as it approaches its head, and increasing in richness of soil and cultivation, till it almost resembles the Plain of Gennesareth, in the rank luxuriance of its feathery reeds and thorn, and thickets of oleander; marking, however, the difference of elevation by here exhibiting only their green foliage, whilst those on the shores of the Sea of Galilee were already blazing with their red blossoms.[4] Here, for the same reason, the vegetation is distinguished from that of the Jordan on its lower level; and whereas in the hot Ghor, it flows through a thicket of willows and tamarisks, in these upper regions its foliage is the same as that of the Leontes, sycomores and oleanders.[5] This mass of vegetation implies that we are approaching the watershed of Palestine. Besides the clear springs

Sources of the Jordan.

[1] Jud. iv. 2.

[2] Joshua xi. 10, 11.

[3] The name of Joshua is preserved in a local tradition, which points out the *tomb* of Yusha (Joshua) near Mallahah, at its north-west extremity, still visited by the sect of the Metawileh. It is described by Forrest (Journal of American Oriental Society, 1849, ii. 242), and Van de Velde, 1852 (ii. 416). Also it appears in the mountain Tell Farash (Farash being an Arabic name for Joshua), on the east of the plain. (Schwarze, 60.)

[4] I am speaking of April 6, 1853.

[5] See Van de Velde, ii. 433.

which have been pouring down their full-grown streams into the valley from the western ranges, we now find countless rills winding through the reedy jungles and the rich fields of millet, corn, and sweet peas, from the hills which begin to close the plain, upon the north. Then descends, under deep shades of sycomore, the turbid torrent of the Hasbeya, which rushing from far up in the heights of Anti-Libanus, through a deep gorge of basalt, may claim, in a strictly scientific sense, to be the parent stream of the whole valley.[1] And now, close above this mass of verdure, its own slopes sprinkled with trees, Hermon rises over us, a long ascent of snow, like the Sierra Nevada above the Vega of Granada. From these slopes springs the most illustrious of earthly streams. It is not always that the sources of great rivers correspond to the future course of their progeny. But those of the Jordan meet every requirement. Geographically they might be perhaps sought elsewhere; but historically, the sight of the springs which we have now reached, at once vindicates and explains their claim.

Lower source of the Jordan at Tel-el-Kadi.

1. The first and westernmost is at the foot of a green eminence, overgrown with shrubs. From its north-west corner, a magnificent spring,—the exemplar, so to speak, of all those tributaries that we have seen along its banks from En-gedi upwards,—bursts forth into a wide crystal pool, sending forth at once a wide crystal river through the valley. It receives, as it winds round the hill, another burst of many rills, creeping out from underneath the roots of a venerable oak, which by its size and beauty carries one back to that of Mamre in the far south, and which is still in a manner consecrated by spreading its branches over the tomb of a Mussulman saint.[2] It has been some-

[1] Its source, which seems to be as beautiful and copious as all the others of the valley, is well described by Mr. Thompson (Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. iii.), and by Captain Newbold, (Journ. As. Soc. xvi. 15, 16).

[2] Schwarze (202) says, hesitatingly, that it is said to be the tomb of the Prophet Iddo. If, as is probable, Iddo was the prophet who warned Jeroboam at Bethel, this is a curious, yet not unnatural, transfer. The modern name of the wooded hill is Tell el-Kadi, generally supposed to be the Arabic translation of *Dan* (the Judge). This is perfectly reasonable. A similar translation occurs in the Turkish and Greek names of the Bithynian Olympus—Gaziz Bournou—Vouno Kaligero. But may not the name be derived from the tomb of the old Mussulman saint? His name was said by our guides to be "*Sheykh Israik*." I use the word "oak" for Sindian.

times asked, why the Jordan was not traced to the source of the more powerful stream of Hasbeya, which has just been noticed, or confined to the real origin of its unbroken course in the Lake of Merom.[1] No one who has seen the burst of clear and living water from these gentle shades—so distinct from the turbid rush or stagnant marsh of either of those other claimants,—could hesitate for a moment. There at once the Israelite would recognise the birth-place of his own life-giving and mysterious river.

The hill itself—apparently an extinct crater[2]—rises from the plain with somewhat steep terraces, and a long level top; and from this again, immediately above the spring, rises another swelling knoll, with another level top, now strewn with ruins. This is the town and the citadel of *Dan*,—the northern frontier of the Holy Land. That Dan.
height commands the view of the whole rich pl[illegible]. In the south, the Lake of Merom, stretched out like sheet of water above a dam, marks the first descent of the Jordan; beyond, a deep rent in the mountains, indicates the yet further outlet, through which it plunges into the Sea of Galilee. The eastern hills still preserve their horizontal outline,—the western still their broken form. Here is explained how, in this sequestered and beautiful stronghold, the people of Laish "dwelt secure," separated by the huge mass of Lebanon and half of Anti-Lebanon from their mother city of Sidon, and "there was no deliverer in their hour of need," because "they were far from Sidon." Up this rich plain came the roving Danites from the south. Since the victory of Merom these southern regions had hardly been explored; they saw at once, as we see still, how it was "a large land,"—"very good,"—"a place where there is no want of anything that is in the earth."[3] And on

[1] The source which, in the time of Josephus, was traced to the circular lake of Phiala, or "the Bowl," is never mentioned in the Scriptures, and is now proved to have no connection with the Jordan. It is well described by Captain Newbold (Journ. As. Soc., xvi. 8—10), who also mentions another source a little to the east of it, seen only by himself. It appears to be an extinct crater, in a basin of black basalt. The neighbouring Arabs have the same notion as was current in the time of Josephus, of its connection with the springs at Banias. (Bell. Jud., III. x. 7.)

[2] See Mr. Thompson's account (Bibliotheca Sacra, iii. 197). He thinks, but, as Dr. Robinson shows, without just cause, that Dan was at Banias.

[3] Jud. xviii. 9, 10.

this hill, by the source of their sacred river, the little colony from the southern tribe set up their capital, and called it Dan "after the name of Dan their father;"[1] and, far removed as it was from all the sacred places of the south, there they set up their sanctuary also. A miniature Shiloh rose in that beautiful grove—a teraphim, and a graven image, and a priesthood of irregular creation, till the time when, after the fall of Shiloh,[2] and the troubled and lawless period of the Judges, such unauthorised practices were probably put down by the strong hand of Samuel. But a sacred place it still remained; and there for his remoter subjects, Jeroboam first erected the temple with the Golden[3] Calf, for those to whom a pilgrimage to Bethel or Jerusalem was alike irksome.

It is doubtful whether the delineation of Dan in Jacob's blessing, relates to the original settlement on the western outskirts of Judah, or to this northern outpost. Herder's explanation will apply almost equally to both. "Dan," the judge, "shall judge his people,"—he the son of the concubine no less than the sons of Leah, he the frontier tribe, no less than those in the places of honour,—shall be "as one of the tribes of Israel." "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path," that is of the invading enemy by the north, or by the west,—"that biteth the heels of the horse,"—the indigenous serpent biting the foreign horse unknown to Israelite warfare,—"so that his rider shall fall backwards." And his war-cry as from these frontier fortresses shall be "For thy salvation, O Lord, I have waited."[4] In the blessing of Moses, the southern Dan is lost sight of—the northern Dan alone appears, with the same characteristics, though under a different image; "a lion's whelp" in the far north, as Judah was in the far south: "he shall leap"

[1] Jud. xviii. 29.

[2] Jud. xviii. 30. "Till the day of the captivity of the land," *i. e.* under the Philistines. (1 Sam. iv. 22.) Ewald (Geschichte, 2nd edit. iii. part 2, p. 258) reads "the Ark," for "the land."

[3] The worship of the Calf may be traced to this day in the secret rites of the Nosairi and Druse saints in the vicinity. (Newbold, Journ. [illegible] xvi. 27.)

[4] Gen. xlix. 16, 17, 18; Herder, [illegible] Poes. p. 195.

[5] Deut. xxxiii. 22. The same warlike character is indicated in the name which so long lingered in the southern settlement, "Mahaneh-Dan" — "the camp of Dan." (See Ewald, vol. ii. part 2, p. 378.)

from Bashan," from the slopes of Hermon, where he is couched watching for his prey.

2. With Dan the Holy Land properly terminates. But the easternmost source of the Jordan, about four miles distant, is so intimately connected with it both by historical and geographical association that we must go forwards yet a little way into the bosom of Hermon. Over an unwonted carpet of turf,—through trees of every variety of foliage,—through a park-like verdure, which casts a strangely beautiful interest over this last recess of Palestine, the pathway winds, and the snowy top of the mountain itself is gradually shut out from view by its increasing nearness, and again there is the rush of waters through deep thickets, and the ruins of an ancient town—not Canaanite, but Roman—rise on the hill side; in its situation, in its exuberance of water, its olive-groves, and its view over the distant plain, almost a Syrian Tivoli.

Upper source of the Jordan at Banias.

This is *Cæsarea Philippi*—chosen doubtless on this very account, by Philip the Tetrarch as the site of his villas and palaces, beside the temple here dedicated by his father Herod to the great patron of their family, Augustus Cæsar. Yet this, though its chief historical name, is not its only one. At the outskirts of the Holy Land it combines[1] in a tangled web all its associations almost from first to last. High on the rocky slopes above the town still lingers the name of *Hazor*, in the earliest times, as we have seen, the capital of Northern Palestine—"the head[2] of all those kingdoms." A few rude stone blocks on a rocky eminence mark the probable site of the capital of Jabin,[3] and close beside it still remains a deep circular grove of ilexes—perhaps the best likeness which now exists of the ancient groves so long identified with the Canaanitish worship of Astarte. Hard by this height of Hazor, but commanding a nearer view of the plain, is the Castle of Shubeibeh, the largest of its kind in the East, and equal in extent even to the pride of European castles at Heidelberg; built, as it

Cæsarea Philippi.

Hazor.

[1] On a mount, three miles north of Banias, Jewish tradition fixes the scene of Gen. xv. 10. (Schwarze, 202.)

[2] Joshua, xi. 10.

[3] In an Arabic version, mentioned by Schwarze (91), Jabin is called "King of Cæsarea."

would appear, in part by the Herodian princes, in part by Saracenic chiefs; famous in the days of the Crusades, as the residence of one of the chiefs of the Assassins, the "old man" of the mountain.[1]

But the main centre of attraction is the higher source of the Jordan. Underneath the high red limestone cliff[2] which overhangs the town it bursts out, not, as in the lower or westernmost source, in a full spring, but in Paneas. many rivulets,[3] which, issuing from the foot of the rock, first form a large basin, and then collect into a rushing stream. It penetrates through the thickets on the hill-side, and in the vale below, at some point which has never been exactly verified, joins the stream from Dan. In the face of the rock immediately above the spring is the large grotto which furnished a natural sanctuary not indeed to the Israelites, who, perhaps, never penetrated so far, but to the Greeks of the Macedonian kingdom of Antioch. We have often had occasion to observe how slightly in the choice of their natural sanctuaries the Hebrews seem to have been influenced by the local beauty or grandeur of the spot: how modern is that "religion of caves" which in the Christian times of Palestine has played so important a part.[4] At last we have arrived at an exception to this rule; and this shows that we are on the confines of the Gentile world. The cavern-sanctuary of Cæsarea, unknown to Israelite history, was at once adopted by the Grecian settlers, both in itself and for its romantic situation the nearest likeness that Syria affords of the beautiful limestone grottos which in their own country were inseparably associated with the worship of the sylvan Pan. This was the one Paneum or "sanctuary of Pan," within the limits of Palestine, which before the building of Philip's city gave to the town the name of *Paneas*, a name which has outlived the Roman sub-

[1] This site of Hazor is doubted both by Mr. Thompson and Dr. Robinson—the former fixing it at *Hunin* (Biblioth. Sacr. iii. 202), the latter further south. (See also Ritter, Jordan, p. 205).

[2] "The cliffs are about 80 feet high, of compact buff-coloured limestone, the surface of which has reddened by weathering." (Captain Newbold, Journal As. Soc. xvi. 4.)

[3] "Three (?) streams which fall over a plateau at the base of the cliffs, shaded by a verdant grove of poplars and oleanders." (*Ib.* 11.)

[4] See Chapter II.

stitute, and still appears in the modern appellation of *Banias*. Greek inscriptions in the face of the rock testify its original purpose; the reverence thus begun, was continued by the Romans; the white marble temple built by Herod to Augustus crowned its summit; and in later times Jewish pilgrims [1] mistook the traces of this Gentile worship for the vestiges of the altar of the Danites and Jeroboam; and Christian or Mussulman devotion has erected above it one of the numerous tombs dedicated to the mysterious saint whom the one calls St. George and the other Elijah.

But amidst these Pagan recollections of Paneas or Cæsarea Philippi, there is one passage which brings it within the confines of Sacred History. As it is the northernmost frontier of Palestine, so it is the northernmost limit of the journeys of Our Lord. In the turning point of His history, when "from that time many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him," when even the Twelve seemed likely "to go away;" and He "could no more walk in Judæa because the Jews sought to kill Him;" then He left His familiar haunts on the Sea of Galilee, to return to them, as far as we know, only once more. He crossed to the north-eastern corner of the lake, and passed, as it would seem, up the rich plain along its eastern side,[2] and came into "the parts," into "the villages" of Cæsarea Philippi. It is possible that He never reached the city itself; but it must at least have been in its neighbourhood that the confession of Peter was made; the rock on which the Temple of Augustus stood, and from which the streams of the Jordan issue, may possibly have suggested the words which now run round the dome of St. Peter's. And here one cannot but ask what was the "high mountain" on which, six days from that time, whilst still in this region, "He was transfigured" before His three disciples? It is impossible

Mount of the Transfiguration.

[1] Benjamin of Tudela, Early Travellers, 90.

[2] This seems to be implied by two passages. 1. If "Bethsaida" of Mark, viii. 22, is that on the east of the Jordan, this makes his starting-point for that journey to be from the east. 2. He is said to have returned from Cæsarea "through Galilee," (Mark, ix. 30,)—as if implying that He then first re-entered it, which would be the case if His approach to Cæsarea had been through Gaulonitis.

to look up from the plain to the towering peaks of Hermon, almost the only mountain which deserves the name in Palestine, and one of whose ancient titles was derived from this circumstance, and not be struck with its appropriateness to the scene. That magnificent height—mingling with all the views of Northern Palestine from Shechem upwards—though often alluded to as the northern barrier of the Holy Land, is connected with no historical event in the Old or New Testament. Yet this fact of its rising high above all the other hills of Palestine, and of its setting the last limit to the wanderings of Him who was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, falls in with the supposition which the words inevitably force upon us. High up on its southern slopes there must be many a point where the disciples could be taken "apart by themselves." Even the transient comparison of the celestial splendour with the snow, where alone it could be seen in Palestine, should not, perhaps, be wholly overlooked. At any rate, the remote heights above the sources of the Jordan witnessed the moment, when His work in His own peculiar sphere being ended, He set His face for the last time "to go up to Jerusalem." [1]

[1] Mark ix. 2, 3; Luke ix. 51.

# CHAPTER XII.

## LEBANON.—DAMASCUS.

The goodly mountain, even Lebanon.—Deut. iii. 25.
Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus.—2 Kings v. 12.

Lebanon :—I. In relation to Palestine. II. In relation to the Leontes.
III. In relation to the Orontes. IV. The Barada and Damascus.

# LEBANON—DAMASCUS.

WITH Dan, or Cæsarea Philippi, the Holy Land terminates. But its scenery and geography cannot be considered complete without a few words on the vast mountain region which forms its physical barrier; and which, as has been several times observed in the course of these pages, is the foundation of the whole structure of the country. Lebanon closes the Land of Promise on the north, as the peninsula of Sinai on the south; but with this difference, that Lebanon, though beyond the boundaries of Palestine, is almost always within view. The thunder-storm, which the Psalmist tracks in its course throughout his country, begins by making the solid frame of Lebanon and Sirion to leap for fear, like the buffaloes of their own forests, and ends by shaking the distant wilderness of the lofty cliffs of Kadesh.[1] From the moment that the traveller reaches the plain of Shechem in the interior, nay, even from the depths[2] of the Jordan-valley by the Dead Sea, the snowy heights of Hermon are visible. The ancient names of its double range are all significant of this position. It was "Sion,[3]" "the upraised;" or "Hermon," "the lofty peak," or "Shenir,[4]" and "Sirion," the glittering "breast-plate" of ice; or, above all, "Lebanon," the "Mont Blanc" of Palestine; "the White Mountain[5]" of ancient times;

[1] Psalm, xxix. 3—8.

[2] For this fact I am indebted to Mr. Williams, author of the Holy City.

[3] Deut. iv. 48.

[4] Deut. iii. 9; Cant. iv. 8; Ezekiel, xxvii. 5.

[5] Such is the meaning of "*Lebanon*" —the "White Mountain," and Gebel-es-Sheikh—the "Mountain of the Old Man, Gebel-et-Tilj—the "Mountain of Ice," doubtless derived from the snowy top. It is the natural and almost uniform name of the highest mountains in all countries—*Mont Blanc—Hima-*

the mountain of the "Old White-headed man," or the "Mountain of Ice," in modern times. So long as its snowy tops were seen, there was never wanting to the Hebrew poetry the image of unearthly grandeur, which nothing else but perpetual snow can give; especially as seen in the summer, when "the firmament around it seems to be on fire."[1] And not grandeur only, but fertility and beauty were held up, as it were, on its heights, as a model for the less fortunate regions which looked up to it. "His fruit shall shake like Lebanon."[2] The "dews" of the mists that rose from its watery ravines, or of the clouds that rested on its summit, were perpetual witnesses of freshness and coolness, the sources, as it seemed, of all the moisture, which was to the land of Palestine what the fragrant oil was to the garments of the High Priest; what the refreshing influence of brotherly love was to the whole community.[3] In the longings of the Hebrew lawgiver, the one distinct image which blended with the general hope of seeing "the good land beyond Jordan," was of "the 'good' mountain, even Lebanon.[4]" And deep within the recesses of the mountain, beneath its crest of ice and snow, was the sacred forest of cedars, famous, even to those who had never seen them, for their gigantic magnificence, endeared to the heart of the nation by the treasures thence supplied to the Temple and the Palace of Jerusalem.[5]

Beyond this general impression on the imagination of the people of Israel, there is no connection between Lebanon and the history of the Old Testament; and, with the one uncertain exception of the Transfiguration,[6] none with the history of the New.

*layah* (in Sanscrit signifying *snowy*)—*Imaus*—*Hæmus* (probably from the same root)—*Sierra Nevada*—*Ben Nevis*—*Snowdon*.

[1] Clarke's Travels, iv. 203.

[2] Psalm lxxii. 16.

[3] Such must be the general meaning of the comparison of concord to "the dew of Hermon, that descended on the mountains of Zion." Ps. cxxxiii. 3. If Zion be here Jerusalem, the sense must be that the beneficial effects of the cool vapours of the lofty Hermon were felt even to the dry and distant mountains of Judæa. (Compare the passage just referred to, Ps. xxix. 5—8.) It is, however, just possible, that *Zion* may here be used for *Sion*, the ancient name for Hermon, and the expression is then merely the Hebrew parallelism. This is slightly confirmed by the use of the plural "mountains," which, though applicable to the vast range of Hermon, is not applicable, and is not elsewhere used, for the hill of Jerusalem. For the fact of the dew of Hermon, see Van de Velde, i. 127.

[4] Deut. iii. 25.

[5] See Chapter II.

[6] See Chapter XI.

But the physical relation of Lebanon to Syria is so important, that it may be well, once for all, in conclusion, to give such of its features as bring out prominently its importance as the birth-place of the four rivers of Judæa and Phœnicia, of Antioch and Damascus; the chief seat of Syrian cultivation and comfort; the border-land of Sacred and common history; the scene of the oldest traditions and civilisation of the world; the meeting-point of all the religions of western Asia.

Lebanon in its relation to Palestine and the Jordan.

I. The views from Lebanon over Palestine correspond to those of Pisgah from the east, and though never mentioned precisely in history, must have been the glimpse of the Holy Land enjoyed by the old Assyrian conquerors as they first looked down from this "tower of Lebanon"[1] upon their prey.[2]

"A magnificent view,—including Gennesareth, ('the mists of the sea of Tiberias rose behind and dimmed the mountains of Moab,') the castles of Lebanon, Tyre, and Scala Tyriorum, and at sunset 'Cyprus in the midst of the great wide sea,'—is seen from Jurjua, near the source of the Zahrany. 'Immediately before us lay Beled-es-Shukif[3] (the south-western range of Lebanon) its hills like ant-heaps, with one here and there taller than the rest, and a glen, or winding valley, deeper than its fellows, breaking the uniformity of the swell and fall of the surface. All near us was green with growing grain, and the more remote surface yellow with ripening crops."[4]

"I have travelled in no part of the world where I have seen such a variety of glorious mountain scenes within so narrow a compass. Not the luxurious Java, not the richly wooded Borneo, not the majestic Sumatra or Celebes, not the paradise-like Ceylon, far less the grand but naked mountains of South Africa, or the low impenetrable woods of the West Indies, are to be compared to the southern projecting mountains of Lebanon. In yonder lands all is green or all is bare. An Indian landscape has something monotonous in its superabundance of wood and jungle, that one wishes in vain to see intermingled with rocky cliffs or with towns or villages. In the

[1] Cant. vii. 4.

[2] The following extracts are thrown together partly from my own recollections, partly from other writers, whose words I quote to supply what I was unable to see myself.

[3] This district is so called from the old castle of the Crusaders, Kalat-es-Shukif (Belfort), which must always have commanded the Pass of the Litâny from Sidon into the plain of Laish, and the road to Damascus. (Ritter, Lebanon, 311.)

[4] Journal of American Oriental Society, ii. 245, 24 et 6.

bare table-lands of the Cape Colony, the eye discovers nothing but rocky cliffs . . . . It is not so, however, with the southern ranges of Lebanon. Here there are woods and mountains, streams and villages, bold rocks and green cultivated fields, land and sea views. Here, in one word, you find all that the eye could desire to behold on this earth. . . . The whole of Northern Canaan lies at our feet. Is not this Sidon? Are not those Sarepta and Tyre, and Ras-el-Abial? I see also the Castle of Shukif, and the gorge of the Leontes, and the hills of Safed, and, in the distance, the basin of the Sea of Tiberias, with the hills of Bara, far, far away; and all these hundreds of villages between the spot we are at and the sea-coast. . . . . Half a day would not suffice for taking the angles of such an ocean of villages, towns, castles, rivers, hills, and capes."[1]

In these descriptions it is important to observe how it was that Cyprus, thus visible from the mainland to the Hebrew people, represented the whole western world. In that wide waste of western waters, the eye rested on the high outline of "Chittim" alone, and "Chittim" thus became the first stepping-stone to the isles of the West.[2] So it was in the visions of Balaam and Ezekiel, —so it became actually in the voyages of Paul and Barnabas; so in the coming and going of the Crusaders, whose "Te Deum" at the first sight of the Holy Land was sung on the shores of Cyprus.

Lebanon in its relation to the Leontes.

II. It has been already observed, that the western-most of the Four Rivers of the Lebanon—the river of Phœnicia—is almost without a name. Its popular name of "Leontes" is unknown to ancient writers; its native name of "Litâny" is confined only to its upper course, and so imperfectly has it been explored, that it is only by probable conjecture that it can be identified with its lower course—the large stream which, under the separate name of "Khasimyeh" or "the boundary," issues from the mountains and falls into the sea a few miles north of Tyre. Its peculiar interest, however, lies in the beautiful gorge which it has formed through the Lebanon, and its rise in the vale of Cœle-Syria.[3]

[1] Van de Velde, ii. 488. The view from the summit of Hermon is well given by Mr. Porter. (Journal of Sacred Literature, vol. v. p. 48.)

[2] See Chapter VII., p. 115.

[3] For the Leontes, see Chapters II. and VII.

1. THE RAVINE OF THE LEONTES.

'The cleft is very narrow and the rocks rise perpendicularly to the height of sometimes a thousand or twelve hundred feet. The froth, as it dashes up, keeps the base of the rock constantly damp, so that the vegetation of this place is luxuriant to a degree that I have seldom met with in my travels. The snow-white foam is often concealed by the overhanging trees whose branches meet and thickly intertwine."[1]

2. CŒLE-SYRIA.

We finally looked down on the vast green and red valley—green from its yet unripe corn, red from its vineyards[2] not yet verdant—which divides the range of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; the former reaching its highest point in the snowy crest to the north, behind which lie the Cedars; the latter, in the still more snowy crest of Hermon: the culmination of the range being thus in the one at the northern, in the other at the southern extremity, of the valley which they bound. The view of this great valley is chiefly remarkable as being exactly to the eye what it is on maps—the "hollow" between the two mountain ranges of "Syria." A screen through which the Leontes breaks out closes the south end of the plain. There is a similar screen at the north end, but too remote to be visible. It is in the centre of the plain that you find the ruins of Baalbec.

That northern screen of hills, with its opening beyond, is "the entering in of Hamath,[3]" so often mentioned as the extreme limit, in this direction, of the widest possible inheritance of Israel. The huge walls of Baalbec represent, in all probability, the ancient sanctuary which commanded the route of commercial traffic through these northern defiles,[4] as Petra, at a later period, served the same purpose in the southern Desert.

Lebanon in its relation to the Orontes.

III. The northern river is the Orontes. The others, though perennial, have yet the appearance of mountain streams: the Orontes alone is said to have the aspect of a true river. With this agrees the account of the abundant springs[5] which form its source, immediately north of the rise of the Leontes. Worthily of its

[1] Van de Velde, ii. 437.

[2] See also the description of the gorges, and vineyards and forests, Van de Velde, ii. 437—439.

[3] Num. xiii. 21; 2 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Chr. vii. 8, &c. For this opening, rarely described, but geographically important, see Pückler Muskau, iii. 22; Van de Velde, ii. 470; Schwarze, 25.

[4] See Ritter; Lebanon, 236.

[5] Van de Velde, ii. 471. Ritter; Lebanon, pp. 177, 996.

origin the river rolls on; and, whether in the length of its course, or the volume of its waters, or the rich vegetation of its banks, it is not surprising that, to the Roman world, the Orontes should have appeared as the representative of Syria. Politically, too, as well as by its natural features, it presented the chief point of contact, in later times, between this corner of Asia and the West. Near what may be called the turning-point of its course, where its spacious stream is diverted from advancing further northward by the chain of Amanus, the offshoot of the Taurus range, rose the Greek city of Antioch. Out of a vast square plain, the Orontes issues into a broad valley, opening seawards, but closed in on the north by Amanus, on the south by the rugged hills of the Casian range. These last, with the circuit of vast walls[1] that crown their heights, defended the city on one side, as the Orontes formed a natural moat on the other side in the level valley. All the cities in Palestine must have seemed mere villages or garrison towns in comparison with the size, the strength, and the beauty of this new capital. It has often been observed how the Christianity of the first ages throve in cities rather than in the country. So it was emphatically with "the disciples who were first called Christians at Antioch," the capital of the East. From Antioch the river pursues its westerly course, and it is in this its last stage that the scenery occurs, which—by the wooded cliffs, the numerous windings, and the green spaces by the river side—has suggested the likeness of the English Wye. Enormous water-wheels, turned by the ample stream; gardens, hedged in not by the usual fence of stiff prickly pear, but by plane and myrtle; the ground thickly studded with bay and oleander, as the river passes by

[1] It is this peculiarity in the situation of Antioch, with hills on one side and river on the other, which explains the apparent inconsistency noticed by Gibbon between the vast extent of its walls and the small number of its gates. The five gates were, one barring the only pass into the hills, one commanding the bridge across the river; and (in the shorter ends of the oblong space) one leading up the valley (eastward), and two down the valley (westward). This remark, as well as the general facts selected as characteristic of the Orontes and Antioch, which I was unable to visit, I owe to the accurate observation of my friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. Fremantle.

the probable site of Daphne—these are some of the features which distinguish the scenery of the Orontes from the usual imagery of the East.

Lebanon in its relation to the Barada.

IV. The Leontes and Orontes are unknown, Baalbec and Antioch all but unknown, to the earlier history of the Jewish people. But when we turn eastward we find ourselves once more on well-known ground. There is no portion of Syria where the history is so dependent on the geography as that which hangs on the fourth river of Lebanon, now called "Barada,"—by the ancient Greeks "Bardines" or "Crysorrhoas;" by the Hebrews "Abana" or "Pharpar." The interior aspect of Damascus, however striking in itself, has often been described, and has no special bearing on the object of this volume. But its geographical situation forcibly illustrates the characteristics of Oriental scenery, and well explains the reason why such a city must always have existed on the spot,—the first seat of man in leaving, the last on entering the wide Desert of the East.[1]

Damascus.

Damascus should be approached only one way, and that is from the west. The traveller who comes from that quarter passes over the great chain of Anti-Libanus; he crosses the watershed, and he finds himself following the course of a little stream flowing through a richly cultivated valley. This stream is the Barada. It flows on, and the cultivation which at its rise spreads far and wide along its banks, nourished by the rills which feed it, gradually is contracted within the limits of its single channel. The mountains rise round it absolutely bare. The peaks of Mount Sinai are not more sterile than these Syrian ranges. . . . But the river winds through them visible everywhere by its mass of vegetation—willow, poplars, hawthorn, walnut, hanging over a rushing volume of crystal water, —the more striking from the contrast of the naked Desert in which it is found.

One of the strongest impressions left by the East is the connection—obvious enough in itself, but little thought of in Europe —between verdure and running water. But never—not even in the close juxtaposition of the Nile-valley and the sands of Africa—

[1] The course of the Barada is well described by Mr. Porter (Journal of Sacred Literature, iv. 246—259). He identifies the Pharpar with the 'Awaj, which he has also described; as rising in Hermon, and losing itself in a lake south of Damascus (*ibid.* v. 49—57), as the Barada in two lakes east of Damascus (*ibid.* iv. 260).

have I seen so wonderful a witness to this life-giving power, as the view on which we are now entering. The further we advance the contrast becomes more and more forcible; the mountains more bare, the green of the river-bed more deep and rich. At last a cleft opens in the rocky hills between two precipitous cliffs —up the side of one of these cliffs the road winds; on the summit of the cliff there stands a ruined chapel. Through the arches of that chapel, from the very edge of the mountain-range, you look down on the plain of Damascus. It is here seen in its widest and fullest perfection, with the visible explanation of the whole secret of its great and enduring charm, that which it must have had when it was the solitary seat of civilisation in Syria, and which it will have as long as the world lasts. The river is visible at the bottom with its green banks, rushing through the cleft; it bursts forth,[1] and as if in a moment scatters over the plain, through a circle of thirty miles, the same verdure which had hitherto been confined to its single channel. It is like the bursting of a shell—the eruption of a volcano—but an eruption not of death but of life. Far and wide in front extends the wide plain, its horizon bare, its lines of surrounding hills bare, all bare far away on the road to Palmyra and Bagdad. In the midst of this plain lies at your feet the vast lake or island of deep verdure, walnuts and apricots waving above, corn and grass below; and in the midst of this mass of foliage rises, striking out its white arms of streets hither and thither, and its white minarets above the trees which embosom them, the City of Damascus. On the right towers the snowy height of Hermon, overlooking the whole scene. Close behind are the sterile limestone mountains—so that you stand literally between the living and the dead. And the ruined arches of the ancient chapel, which serve as a centre and framework to the prospect and retrospect, still preserve the magnificent story which, whether truth or fiction, is well worthy of this sublime view. Here, hard by the sacred heights of Salehiyeh—consecrated by the caverns and tombs of a thousand Mussulman saints—the Prophet is said to have stood, whilst yet a camel-driver from Mecca, and after gazing on the scene below, to have turned away without entering the city. "Man," he said, "can have but one paradise—and my paradise is fixed above."[2] . . .

[1] The origin of Damascus, as thus depending on this rush of many waters, is well expressed in the legendary account, said to have been given by El-Khudr, the Ancient Wanderer of the Mussulman religion. "Once," he said, "I passed by and saw the site of this city all covered by the sea: wherein was an abundance of water collected. After this I was absent five hundred years, and then returning, beheld a city commenced therein, where many were walking about." (Jelal-ed-din, p. 486.)

[2] Maundrell: Early Travellers, p. 485. The chapel is called "Kubbet-en-Nasar,"—"the Dome of Victory." According to one version of the story it is said to be the grave of the Prophet's guide, who said, "Here let me die." (See

One other traditional view there is on the opposite side of Damascus, which though nearer at hand and only seen from the level ground, is, if correct, yet more memorable—the most memorable, indeed, which even this world-old city has presented to mortal eyes. A quarter of an hour from the walls of the city on the eastern side the Christian burial-ground, and a rude mass of conglomerate stone mark the reputed scene of the conversion of St. Paul. We were there "at noon." There was the cloudless blue sky overhead; close in front the city wall, in part still ancient; around it, the green mass of groves and orchards; and beyond them, and deeply contrasted with them, on the south, the white top of Hermon, on the north, the gray hills of Saalyah. Such, according to the local belief, was St. Paul's view when the light became darkness before him, and he heard the voice which turned the fortunes of mankind.

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## NOTE A.

## ON THE TRADITIONAL LOCALITIES OF DAMASCUS.

In the above description of Damascus, I have ventured to allude to the two traditional views which must occur to every one in approaching Damascus, as fitly closing the long succession of celebrated prospects, which form so remarkable a series of links between the history and geography of the Holy Land. But the two spots in question must be considered, historically, as more than doubtful.

Mahomet probably never reached Damascus at all in his early wanderings; and the story seems, like many others relating to the neighbourhood, to have been only an expression of the strong sense of the beauty of the scene. With regard to the conversion of St. Paul, "as he drew nigh to Damascus," it is not likely that the exact scene should have been preserved; and it is curious that no less than four[1] distinct spots have been pointed out at different times along the road to Damascus, at a greater or less distance, within ten miles from the city. Of these four spots, the only one now remembered seems to be that which has just been mentioned. And even of this, the tradition is only retained in the Latin convent. The ignorant guides of the place point it out only as the place where St. Paul hid himself after his escape, and all memory of the Vision and Conversion is lost.[2] After all, it is most probable that the Apostle's

a very inaccurate work, but with a few shreds of information. (Yussuf, p. 253). On nearly the same point, is laid the scene of Abraham's celebrated view of the rising and setting of the sun, the moon, and the stars, which occasioned his abandonment of idolatry. (Ritter, 1299.)

[1] Quaresmius, vol. ii. 874.

[2] There is a confused Mahometan tradition which represents our Lord as having ascended from the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem, and descended on *the Mount of Fi;s* at Damascus. (Jelal-ed-din, pp. 152, 397.) Can this be an allusion to the vision of St. Paul?

approach to Damascus was not on the eastern side of the city at all. "The road to Jerusalem" then, as now, would have most naturally brought him into the city by the southern gate, that now called "the Gate of God;" or the western gate, leading to the heights of Saalyeh. The other localities in connection with St. Paul's history in Damascus are not more authentic. There is a long wide thoroughfare, called by the guides "Straight,"—but the name by which it is commonly known is the Street of "Bazaars." Two houses are shown in different quarters of the city; one, as that of Ananias; the other (*not* in the aforesaid street), as that of Judas.[1] Both are reverenced by Mussulmans, as well as by Christians.

At the distance of two miles outside the walls, is shown a spot doubly connected with the history of the Old Testament. It is the village of Hobah, said to be that to which Abraham pursued the kings. (Gen. xiv. 15.) The only place in it now visited is the synagogue. In the corner of the building is a hole, entered by steps, long worn away, said to have been the retreat of Elisha. It is still frequented by sick pilgrims, who "come and sleep, and rise the next morning well." In the centre of the church is a space enclosed within rails,—formerly said to mark the place of Hazael's coronation,—but now called the grave of Elisha's servant (evidently meaning Gehazi), who died here, aged 120, and over whose grave this railing was erected to prevent the burial of another on the same spot.

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## NOTE B.

## TRADITIONS OF THE PATRIARCHAL HISTORY IN THE LEBANON.

There is no neighbourhood more fertile in the stories of the primeval history of mankind than that of Damascus. The red colour of the plain on which it stands has long been represented as the pure earth from which the first man—the red 'Adam'—was formed.[2] The hills on the northern extremity of the plain have been long pointed out as the scene of the death of Abel.[3] The cedars of Lebanon, even as far back as the time of Ezekiel, were thought to grow in "Eden."[4] The rude tomb, called "of Nimrod," is shown at

[1] The "house of Ananias" is not remarkable; that of "Judas" contains a square room with a stone floor, one portion partly walled off for a tomb, which is covered with the usual votive offerings of shawls. This is probably what Maundrell (Early Trav. 494) called the tomb of Ananias. This house, and the improbability of the tradition, is well described in Pococke, (ii. 119). It stands in a short wide street, called the "Sheikh's Place," with a mosque hard by.

[2] Maundrell, 490.

[3] See Jelal-ed-din, 427.

[4] Ezek. xxxi. 9, 16, 18.

Kefr Hawy, on the summit of the Pass of Hermon, between Banias and Damascus.

In regard to three such localities, often glanced at by passing travellers, the following additions and corrections may be worth preserving.

1. Following the course of the Barada up through the mountains of Anti-Libanus, the pathway at last reaches a narrow defile, through which the river rushes in a roaring torrent. This pass is called the "Shukh Barada," or "El Goosh,"—"Cleft of the Barada," or of the "Old Woman." It is crossed by a single arch, called the Bridge of "Souk," or "Shukh." High up in the rocks, on the left bank, are tombs and broken columns in front. On the right bank rises a lofty hill, on whose summit, as you approach from the south-east, is seen a line of tall black trees. They are seven "Sindians," or Syrian oaks; and the following is the story told us concerning them by a native of Zebdani, a village, situated two or three hours to the north-west of the pass, where we encamped that night. "Habid (Cain) and Habil (Abel) were the two sons of Adam. The whole world was divided between them; and this was the cause of their quarrel. Habil moved his boundary stones too far; Habid threw them at him; and Habil fell. His brother in great grief carried the body on his back for 500 years, not knowing what to do with it. At last, on the top of this hill, he saw two birds fighting, —the one killed the other, washed him, and buried him in the ground. Habid did the like for his brother's body, and planted his staff to mark the spot, and from this staff the seven trees grew up."

At the top of the hill, under the trees, is said to be a large tomb of "Nebi-Habil." At the entrance of the pass stood, in ancient times, the city of Abila, the capital of *Abilene*. It is difficult to say whether the name originated the legend, or the legend the name; probably the former, as the word "Abil," (meadow), would be a natural designation of a town at the exit of the Barada through the green vale at the foot of the defile, and the same transposition of "Abel" into "Abila," under like circumstances, occurs in the town of Abel-Shittim. The pass was the scene of a great battle in the time of the Mussulman conquest of Syria.[1]

2. The same peasant of Zebdani conducted us over the western slopes of Anti-Libanus to the tomb of Nebi-Schit—"The Prophet Seth." It stands conspicuous on the side of the hill, with its two white domes, just where the great view of Cœle-Syria opens in the descent. Round it lies the village which derives its name from the sanctuary. The larger of the two domes marks the mosque; the lesser the tomb, which joins it at an obtuse angle. We entered through a court, accompanied by two servants of the mosque. The

[1] See Mr. Porter's account of the Barada (Journal of Sacred Lit. iv. pp. 248—252.)

tomb was seen through a rough grating. It was a gallery, like a long low chest, covered, as usual, with offerings for a length of 60 feet. "It would have been 20 feet longer," said the attendant, "but the Prophet Seth, who came here preaching to the people, who worshipped cows, was killed by them, and was hastily buried, with his knees doubled under his legs. Every Friday night a light shines in the tomb."[1]

3. On the opposite side of the vale of Cœle-Syria, or the eastern slope of Lebanon, and therefore nearly facing the tomb of Seth, immediately close to the village of Muallakah, is the similar mosque of Nebi-Nuach—the "Prophet Noah;" though smaller, and apparently less honoured. He having died a natural death, and been therefore buried at peace, the tomb was proportionally longer than that of Seth, being nearly 120 feet in length.[2]

[1] Compare Note to Chapter VI. p. 272.

[2] Early travellers were told that the ark was built here. (Brocquière: Early Travellers, p. 293). It is curious that the statements respecting the measurements of this tomb should be so various. Burckhardt gives it at only ten feet (p. 5). The most accurate account is in Lepsius' Letters, who visited both tombs (pp. 338, 345).

# CHAPTER XIII.

## THE GOSPEL HISTORY AND TEACHING, VIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH THE LOCALITIES OF PALESTINE.

General connection.—I. The stages of the History. 1. Infancy. 2. Youth. 3. Public ministry. 4. Retirement from public ministry.—II. The Parables. 1. Parables of Judæa. (*a*). The Vineyards. (*b*). The Fig-trees. (*c*). The Shepherd. (*d*). The Good Samaritan. 2. Parables of Galilee. (*a*). The corn-fields. (*b*). The birds. (*c*). The fisheries. III. The Discourses—The Sermon on the Mount. 1. The city on the hill. 2. The birds and the flowers. 3. The torrent.—IV. Conclusion. 1. Reality of the teaching. 2. Homeliness and universality. 3. Union of human and divine.

# THE GOSPEL HISTORY AND TEACHING

IN CONNECTION WITH

## THE LOCALITIES OF PALESTINE.

It might be supposed from the much greater extent of history, and the much greater variety of detail in the Old Testament than in the New, that the Old, much rather than the New, would be constantly present to the mind of a traveller in Palestine. But this is not the case. Probably all travellers would bear witness how, from one end of the country to the other, the Gospel history was never absent; how, whenever the recollections of the Old and of the New Testament came into collision, the former at once gave way. Of course, this feeling is in a great measure to be accounted for by the stronger hold which the New Testament possesses over European minds through its greater intrinsic importance, and through our more complete familiarity with its details. But it is not only this. The sight of the country brings forcibly before us the fact that the Gospel history, interwoven as it is with the same imagery and the same natural features, is the completion and close, without which the earlier history would be left imperfect. And if in these concluding scenes the glimpses allowed are fewer and shorter, yet this is compensated by the vividness and clearness of the recognition. It is like travelling in the night. Whole tracts are traversed with no other consciousness of identity with former events, than is given by the knowledge that we are treading the same ground and breathing the same air. Suddenly a flash of lightning comes, and for an instant tower, and tree, and field are seen as distinctly and as unmistakeably as in the broad daylight.

The stages of the History.

I. In regard to the Gospel History, as distinct from the Parables and Discourses, the special events have been sufficiently dwelt upon in connection with their separate localities. What is here proposed is to view them in connection with each other, and with the history as a whole.

The Infancy.

1. The Infancy of Christ embraces two localities, Bethlehem and Egypt. Of these the notices are so slight in the Gospel narratives as hardly to leave a trace on the subsequent history. Egypt is never again mentioned; Bethlehem only once, or at most twice, and then doubtfully and obscurely. But in the legends of the Apocryphal Gospels, local circumstances of each event are there unfolded in the utmost detail, and the spots indicated—the sycomore at Heliopolis, and the grotto at Bethlehem—are those still pointed out. The fact is worth notice, as showing that the Apocryphal rather than the Canonical Gospels, are the real sources of the earliest local traditions;[1] and that in this, probably, lies their chief historical importance.

The Youth.

2. The connected history of Christ begins with *Nazareth*. He appeared, not as the Prophet of Bethlehem, but as the Prophet of Nazareth. Nazareth was accordingly the centre, from and to which He came and returned, on the two only occasions when we read of His emerging from that secluded basin, before He finally left it for His public ministry. When He went up with His parents to the Passover, the caravan must in all probability have followed the course of the Roman road by Scythopolis and Neapolis, and then for the first time He saw the interior of Palestine. The one or two days' journey from Nazareth to Bethabara, either by Scythopolis or by the bridge at the foot of the Lake of Galilee, must have introduced Him for the first time to the wild scenery of the Jordan-valley, and of its eastern Desert.[2]

The Public Ministry.

3. Amongst the various questions which come before the student of Scripture, few are of greater interest than to ascertain the principle of the differences between the earlier and the latest of the Evangelists. The inward

[1] See Chapter XIV.

[2] See Chapters VII. and X.

differences of style and character cannot be here considered. But the outward difference of arrangement has been evidently,—if not occasioned, at any rate influenced, by local considerations. The three first Gospels turn almost entirely on the ministrations in Galilee; the Gospel of St. John turns almost entirely on the ministrations in Judæa. If the reader takes the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, he would hardly be aware, till he approached the final chapters, that Judæa was in existence. If he takes the Gospel of St. John, he will find that, although Galilee is mentioned from time to time, yet it is always as the exception, not the rule; in three chapters only out of the twenty which form the regular narrative, always with a reason, almost an excuse, for the retirement from the sphere of His labours, "in Judæa," "amongst the Jews," "at Jerusalem." Galilee and Judæa are opposed to each other, as two distinct countries, rather than as two provinces of the same country. How it was that these Galilean and Judæan cycles of history are represented in the respective narratives, as thus independent of each other, perhaps it is not possible to determine; but the marked distinction between the two spheres is common to both systems of narrative. It is not more extraordinary that St. John should speak of Galilee as thus separate in race and interests from Judæa, than that the Three Evangelists should speak of the passage into Judæa as a marked and exceptional departure from the ministrations of Galilee, as the turning-point of the history, the crossing, if one may so speak, of the Rubicon of Palestine. This distinction between Judæa and Galilee is, as we have seen, founded in the facts of the country. That broad separation[1] which from the earliest times existed between the fortunes of the Four Northern Tribes and those of the south, at the time of the Christian era, was still further increased through the occupation of the intervening country of Samaria by a hostile sect. Any one who took either Judæa or Galilee as the point of view from which to regard the rest of Palestine, would naturally look

[1] See Chapter X.

on the other as remote and separate from that of which he was writing. If then (for whatever reason), the range of the Evangelists' vision was confined to the sphere respectively of the north, and of the south,—of the lake and the mountains, and the wild peasantry, on the one hand,—of the city and the Temple, and the cultivated Jews on the other,—some, at least, of the divergences and omissions in the two sets of narratives are explained. The demoniacs, who, even as late as the third century, peculiarly infested the shores of the Galilean lake, would naturally find no place in the Gospel of St. John. The raising of Lazarus in Judæa would find no place in the Gospels of the earlier three.

The retirement from the Public Ministry.

4. Galilee and Judæa were the chief, but not the only scenes of our Lord's ministration. Of the transient passages through the intervening tract of Samaria, nothing more can be added to what has been already said of the one remarkable halt at Shechem or Neapolis.[1] Three distinct occasions, however, occur when, partly from the hostility, partly from the excitement, of the popular mind, Christ was compelled to retire into the less frequented parts of Palestine, and where, accordingly, the local sphere is enlarged. The first of these occasions was when John was beheaded, when many of the disciples turned away from Him,—when the first approach of His end dawned upon Him and upon them,—after the feeding of the multitudes on the sea of Galilee. The eastern shores of the lake—the limits of the Holy Land towards the west, on the boundaries of Tyre and Sidon,—and far away to the north, the villages of Cæsarea Philippi,—for this period of His life, and for no other, are seen by glimpses only, yet still distinctly, in the Gospel narratives.[2] The second occasion of such danger is that mentioned in the Fourth Gospel,—when He encountered the same hostility at Jerusalem as He had before encountered in Galilee. And here again, the scene of His retirement is in accordance with what might have been expected. What the northern and western mountains of Galilee were to that

[1] See Chapter V.

[2] See Chapters VI. X. XI.

province, Peræa and the Jordan-valley were to Judæa. "Beyond Jordan" "He abode,"—or "at Ephraim,"—the high village on the outskirts of the hills of Benjamin, "near," and overhanging, "the wilderness" of the Jordan, continued with His disciples, "walking no more openly amongst the Jews."[1] And with these notices in St. John agrees the statement in St. Matthew's Gospel, that in the last period of His life, before His final entrance into Jerusalem, He "came into the coasts of Judæa beyond Jordan,"—and with both of these statements agrees the narrative of all the Four, which makes that final approach to have been—not from the usual northern road through Samaria,—but from Jericho.

The Parables.

II. It has been thought worth while, at the risk of some repetition, briefly to bring together the general framework of the Gospel History, partly as a means of testing its general truth, partly as a help, though slight, to find our way through the confusion of time and place in which, three at least of the narratives are involved.

But there remains a greater interest. Every traveller in Palestine has recognised the truth of what every commentator has conjectured from the likelihood of the case,—the suggestion of the imagery of the Parables, by what may still be seen passing before the eye of the spectator of those scenes. Let us now collect together all these instances, and observe what light they throw upon the place, or the mode, of the teaching of which they formed the framework.

The Parables of Judæa.

The first Parable that rises before the mind of the traveller as he enters Judæa from the Desert, is that of the vineyard. "There was a certain householder who planted a vineyard, and set a 'wall' around it, and digged a wine-press, and built a tower."[2] It is one of the few instances—perhaps the only one—in which an image of the Old Testament is almost exactly repeated in the discourses of Christ.—The "song of my beloved,"[3]—the vineyard in a hill, the horn of oil,[4] with "the wall," "the stones

(a). The Vineyard.

[1] See Chapter VII.

[2] Matt. xxi. 33; Mark xii. 1. See Chap. I. Part II. p. 103.

[3] Isa. v. 1, 2.

[4] Heb. for 'a very fruitful hill.' See margin of English Bible.

gathered out," "the vine of Sorek,[1] the tower in the midst of it," and "the winepress,"—are common to the Gospel-Parables, and to the Prophecies of Isaiah. Of both, an equal illustration is preserved in what has been before described as one of the main characteristics of the southern scenery of Palestine,—the enclosures of loose stone, like the walls of fields in Derbyshire or Westmoreland, which, with the square gray tower at the corner of each, catch the eye on the bare slopes of Hebron, of Bethlehem, and of Olivet,—at first sight hardly distinguishable from the ruins of ancient churches or fortresses, which lie equally scattered over the hills of Judæa.

To a certain extent, the number of vineyards now seen in the south, must be ascribed to the fact, that in the southern towns is to be found the greatest amount of Christian or Jewish population, who alone can properly cultivate what is to Mussulmans a forbidden fruit. But it has been already shown that Judah[2] must always have been the chief seat of the vine in Palestine. And thus the past history of the nation concurs with our own present experience in pointing to what was one of the most obvious and familiar images of Palestine at the time when the Parables were delivered, of which no less than five have relation to vineyards,—that of the labourers, that of the fig-tree, that of the husbandman, that of the two sons, and that of the true vine.

Of the two first the scene is doubtful. The Parable of the labourers was, if we can trust the order in which it occurs, spoken in Peræa. In the dearth of modern information on those parts it is useless to speculate. But the vineyards of Moab were famous in former days.[3] The Parable of "the fig-tree" is one amongst many, of which the place is left wholly uncertain. Yet, placed as it is, in close juxta-position with the story of the massacre of the Galileans in the Temple, and the fall of the tower of Siloam,—it is natural to connect it with Jerusalem. The peculiarity of the image—that of a

[1] Heb. for 'the choicest vine.'
[2] See Chapter III.
[3] Isa. xvi. 8—10; Jer. xlviii. 32. Compare Numb. xxi. 22, and Josh. xiii. 19 (Sibmah). Buckingham (c. 4,) speaks of the vineyards at Anab, near Ammon.

*fig-tree* in a *vineyard*,—however unlike to the European notion of a mass of unbroken vine-clad hills, is natural in Palestine, where, whether in corn-fields or vineyards, fig-trees, thorn trees, apple trees, are allowed to grow freely wherever they can get soil to support them.

But of the three remaining Parables of this class, the place can hardly be doubted. If, as the narrative implies, the Parables of the two sons and of the husbandmen were spoken in the courts of the Temple, the Mount of Olivet, with the evening light resting on those ancient towers and enclosures of vineyards, which mark its long slopes, was immediately in view to point and to enliven the story. If, as has been often conjectured, the Parable of the True Vine [1] was spoken after they had risen from the Supper, and passed out into the night air; then again, the vine might be at hand, either on the moonlit sides of Olivet, or else, perhaps, creeping round the court of the house where they were assembled.

(b). The Fig-tree.

Mount Olivet, besides its abundance of olives, is still sprinkled with fig-trees. Bethphage possibly derives its name from this circumstance.[2] One allusion to these fig-trees has been already noticed. There are two others, and they are indisputably connected with Olivet. One is the parable not spoken, but acted, with regard to the fig-tree, which, when all the others around it were, as they are still, bare at the beginning of April, was alone clothed with its broad green leaves, though without the corresponding fruit. Fig-trees may still be seen overhanging the ordinary road from Jerusalem to Bethany, growing out of the rocks of the solid "mountain," [3] which might, by the prayer of faith, be removed, and cast into the distant Mediterranean "sea." On Olivet, too, the brief parable in the great prophecy was spoken, when He pointed to the bursting buds of spring in the same trees, as they grew around Him:—"*Behold* the fig-tree and all the trees—when they *now* shoot forth—when his branch is yet tender and putteth forth leaves, ye see and know of your own selves that summer is *now* nigh at hand." [4]

[1] John, xv. 1. Compare the preceding verse, "Arise, let us go hence."

[2] See Chapter III. p. 184.

[3] Matt. xxi. 21.

[4] Luke xxi. 29, 30. Matt. xxiv. 32.

(c). The Shepherd.

Another image which, whatever may have been the case formerly, is now seen again and again in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem,[1] is that of the shepherds leading over the hills their flocks of sheep and goats,—of white sheep and of black goats intermingled on the mountain-side, yet by their colour at once distinguishable from each other. The "shepherds," we know, "abode with their flocks,"[2] at that time, at least within a few miles of Jerusalem; it is possible that even then, when the Mount of Olives must have been much more thickly set with trees and enclosures, such a flock may have wandered up the sides of the hill, and suggested to Him who was sitting there with His disciples over against the Temple, the scene of the Shepherd of Mankind dividing the parts of that vast flock, each from each, the sheep on His right hand, and the goats on His left.[3] There is also one other parable of this class, of which the scene, though not so distinctly specified, is yet placed close to Jerusalem. It was whilst he was conversing with the excommunicated blind man, not within the Temple courts, and, therefore, probably in His other usual resort, on Olivet, that he addressed to the Pharisees the parable of the Good Shepherd.[4] The sheepfold on the slope of the hill—the wicket-gate—the keeper of the gate—the sheep, as in all southern countries, following, not preceding, the shepherd whose voice they hear—may have been present to His mind then, as in the later parable; and thus it may have been the same outward scene which suggested the image of the mild and beneficent Guardian and of the stern and awful Judge of the human race.

There is yet another parable, drawn from the shepherd-life of Palestine, of which, however, both the context and its own contents carry us away from Judæa. The indications of the scene of the Lost Sheep are indefinite, yet both in St. Luke and in St. Matthew, the last preceding

[1] Matt. xxv. 32. I cannot now call to mind how frequently they occurred in other parts of Palestine. Doubtless in the great plains of the north and west we must have met them. But in Central Palestine I recall them only in the wild uplands above Bethany, and on the slopes of Olivet above the Kedron.

[2] Luke ii. 8.

[3] Matt. xxv. 32, 33.

[4] John x. 1—14.

note of place connects it[1] with Galilee. But the combined description of the pastures "in the wilderness"[2] and "on the mountains"[3] can hardly find any position in Palestine, precisely applicable, except the "mountainous country" or "wilderness," so often called by these names, on the east of the Jordan. The shepherd of that touching parable thus becomes the successor of the wild herdsmen of the trans-Jordanic tribes, who wandered far and wide over those free and open hills,—the last relics of the patriarchal state of their ancestors.[4]

(*d*). The Good Samaritan.

The previous context[5] of "the Good Samaritan" would probably lead us to connect its delivery with Galilee. But the immediately succeeding context naturally brings us into Bethany.[6] In this case, the story may have been spoken on the spot which must certainly have suggested it. There we see the long descent of three thousand feet, by which the traveller "went *down*" from Jerusalem on its high table-land, to Jericho in the Jordan-valley. There the last traces of cultivation and habitation, after leaving Bethany, vanish away, and leave him in a wilderness as bare and as solitary as the Desert of Arabia. Up from the valley of the Jordan below, or from the caves in the overhanging mountains around him, issue the Bedouin robbers, who from a very early time gave this road a proverbial celebrity for its deeds of blood,[7] and who now make it impossible for even the vast host of pilgrims to descend to the Jordan without a Turkish guard. Sharp turns of the road, projecting spurs of rock, everywhere facilitate the attack and escape of the plunderers. They seize upon the traveller and strip him, as is still the

[1] Matt. xvii. 24; xix. 1. Luke xiii. 31.
[2] Luke xv. 4.
[3] Matt. xviii. 12.
[4] See Chapter VIII.
[5] Luke x. 13—15.
[6] Luke x. 38.
[7] The pass seems to be that called in Joshua, xv. 7; xviii. 17, the "'ascent of' Adummim." This name is explained by Jerome (De Locis Hebraicis, in voce *Adummim*) to allude to the blood "qui in illo loco a latronibus funditur." That this may be the sense of Adummim is clear from Isaiah lxiii. 2, where the same word is used for the blood-stained garments of the conqueror from Edom (see, too, 2 Kings, iii. 22); and, at any rate, Jerome's testimony to the fact of the robbers is important. But the more natural meaning of the word is "the Pass of the Red-haired men," as if alluding to some Arab tribe; and so the LXX take it, *ἀνάβασις πύρρων*. It may be worth while to mention that there are no red rocks, as some have fancied, in order to make out a derivation. The whole pass is white limestone.

custom of their descendants in like case; they beat him severely, and leave him naked and bleeding under the fierce sun reflected from the white glaring mountains, to die, unless some unexpected aid arrives. "By chance," "by a coincidence of circumstances"[1] that could hardly be looked for, the solitude of the road is on the day of this adventure broken by three successive travellers ascending or descending the toilsome height. The first who came was, like the previous traveller, on his way from the capital,—a priest, probably going to the great sacerdotal station in Jericho. The road, as it winds amongst the rocky hills where the traveller is thus exposed, rises usually into a higher pathway, immediately above the precipitous descent on the left hand. The priest "saw"—no one on that long descent could fail to see, even from a distance—the wounded man lying by the rocky roadside, and he turned up on the high pathway and passed him by. The next was a Levite, coming or going between the two priestly cities, and he, when he reached the spot, also cast a momentary glance of compassion at the stranger, and climbed the pathway and went forward. The third was one of the hated race, who was not more solitary here in this wild Desert than he would have been in the crowded streets of Jerusalem. He, too, mounted on his ass or mule, came close to the fatal spot, saw the stranger, bound up the wounds, placed him on his own beast, and brought him before evening to a caravanserai,—such an one as still exists like a rude Hospice on the mountain-side, about half-way between Jerusalem and Jericho,—and on the morning left him there to be cared for till he should himself return to Jerusalem. Such is the outward story, truly the product of one of the most peculiar scenes of Judæa, yet which has now spread through a range as vast as its own wide scope —the consolation of the wanderer and the sufferer, of the outcast and the heretic, in every age and in every country.

2. From the cycle of parables in Judæa, we pass to those

[1] κατὰ συγκυρίαν. Luke x. 31.

The Parables of Galilee.

in Galilee. Of these, the greater part are grouped in the discourse from the fishing-vessel off the beach of the Plain of Gennesareth. Is there anything on the spot to suggest the images thus conveyed? So, (if I may speak for a moment of myself,) I asked, as I rode along the track under the hillside, by which the Plain of Gennesareth is approached. So I asked, at the moment seeing nothing but the steep sides of the hill alternately of rock and grass. And when I thought of the parables of the sower, I answered, that here at least was nothing on which the Divine Teaching could fasten. It must have been the

The Corn-fields.

distant corn-fields of Samaria or Esdraelon on which His mind was dwelling. The thought had hardly occurred to me, when a slight recess in the hillside, close upon the plain, disclosed at once, in detail, and with a conjunction which I remember nowhere else in Palestine, every feature of the great parable. There was the undulating corn-field descending to the water's edge. There was the trodden pathway running through the midst of it, with no fence or hedge to prevent the seed from falling here and there on either side of it, or upon it; itself hard with the constant tramp of horse and mule, and human feet. There was the "good" rich soil, which distinguishes the whole of that plain and its neighbourhood from the bare hills elsewhere descending into the lake, and which, where there is no interruption, produces one vast mass of corn. There was the rocky ground of the hillside protruding here and there through the corn-fields, as elsewhere through the grassy slopes. There were the large bushes of thorn—the "Nabk," that kind of which tradition says that the Crown of Thorns was woven,—springing up, like the fruit-trees of the more inland parts, in the very midst of the waving wheat.[1]

This is the most detailed illustration of any of the Galilean parables. But the image of corn-fields generally must have been always present to the eye of the multitudes on shore,—of the Master and disciples in the boat,—as constantly as the vineyards at Jerusalem. "The earth bringing forth fruit of itself,"—"the blade, the ear,

[1] See Chapter X.

the full corn in the ear," [1]—"the reapers coming with their sickles [2] for the harvest," [3] could never be out of place in the Plain of Gennesareth. And it is probable that these corn-fields would always have exhibited the sight which has been observed in the plains of the Upper Jordan beyond the Lake of Merom, and in the great corn-fields of Samaria,[4]—women and children employed in picking out from the wheat the tall green stalks, still called by the Arabs "Zuwân," apparently the same word as "Zizania," [5] which, in the Vulgate, is rendered "Lollia," in our version "tares," [6] and which, it can easily be imagined, if sowed designedly throughout the fields, would be inseparable from the wheat, from which, even when growing naturally, and by chance, they are at first sight hardly distinguishable.

Of the rest of the imagery in that series of parables, it is perhaps not necessary to speak. Yet the countless birds of all kinds, aquatic fowls by the lake-side, partridges and pigeons hovering, as on the Nile-bank, over the rich plain, immediately recall the "birds of the air" [7] which "came and devoured the seed by the way side," [8] or which took refuge in the spreading branches of the mustard tree.[9] It is impossible to see even the relics of

The Birds.

[1] Mark iv. 28.
[2] Mark iv. 29.
[3] Matth. xiii. 30, 39, 41.
[4] Dr. Wilson (Lands of the Bible) describes this sight in the former locality. I saw it in the latter.
[5] The Arabic word Zuwân is derived from Zân, "nausea." ζιζάνιον is found no where but in the New Testament, and in the ecclesiastical writers who have probably derived it from thence.
[6] Matth. xiii. 25—30, 36—40.
[7] Matth. vi. 26.—See Chapter X.
[8] Matth. xiii. 4; Luke viii. 5.
[9] Matth. xiii. 31, 32; Mark iv. 31; Luke xiii. 19. What precise tree is meant by the mustard-tree (σίναπι), is hardly determined sufficiently. But an able article by Professor Royle (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, No. xv. p. 113), goes far to identify it with the Salvadora Persica; called in Arabic *Khadel*, in Hebrew *Chœrdal*, in the north-west of India *Khardel*, and, therefore, apparently the same as σίναπι, which, in the Syriac version, is translated *Khardel*. It is said to grow in the neighbourhood of Damascus and Jerusalem, on the shores of the Dead Sea, in the Valley of the Jordan, and *on the shores of the Lake of Gennesareth*. He thus winds up his argument: "We have in it a small seed, which, sown in cultivated ground, abounds in foliage. This being pungent, may, like the seed, have been used as a condiment, as mustard and cress is with us. The nature of the plant, however, is to become arboreous; and thus it will form a large shrub, or a tree, twenty-five feet high, under which a horseman may stand, where the soil and climate are favourable. It produces numerous branches and leaves, among which birds may and do take shelter as well as build their nests. It has a name in Syria which may be considered as traditional from the earliest times, of which the Greek is a correct translation. Its seeds have the pungent taste, and are used for the same purposes as mustard. And in a country where trees are not

The Fisheries.

the great fisheries, which once made the fame of Gennesareth, the two or three solitary fishermen casting their nets into the lake from its rocky banks, without recalling the image which here alone, in Inland Palestine, could have had a meaning; of the net which was "cast into the sea and gathered of every kind,"[1] from all the various tribes which still people those lonely waters.

Of the rest of the parables I do not profess to speak. Some need no local illustration. Of others I have been unwilling to state anything beyond what fell within my own knowledge, or has been expressly recorded by trustworthy observers.

The Discourses.

III. From the nature of the case, the Discourses of Christ are less directly connected with the scenes where they were delivered than the Parables. In the latter, outward imagery was expressly required; in the former, it could only be incidental. Yet though for the most part the discourses will be understood wholly without regard to local allusions, it is always possible (it is in some cases probable), that they may be discerned. The intimate connection of the conversation at Jacob's Well with the neighbouring objects has been already noticed.[2] The natural growth of the discourse on the Bread of Life[3] from the multiplied bread in the Desert, is too obvious to need any explanation. The loud cry in the court of the Temple, on the last great day of the Feast of Tabernacles,[4] must refer to the spring in the heart of the Temple rock, from which flows the living water into the two pools of Siloam, whence on that day the water was brought to the Temple service. The declaration, "I am the light of the world,"[5] has, with great probability, been referred to the lighting up the colossal candlestick in the same festival; the more remarkable in the profound darkness which then, as now,

plentiful, *i.e.*, the shores of the Lake of Tiberias, this tree is said to abound; *i.e.*, in the very locality where the parable was spoken. If we consider, moreover," he adds, "the wide distribution of this plant from Damascus to Cape Comorin, and from the Persian Gulf to Senegambia, we shall find that it is well suited to illustrate the typical comparison of the doctrine of the Gospel, which, though at first gaining only a few adherents, would, in the end, spread far and wide." (*Ib.* 137.)

[1] Matth. xiii. 47.—See Chapter X.
[2] See Chapter V.
[3] John vi. 32, ff.
[4] John vii. 37. See Chapter III.
[5] John viii. 12.

reigned through the night of an Oriental town. The whited sepulchres, beautiful without, but within full of dead men's bones,[1] are often supposed to be illustrated by the white-washed domes, which in Egypt and Syria always mark the tombs of Mussulman saints. But these are all modern, and there can be little doubt that the real explanation must be sought in the ornaments, and possibly the paintings, now disappeared, of the vast array of sepulchres with which the hills and valleys about Jerusalem are perforated, and some of which, if the discourse was spoken in the Temple, may have been visible at the moment in the Valley of the Kedron.

These are perhaps all the allusions that can be traced in the special scenes of the lesser discourses. But we naturally ask whether, in the greatest of all, the Sermon on the Mount, any such can be discovered, spoken as it was, if not on the very mountain now pointed out in the plain of Hattin, yet certainly on one of the heights of the western shore of the lake, and, therefore, commanding a view, in its essential features common to all of them, and well known to us now.[2] It must be granted (perhaps we ought rather to say thankfully acknowledged), that there are very few passages in that discourse which are illustrated, still fewer which are explained, by a sight of the localities. These few, though often noticed, must be here briefly collected.

The Sermon on the Mount.

1. One of the most striking objects in the prospect from any of these hills, especially from the traditional Mount of the Beatitudes, is the city of Safed, placed high on a bold spur of the Galilean Anti-Lebanon. Dr. Robinson has done much to prove that Safed itself is a city of modern date. But, if any city or fortress existed on that site at the time of the Christian era, it is difficult to doubt the allusion to it, in "the city 'lying' on the mountain-top."[3] The only other that could be embraced within the view of the speaker would be the village and fortress of Tabor, which would be distinctly visible from the Mount of the Beatitudes, though not from the hills on the lake-side.

The City on a Hill.

[1] Matth. xxiii. 27.
[2] See Chapter X.
[3] πόλις ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη.—Matth. v. 14.

Either or both of these would suggest the illustration, which would be more striking from the fact, that this situation of cities on the tops of hills is as rare in Galilee as it is common in Judæa.

The Birds and the Flowers.

2. The most remarkable appeal to nature, which occurs in the whole of the New Testament, is found in this discourse,—"Behold the fowls of the air," and "Consider the lilies of the field."[1] The flocks of birds in the neighbourhood of Gennesareth have been already observed. Their number, their beauty, their contrast with the busy stir of sowing and reaping, and putting into barns, visible in the plain below, (whether of Hattin or Gennesareth,)[2] must all be taken into account. What the especial flower may be, which is here indicated by the word[3] which we translate "lily," it is impossible precisely to determine. The only "lilies" which I saw in Palestine in the months of March and April were large yellow water-lilies, in the clear spring of 'Ain-Mellaheh, near the Lake of Merom. But if, as is probable, the name may include the numerous flowers of the tulip or amaryllis kind, which appear in the early summer, or the autumn of Palestine, the expression becomes more natural,—the red and golden hue more fitly suggesting the comparison with the proverbial gorgeousness of the robes of Solomon. And, though there may not be any special appropriateness to Galilee, the brilliant flowers of Palestine are one of the most attractive features of its scenery, the more so from the want of colour or form in the general landscape.[4]

The Torrent.

3. The image with which, both in St. Matthew and St. Luke, the discourse concludes, is one familiar to all eastern and southern climates,—a torrent, suddenly formed by the mountain rains, and sweeping away all before it in its descent through what a few minutes before had been a dry channel.[5] Yet it may be observed that it is an image far more natural in Galilee than in Judæa; whether we take the perennial streams which run through the Plain of

[1] Matth. vi. 26, 28.

[2] The Wâdy Hymam—the valley of *Pigeons*—leads straight from the plain of Hattin to that of Gennesareth, with the mountain visible at the end.

[3] κρίνον.

[4] See Chapter I.; Part II. Chapter II.

[5] Matth. vii. 24—27; Luke vi. 48.

Gennesareth, or the torrent-streams[1] of the Kishon and the Belus, which on the west run through the Plain of Esdraelon to the Mediterranean. There is more aptitude in this likeness, as applied to them, than if applied to the scanty and rare flooding of the Kedron and the corresponding wâdys of the south. The sudden inundation of the Kishon is a phenomenon already historical from the Old Testament; and, if we are to press the allusion to the "*sand*," on which was built "the house that fell," then there is no other locality in Palestine to which we can look, except the long sandy strip of land which bounds the eastern plain of Acre, and through which the Kishon flows into the sea.

Conclusions.

IV. Two or three obvious conclusions are forced upon us by this general view of the Parables and Discourses.

Reality of the Teaching.

First, if it is clear that the form of the teaching was suggested by the objects immediately present,—if the character of the Parables thus coincides with the notices of the localities where they occur,—it is a proof, incontestable, and within small compass, that even that revelation, which was most unlike all others in its freedom from outward circumstance, was yet circumscribed, or (if we prefer so to state it) assisted by the objects within the actual range of the speaker's vision. It is an argument, such as in the days of subtle theological speculation might have been justly and forcibly used for what is termed the Perfect Humanity of Christ. It is an argument which, in our own time, may be more practically used to show the simplicity and reality of a teaching which took its stand on the ordinary sights and sounds, still seen and heard in the same land where that teaching was delivered. And, if it was thus suggested by outward existing images, it must also, by those images, be judged and explained. We are apt sometimes to carry out into an infinite series

[1] Schwarze (p. 73) speaks of a prayer offered up by the High Priest on the day of Atonement for the inhabitants "of the valley of Sharon," that their houses might not become their graves, —in allusion to the danger to which they were exposed from mountain torrents. (Jerusalem Talmud, Joma, c. v.) He supposes that this valley is the part of the Plain of Esdraelon enclosed between Little Hermon and Gilboa. The grounds for this supposition, which chiefly rests on the modern name of the village of *Shirin* in the valley of Jezreel, are hardly sufficient. But, if correct, it exactly suits the Galilean origin of this parable.

of moral and theological conclusions the truths which are stated under these material forms. It might, perhaps, serve both to restrain us from precipitate inferences, and also to relieve us from some difficulties, if we bore in mind that the distinctness which necessarily belongs to physical objects cannot be transferred bodily to the moral world.[1] When, for example, we look on the track of the road, on the protruding rocks, on the thorny thickets, on the deep mould of the corn-fields of Gennesareth,—or, again, on the white sheep and the black goats of the flocks in Judea,—we ought to feel that the division of mankind into various classes, when represented under those figures, necessarily assumes a definiteness of separation, which cannot be applied without modification to the complexities of the actual world.

Homeliness and Universality.

2. Again, the mere fact, that our Lord's teaching was suggested by familiar and passing objects, is not without interest and instruction. It shows that He was affected by the outward impressions of the moment, not only in the graver events of His life, as when the sudden view of Jerusalem filled His eyes with tears, or the sight of sufferers drew forth the heaving sigh and the bitter groan, but habitually, and in His daily intercourse. Even if we knew no more than this general fact, it would be to us a touching proof that He was of "the same flesh and blood," "tried" in all points, "like as we are." But another and a higher thought strikes us when we consider what were the especial objects which thus, if one may so say, gave a colour to the thoughts and expressions of Him who spake as never man spake. Though characteristic not only of the country, but of the particular spots of country, where the parables and discourses were uttered, they are yet so common and obvious that, but for these sacred allusions, one would pass them by without notice. The grander features of the scenery, the mountains, the forests, the striking points of Oriental vegetation, palm and cedar and terebinth, the images, in short, which fill the pages of the Psalmists and Prophets of the Older Dispensation have

[1] I owe this remark to a friend to whom it was suggested by the above descriptions.

no place in the Gospel Discourses. *He* must have been familiar with the magnificent prospect from the heights above Nazareth. Hermon and Tabor must have been constantly before Him in His later wanderings. The Pisgah-view must have been His from the Peræan hills. Yet none of these came within the circle of His teaching. Perhaps the only exception, and that a doubtful one, is the allusion in the Sermon on the Mount to the city set on a "mountain." But this is a mere passing glance at a single point in the landscape. As a general rule, every image, every emotion is drawn from the humbler and plainer figures of every-day life and observation,—vineyards and corn-fields, shepherds and ploughmen, travellers and fishermen. And if the beauty of nature attract His notice, it is still of the same simple and general kind,—the burst of the radiance of an eastern sun,—the lively instincts and movements of the careless birds over His head,—the gay colours of the carpet of flowers under His feet. If there be any one passage of the older Scriptures which specially represents the natural storehouse of the Parables of the Gospel, it is the gentle and touching burst of the imagery of spring in the Song of Songs: "The winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the *flowers* appear on the earth; the time of the singing of *birds* is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; the *fig-tree* putteth forth her green figs, and the *vines* with the tender grape give a good smell."[1] It were vain to ask the precise cause of these omissions and selections. Perhaps there may be found some answer in the analogies, partial as they are, of the absorption of the greatest of ancient philosophers, of the noblest of mediæval saints: which made Socrates delight in the city rather than in the country; which made St. Bernard on the shores of Geneva unconscious of the magnificence of the lake and mountains round him. But rather, perhaps, we may say that it was the same humble and matter-of-fact, yet at the same time universal spirit, which characterised the whole course of His life on earth, and has formed the main outlines of His religion

[1] Song of Solomon ii. 11—13.

since. The homeliness of the illustrations, whilst it links the teaching with the daily life of His time, yet sufficiently frees them from local peculiarity to render them of universal application. They gain more force and vividness by being still seen on the spot, but they need little or no explanation beyond what they themselves convey. What has often been said of the two Sacraments is, in fact, but one instance of what applies to His whole ministry. Taken from the common usages of Eastern life, ablution and the social meal, from the common elements of nature, water, bread, and the fruit of the vine, there is hardly a country where they are not easily accessible and intelligible. A groundwork of historical and geographical fact, with a wide applicability extending beyond the limits of any age or country; a religion rising in the East, yet finding its highest development and fulfilment in the West; a character and teaching human, Hebrew, Syrian, in its outward form and colour, but in its inward spirit and characteristics universal and divine—such are the general conclusions, discernible, doubtless, from any careful study of the Gospels, but impressed with peculiar force on the observant traveller by the sight of the Holy Land.

Union of Human and Divine.

3. Lastly, the whole effect of these points of homely contact between the life of Christ and the earthly scenes of His ministrations, leaves two thoughts not to be set aside. On the one hand, it is useless to deny that there is a shock to the religious sentiment in finding ourselves on the actual ground of events which we have been accustomed to regard as transacted in heaven, rather than on earth,—which we have been led by pictures and preaching and poetry to invest with an atmosphere too ideal to be brought into contact with anything so prosaic as the actual stocks and stones of Syria. "*Is not this the son of the carpenter? Is not his mother called Mary? And his brethren James, and John, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us? A Prophet has no honour in his own country.*" But, on the other hand, this very feeling gives us a sense of solidity and substance in the character thus presented to us, which it is our own fault if we do not turn to account.

So completely one of the sons of men, a career so circumscribed by the roads, and valleys, and hills of an ordinary home and country; and yet (to go no higher than the mere outward contemplation of the history takes us), so universal in the fame, the effects, the spirit of His teaching and life.—"*From whence hath this man these things? and what wisdom is this which is given unto him that even such mighty works are wrought by his hands?*"[1]

[1] Matt. xiii. 54; Mark, vi. 3.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## THE HOLY PLACES.

Psalm cii. 14.—Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof.

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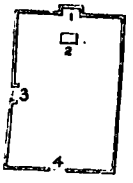
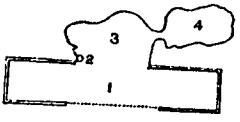
Chtalogue of the Holy Places :—I. Bethlehem. 1. Church of Helena. 2. Grotto of the Nativity. 3. Cell of Jerome. II. Nazareth. 1. Spring of the Greek Church. 2. Grotto of the Latin Church. 3. House of Loretto. III. Jerusalem. 1. Mosque of the Ascension. 2. Tomb of the Virgin. 3. Garden of Gethsemane. 4. Cœnaculum. 5. The Holy Sepulchre—The Church—Greek Easter—Holy Fire—Conclusion.

HOUSE AT LORETTO.




1. Chimney.
2. Door.
3. Altar.
4. Window.

SITE OF THE HOUSE AT NAZARETH.




1. Alleged site of the House.
2. Pillar of the Angel.
3. Grotto of the Annunciation
4. Grotto of the Neighbours.

See page 439.

# THE HOLY PLACES.

The Holy Places.

It has been the object of the foregoing Chapters to represent the connection between the topography of Palestine and the historical events of the Old and New Testament. There remains another interest—in every way inferior, but still living and powerful—that which attaches to what are technically called "the Holy Places." By this term are meant not the scenes of sacred events, taken generally, but such special localities as the Greek or Latin Church, or both conjointly, have selected as objects of pilgrimage. Of course, the historical scenes and the sanctuaries will sometimes coincide. But this is by no means universal. Some scenes which the whole Christian world would naturally regard as most sacred, are almost wholly neglected by the mass of pilgrims properly so called. Others, which rank high in the estimation of local and ecclesiastical tradition, are probably unknown beyond the immediate sphere of those who worship in them. And the most important are so slightly connected with the actual thread of the Sacred History, and, if ever so genuine, would throw so little light upon it, that the whole subject is best reserved for a consideration distinct from that which has been bestowed on the general geography of the Holy Land. But they have an interest of their own; they have been for ages objects of a reverence which still diverts some and alienates others from the greater centres of local instruction which the Holy Land contains. They caused the greatest event of the middle ages—the Crusades; and, indirectly, invited Columbus to the

discovery of the New World. They exhibit within a narrow compass, the feuds between the Greek and Latin Churches, which have rent Christendom asunder, which overthrew the Byzantine Empire, and which now after a lapse of many centuries have once more, in direct connection with these very sanctuaries, involved the world in a terrible war.

Of these places there are twelve preeminent above the rest: — 1. Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem (common). 2. Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth (Latin). 3. Church of Jacob's Well at Nablous (destroyed). 4. Church at Cana (Greek). 5. Church of St. Peter at Tiberias (Latin). 6. Church of the Presentation at Jerusalem (Mussulman). 7. Church of the Flagellation (Latin). 8. Grotto of Gethsemane (Latin). 9. Tomb of the Virgin (common). 10. Church of the Ascension (Mussulman). 11. Church of the Apostles or 'of the Last Supper' (Mussulman). 12. Church of the Holy Sepulchre (common)[1]. But, as some of those have been long deserted, and others depend for their support entirely on the greater sanctuaries in their neighbourhood, I shall confine myself to those which exist in Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem.[2]

BETHLEHEM.

I. Whether from its being usually the first seen by travellers, or from its own intrinsic solemnity, there is probably none which produces so great an impression at first sight as the Convent of the Nativity at Bethlehem. It is an enormous pile of buildings, extending along the ridge of the hill from west to east, and consisting of the Church of the Nativity, with the three convents, Latin, Greek, and Armenian, abutting respectively upon its north-eastern, south-eastern, and south-western extremities. Externally there is nothing to command attention

[1] I have given these spots as they are mentioned in the slight but candid and perspicuous treatise of the Abbé Michon, *Solution Nouvelle de la Question des Lieux Saintes*. 1853. Of these the third has been long since abandoned as a resort of pilgrims, and its site (see Chapter V.) depends not on any ecclesiastical tradition, but on the unchanging features of the whole of the locality. The other upper localities shall be noticed in passing.

[2] Tobler has shown that a great part of the Church of Helena has been superseded by the successive edifices of Justinian and Emanuel Comnenus (Bethlehem, p. 104, 105). But there seems no sufficient reason to dispute the antiquity of the nave.

beyond its size—the more imposing from the meanness and smallness of the village, which hangs as it were on its western skirts. In the Church itself the only portion of peculiar interest is the nave—common to all the sects, and for that very reason deserted, bare, discrowned, but in all probability the most ancient monument of Christian architecture in the world. It is all that now remains of the Basilica, built by Helena herself, the prototype of those built by her Imperial son at Jerusalem, beside the Holy Sepulchre and at Rome, over the graves of St. Paul and of St. Peter. The long double lines of Corinthian pillars, the faded mosaics, dimly visible on the walls above, as in the two Churches of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna, the rough ceiling of beams of cedar from Lebanon, still preserve the outlines of the Church, once[1] blazing with gold and marble—in which Baldwin was crowned, and which received its latest repairs from our own Edward IV.[2]

The Church of Helena.

2. From this, the only interesting portion of the upper church, we descend to that subterranean vault, over which, and for which, the whole structure was erected. There, at the entrance of a long winding passage, excavated out of the limestone rock, of which the hill of Bethlehem is composed, the pilgrim finds himself in an irregular chapel, dimly lighted with silver lamps, and containing two small recesses, nearly opposite each other. In the northernmost of these is a marble slab, which marks the supposed spot of the Nativity, with the rays of the silver star, sent from Vienna in 1852, to supply the place of that which the Greeks—truly or falsely—were charged with having stolen. In the southern recess, three steps deeper in the chapel, is the alleged stall, in which, according to the Latin tradition, was discovered the wooden manger or "præsepe," now deposited in the magnificent Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and there displayed under the auspices of the Pope, every Christmas-day.

The Grotto of the Nativity.

Let us pause for a moment in the dim vault, between those two recesses; let us dismiss the consideration of

[1] Tobler, ibid. p. 110.

[2] Ibid. p. 112. See Chap. II. p. 140.

the lesser memorials which surround us on all sides—the altar of the Magi—of the Shepherds—of Joseph—of the Innocents—to which, probably, no one would now attach any other than an imaginative importance, and ask what ground there is for believing or disbelieving the tradition which invites us to confine the awful associations of the village of Bethlehem within these rocky walls. Alone, of all the existing local traditions of Palestine, this one indisputably reaches beyond the time of Constantine. Already in the second century, "a cave near Bethlehem" was fixed upon as the place where, "there being no place in the village, where he could lodge,[1] Joseph abode, and where accordingly Christ was born and laid in a manger." And this seems to have been the constant tradition of the place, even amongst those who were not Christians, in the next generation,[2] and to have been uniformly maintained in the Apocryphal Gospels, which have always exercised so powerful an influence over the popular belief of the humbler classes of the Christian world, both in the East and the West. It is perhaps invidious to remark on the deviations from the Gospel narrative, which tells us that the want of room was not in the village, but in the inn; and that the hardship was not that they were driven from the village to the inn, but from the inn to the manger.[3] Such a deviation implies, perhaps, an independent origin of the local tradition, but not necessarily its falsehood. And if at Bethlehem the caves in the limestone rock, on which the village stands, were commonly used as elsewhere in Palestine for horses and cattle, the omission of all allusion to the cave in St. Luke's narrative would be, to a certain extent, explained. On the other hand, the general impression of the account in Justin is certainly different from that of St. Luke; and if (with the tradition which Justin

[1] Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. 78.

[2] Origen, c. Cels. i. 51.

[3] The Apocryphal Gospel of St. James, c. xviii. xix., and the Gospel of the Infancy, c. ii., iii., iv., represent Joseph as going at once to the cave and confine all the subsequent events to the cave, which is described as outside the town. In the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, c. iv., the birth is described as taking place *in* the cave, and the manger as being *outside* the cave. The quotations and arguments are well summed up in Thilo's Codex Apocryphus, p. 382, 383.

seems to have followed, and which has unquestionably prevailed since the time of Jerome) we lay the scene of the Adoration of the Magi on the same spot, it is positively irreconcilable with the words of St. Matthew, that they came into the "*house* where the young child was." We must add to this the often-repeated suspicion which Maundrell was the first to express, which attaches to the constant connection of the several localities of Palestine with grottoes and caves. However much it may be urged that, in a country like Palestine, natural excavations are unavoidably employed for purposes of dwelling, of sepulture, of rest, for which in Europe they never would be used, yet for this very reason there would be a disposition to attach events to them, if the real locality had been forgotten. If, for example, in the case now in question, the caravanserai or khan had been swept away in the convulsions of the Jewish war, and the inhabitants of Bethlehem had any wish to give a local habitation to the event which made their village illustrious, they would almost inevitably fix on a strongly-marked natural feature, such as the cave of the convent must, in its original aspect, have been.[1] And another motive leading to the same result transpires through the same passage of Justin which first mentions the tradition, namely, the attempt to find a fulfilment of a fancied prediction of the Messiah's birth in the LXX translation of the words of Isaiah, "He shall dwell on high; his place of defence shall be in "a lofty cave of the strong rock."[2]

One further objection to the identity of the whole scene must be mentioned in conclusion. During the troubled period of the invasion of Ibrahim Pasha the Arab population of Bethlehem took possession of the convent, and dismantled the whole of the recess of that gilding and

[1] See Chap. II. p. 149. The universal employment of caves for the scenes of sacred events excited surprise as early as the thirteenth century, and was then accounted for by the not unnatural hypothesis that the places so shown were the remains of buildings built under the accumulated ruins of subsequent ages. (Sanutus iii. c. 7.) But the early mention of the actual caves in the most celebrated instances shows that this is inadequate.

[2] ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπηλαίῳ ἰσχυρᾶς πέτρας (Isa. xxxi. 16). The English version translates it "the munitions of rocks."

marble which is the bane of so many sanctuaries, European and Asiatic. The native rock of the cave was disclosed; but also, it is said, an ancient sepulchre hewn in that very spot. It is possible, but hardly possible, that a rock devoted to sepulchral purposes would have been employed by Jews, whose scruples on this subject are too well known to need comment, either as an inn or a stable.

Still there remains the remarkable fact that the spot was reverenced by Christians as the birth-place of Christ two centuries before the conversion of the Empire,—before that burst of local religion which is commonly ascribed to the visit of Helena. And out of these earliest and most sacred of its recollections has grown a subordinate train of associations, which has at least the advantage of being unquestionably grounded on fact. If the traveller follows the windings of that long subterranean gallery, he will find himself at its close in a rough chamber hewn out of the rock; here sufficiently clear to need no proof or vindication. In this cell, in all probability, lived and died the most illustrious of all the pilgrims attracted to the Cave of Bethlehem—the only one of the many hermits and monks from the time of Constantine to the present day sheltered within its rocky sides, whose name has travelled beyond the limits of the Holy Land. Here, for more than thirty years, beside what he believed to be literally the cradle of the Christian faith, Jerome fasted, prayed, dreamed, and studied—here he gathered round him his devoted followers in the small communities which formed the beginnings of conventual life in Palestine—here, the fiery spirit which he had brought with him from his Dalmatian birthplace, and which had been first roused to religious fervour on the banks of the Moselle, vented itself in the flood of treatises, letters, commentaries, which he poured forth from his retirement, to terrify, exasperate, and enlighten the Western world—here also was composed the famous translation of the Scriptures which is still the "Biblia Vulgata" of the Latin Church; and here took place that pathetic scene, his last communion and death—at which all the world has been permitted to be present in the wonderful picture of

Domenichino, which has represented, in colours never to be surpassed, the attenuated frame of the weak and sinking flesh—the resignation and devotion of the spirit ready for its immediate departure.

II. The interest of the "Holy Place" of Nazareth is of a kind different from that of Bethlehem.[1] At the south-eastern extremity of the village stands the massive convent, so well known from the hospitable reception it affords to travellers caught in the storms of the hills of Gilboa, or attacked by the Bedouins of the plain of Esdraelon; so well known also for the impressiveness of its religious services, where wild figures in the rough drapery and the rude rope-fillet and kefyeh of the Bedouin dress, join in the responses of Christian worship, and the chants of the Latin Church are succeeded by a sermon addressed to these strange converts in their own native Arabic with all the earnestness and solemnity of the preachers of Italy. There is no church in Palestine where the religious services seem so worthy of the sacredness of the place. Nazareth.

But neither is there any place where traditional and local sanctities undergo so severe a shock.[2] Elsewhere, however discreditable the conflicts of the various sects, they have yet for the most part agreed (and indeed this very agreement is the occasion of their conflicts) on the spots which they wish to venerate. But at Nazareth there are three counter-theories—each irreconcilable with the other—in relation to the special scene, which has been selected for peculiar reverence.

1. From the entrance of the Franciscan church a flight of steps descends to an altar, which stands within a recess, partly cased in marble, but partly showing the natural rock out of which it is formed. On a marble slab in front Grotto in the Latin Convent.

[1] The two lesser sanctuaries visited by pilgrims from Nazareth, are the Greek church of Cana, as the scene of the marriage supper, and the Latin Church of Tiberias, as the scene of the house of St. Peter. The former has been thrown into the shade of uncertainty, since Dr. Robinson (B. R. II. 204—208), pointed out its more ancient rival at Kana-el-Jelil, now long deserted. The latter has been already noticed at the end of Chapter X.

[2] Besides the difficulties which we are about to notice, there is the clumsy legend of the "Mountain of Precipitation," too well known to need further comment or refutation. (See Robinson, iii. p. 187.) See Chapter X.

of this altar, worn with the kisses of many pilgrims, are the words "Verbum caro hic factum est," and intended to mark the spot on which the Virgin stood when she received the angelic visitation. Close by is a broken pillar,[1] which in like manner is pointed out as indicating the space occupied by the celestial visitant, who is supposed to have entered through a hole in the rocky wall forming the western front of the cave, close by the opening which now unites it with the church. The back, or eastern side of the grotto behind the altar opens by a narrow passage into a further cave, left much more nearly in its natural state, and said by an innocent tradition, which no one would care either to assert or to refute, to have been the residence of a friendly neighbour who looked after the adjacent house when Mary departed on her journey to see Elizabeth in Judæa.

Spring at or near the Greek Church.

2. To any one who knows the rivalry which prevails in the East between the Greeks and Latins on the subject of the Holy Places, it will not be surprising that the Greeks excluded from this convent, have their own "Church of the Annunciation" at the opposite end of the town. But it would be an injustice to them to suppose that this contradiction was merely the result of jealousy. In the abstinence of the Scriptural narrative from any attempt to localise the scene—from any indication whether it took place by day or night, in house or field—the Greeks may at least be pardoned for having clung to the faint shadow of tradition which lingers in the Apocryphal Gospels. In that which bears the name of St. James we are told that the first salutation of the Angel came to Mary[2] as she was drawing water from the spring in the neighbourhood of the town. That spring[3] still remains, and bears her name, and in the open meadow by its side stands the Greek Church of the Annunciation, a dull and

[1] This pillar is one of the many instances we meet of what may be called the extinction of a traditional miracle, in deference to the spirit of the time. To all the early travellers it was shown as a supernatural suspension of a stone. To all later travellers it is exhibited merely as what it is, a column, broken probably in one of the many assaults which the convent has suffered.

[2] Protev. Jacobi, c. xi. — *Epitaph. Paul.*

[3] The spring, however, is also shown to travellers *under* the altar of the Greek church.

mournful contrast in its closed doors and barbarous architecture to the solemn yet animated worship of the Franciscan convent—but undoubtedly with a better claim to be an authentic memorial of the event which they both claim as their own.

House at Loretto.

3. But the tradition of the Latin Church has to undergo a yet ruder trial. There is another scene of the Annunciation, not at the other extremity of the little town of Nazareth, but in another continent—not maintained by a rival and hostile sect, but fostered by the Supreme Head itself of the Roman Church. On the slope of the eastern Apennines, overlooking the Adriatic Gulf, stands what may be called (according to the belief of the Roman Catholic Church) the European Nazareth. Fortified as if by the bastions of a huge castle, against the approach of Saracenic pirates, a vast church, even now gorgeous with the offerings of the faithful, contains the "Santa Casa," the "Holy House," in which the Virgin lived, and (as is attested by the same inscription as that at Nazareth) received the Angel Gabriel. Every one knows the story of the House of Loretto. The devotion of one-half the world, and the ridicule of the other half, has made us all acquainted with the strange story, written in all the languages[1] of Europe round the walls of that remarkable sanctuary: how the house of Nazareth was, in the close of the thirteenth century, conveyed by angels, first to the heights above Fiume, at the head of the Adriatic Gulf, then to the plain, and lastly to the hill, of Loretto. But this "wondrous flitting" of the Holy House is not the feature in its history which is most present to the pilgrims who frequent it. It is regarded by them simply as an actual fragment of the Holy Land, sacred as the very spot on which the mystery of the Incarnation was announced and begun. In proportion to the sincerity and extent of this belief is the veneration

[1] Of these numerous versions of the story, made in 1635, one is in English, one in Lowland Scotch, containing all the peculiarities of diction with which every one is so familiar from the nearly contemporary conversations of King James I. in "The Fortunes of Nigel;" showing clearly that at that time these two dialects of English were regarded as two distinct languages, each unintelligible to the speaker of the other.

which attaches to what is undoubtedly the most frequented sanctuary of Christendom. The devotion of pilgrims even on week-days exceeds anything that is seen at any of the holy places in Palestine, if we except the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Easter.

Before the dawn of day the worship begins. Whilst it is yet dark, the doors are opened—a few lights round the sacred spot break the gloom, and disclose the kneeling Capuchins, who have been here throughout the night. Two soldiers, sword in hand, take their place by the entrance of the "House," to guard it against all injury. One of the hundred priests who are in daily attendance immediately begins mass at the high altar of the church, the first of a hundred and twenty that are repeated daily within its precincts. The "Santa Casa" itself is then opened and lighted, the pilgrims flock in; and, from that hour till sunset, come and go in a perpetual stream. The "House" is thronged with kneeling or prostrate figures, the pavement round it is deeply worn with the passage of pilgrims, who, from the humblest peasant of the Abruzzi up to the King of Naples, crawl round it on their knees; the nave is filled with the bands of worshippers who, having visited the sacred spot, are retiring backwards from it, as from some royal presence.

On the Santa Casa alone depends the sacredness of the whole locality in which it stands. Loretto—whether the name is derived from the sacred grove (Lauretum) or the lady (Loreta) under whose shelter the house is believed to have descended—had no existence before the rise of this extraordinary sanctuary. The long street with its venders of rosaries, the palace of the governor, the strong walls built by Pope Sixtus IV., are all mere appendages to the humble edifice which stands within the Church. The "Santa Casa" is spoken of by them as a living person, a corporation sole on which the whole city depends, to which the whole property far and near over the rich plain which lies spread beneath it belongs for ever.

No one who has ever witnessed the devotion of the Italian people on this singular spot, can wish to speak

lightly of the feelings which it inspires. But a dispassionate statement of the real facts of the case may not be without use. Into the general question of the story we need not enter here. It has been ably proved elsewhere,[1] first, that of all the pilgrims who record their visit to Nazareth from the fourth to the sixteenth century, not one alludes to any house of Joseph as standing there, or as having stood there, within human memory or record; secondly, that the records of Italy contain no mention of the House till the fifteenth century; thirdly, that the representation of the story as it now stands, with the double or triple transplantation of the sanctuary, occurs first in a bull of Leo X. in the year 1518. But it is the object of these remarks simply to confront the House as it stands at Loretto with the House as it appears at Nazareth. It has been already said that each professes to contain the exact spot of the Angelic visitation, to be the scene of a single event which can only have happened in one; each claims to be the very House of the Annunciation, and bases its claim to sanctity on that especial ground. But this is not all: even should either consent to surrender something of this peculiar sacredness, yet no one can visit both sanctuaries without perceiving that by no possibility can one be amalgamated with the other. The House at Loretto is an edifice of thirty-six feet by seventeen: its walls, though externally cased in marble, can be seen in their original state from the inside, and these appear to be of a dark red polished stone. The west wall has one square window, through which it is said the Angel flew; the east wall contains a rude chimney, in front of which is a mass of cemented stone, said to be the altar on which St. Peter said mass, when the Apostles, after the Ascension, turned the house into a church. On the north side is (or rather was) a door, now walled up. The monks of Loretto and of Nazareth have but a dim knowledge of the sacred localities of each other. Still,

[1] See an elaborate and conclusive Essay on the origin of the story of the "Holy House of Loretto," which appeared in the "Christian Remembrancer," April, 1855, shortly after the substance of these remarks had been published in the Quarterly Review.

the monks of Nazareth could not be altogether ignorant of the mighty sanctuary which, under the highest authorities of their Church, professes to have once rested on the ground they now occupy. They show, therefore, to any traveller who takes the pains to inquire, the space on which the Holy House stood before its flight. That space is a vestibule immediately in front of the sacred grotto; and an attempt is made to unite the two localities by supposing that there were openings from the house into the grotto. Without laying any stress on the obvious variation of measurements, the position of the grotto is, and must always have been, absolutely incompatible with any such adjacent building as that at Loretto. Whichever way the house is supposed to abut on the rock, it is obvious that such a house as has been described, would have closed up, with blank walls, the very passages by which alone the communication could be effected. And it may be added, that although there is no traditional masonry of the Santa Casa left at Nazareth, there is the traditional masonry close by of the so-called workshop of Joseph of an entirely different character. Whilst the former is of a kind wholly unlike anything in Palestine, the latter is, as might be expected, of the natural gray limestone of the country, of which in all times, no doubt, the houses of Nazareth were built.

It may have seemed superfluous labour to have attempted any detailed refutation of the most incredible[1] of Ecclesiastical legends. But Loretto is so emphatically the "Holy Place" of one large branch of Christendom—its claim has been so strongly maintained by French and Italian writers of our own times—and is moreover, so

[1] The story of the House of Loretto acquires a painful interest from its connection with the history of the unfortunate and gifted Leopardi, known to the English public chiefly through a striking account of his character and writings in the Quarterly Review (vol. 86, p. 334). His father—like himself, an inhabitant of Recanati, the town which claims the credit of having first received the rumour of the arrival of the Santa Casa in its neighbourhood—wrote a book to prove that the House disappeared from Palestine in the *first century*, and lay concealed in some unknown place till its arrival at Loretto in 1291. This hypothesis of course is intended to meet the difficulty arising from the total absence of allusion to any such house at Nazareth before that time. How far, we may fairly ask, are the guardians of Loretto answerable for the alienation of their illustrious neighbour from the faith of Christianity?

deeply connected with the alleged authority of the Papal See—that an interest attaches to it far beyond its intrinsic importance. No facts are insignificant which bring to an issue the general value of local religion—or the assumption of any particular Church to direct the conscience of the world—or the amount of liberty within such a Church left on questions which concern the faith and practice of thousands of its members.

But the legend is also curious as an illustration of the history of "Holy Places" generally. It is difficult to say how it originated—or what led to the special selection of the Adriatic Gulf as the scene of such a fable; yet, generally speaking, the explanation is easy and instructive. Nazareth was taken by Sultan Khalil in 1291, when he stormed the last refuge of the Crusaders in the neighbouring city of Acre. From that time, not Nazareth only, but the whole of Palestine, was closed to the devotions of Europe. The Crusaders were expelled from Asia, and in Europe the spirit of the Crusades was extinct. But the natural longing to see the scenes of the events of the Sacred History—the superstitious craving to win for prayer the favour of consecrated localities—did not expire with the Crusades. Can we wonder that, under such circumstances, there should have arisen the feeling, the desire, the belief, that if Mahomet could not go to the mountain, the mountain must come to Mahomet? The House of Loretto is the petrifaction, so to speak, of the "Last sigh of the Crusades;" suggested possibly by the Holy House of St. Francis at Assisi, then first acquiring its European celebrity. It is indeed not a matter of conjecture that in Italy—the country where the passionate temperament of the people would most need such stimulants—persons in this state of mind did actually endeavour, so far as circumstances permitted, to reproduce the scenes of Palestine within their own immediate neighbourhood. One such is the Campo Santo of Pisa—"the Holy Field," as this is "the Holy House"—literally a cargo of sacred earth from the Valley of Hinnom, carried, as is well known, not on the wings of angels, but in the ships of the Pisan Crusaders. Another example is the remarkable

Church of St. Stephen's, at Bologna, within whose walls are crowded together various chapels and courts, representing not only, as in the actual Church of the Sepulchre, the several scenes of the Crucifixion, but the Trial and Passion also; and which is entitled, in a long inscription affixed to its cloister, the "Sancta Sanctorum;" nay, literally "the *Jerusalem*" of Italy.[1] A third still more curious instance may be seen at Varallo, in the kingdom of Piedmont. Bernardino Caimo, returning from a pilgrimage to Palestine at the close of the fifteenth century, resolved to select the spot in Lombardy most resembling the Holy Land, in order to give his countrymen the advantage of praying at the Holy Place without undergoing the privations which he had suffered himself. Accordingly, in one of the beautiful valleys leading down from the roots of Monte Rosa, he chose (it must be confessed that the resemblance is of the slightest kind) three hills, which should represent respectively Tabor, Olivet, and Calvary; and two mountain-streams, which should in like manner personate the Kedron and Jordan. Of these the central hill, Calvary, became the "Holy Place" of Lombardy. It was frequented by S. Carlo Borromeo; under his auspices the whole mountain was studded with chapels, in which the scenes of the Passion are represented in waxen figures of the size of life; and the whole country round now sends its peasants by thousands as pilgrims to the sacred spot. We have only to suppose these feelings existing as they naturally would exist in a more fervid state two centuries earlier, when the loss of Palestine was more keenly felt—when the capture of Nazareth especially was fresh in every one's mind—and we can easily imagine that the same tendency, which by deliberate purpose produced a second Jerusalem at Bologna and a second Palestine at Varallo, would, on the secluded shores of the Adriatic, by some peasant's dream, or the return of some Croatian chief from the last Crusade, or the story of some Eastern voyager landing on their coasts, produce a second

[1] This church was, at least in its foundation, considerably earlier than that of Loretto, having been first erected in the fifth century. There is an excellent account of it in Professor Willis's Essay on the Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Nazareth at Fiume and Loretto. What, in a more poetical and ignorant age was in the case of the Holy House ascribed to the hands of angels, was actually intended by Sixtus V. to have been literally accomplished in the case of the Holy Sepulchre by a treaty with the Sublime Porte for transferring it bodily to Rome, so that Italy might then have the glory of possessing the actual sites of the conception, the birth, and the burial of our Saviour.

III. The Holy Places which cluster within and around the walls of Jerusalem have been shown, age after age, with singular uniformity. Here and there a tradition has been misplaced by accident, or transposed for convenience, or suppressed in fear of ridicule, or, it may be, from sincere doubts. But, on the whole, what was shown to Maundeville in the fourteenth century, was with some few omissions shown to Maundrell in the seventeenth, and what Maundrell has carefully described with the dry humour peculiar to his age, may still be verified at the present time. Such localities are interesting as relics of the period when for the first and only time Palestine became a European province—as the scenes, if one may so call them, of some of the most celebrated works of European art—as the fountain-heads of some of the most extensive of European superstitions. No thoughtful traveller can see without at least a passing emotion the various points in the Via Dolorosa, which have been repeated again and again in pictures and in calvaries, amidst the blaze of gorgeous colours, and on the sides of romantic hills in France and Italy; the spot where Veronica is said to have received the sacred cloth, for which Lucca, Turin, and Rome contend—the threshold where is believed to have stood the Scala Santa, worn by the ceaseless toil of Roman pilgrims in front of St. John Lateran. There is, however, one feature common to all these lesser sanctities, which illustrates the general remarks already made on the scenery of Palestine. There are some countries, such as Greece, whose natural features—some cities, such as Rome, whose vast ruins—lend themselves with extraordinary facility to the growth of legends. The stalactite

JERUSALEM.

Lesser localities.

figures of the Corycian cave at once explain the origin of the Nymphs who are said to have dwelt there. The deserted halls, the subterranean houses, the endless catacombs of Rome, afford an ample field for the localisation of the numerous persons and events with which the early history of the Roman Church abounds. But in Jerusalem it is not so. The featureless rocks without the walls, the mere dust and ashes [1] within, at once repel the attempt to amalgamate them with the fables which, by the very fact of their slight and almost imperceptible connection with the spots in question, betray their foreign parentage. A fragment of old sculpture lying at a house door is sufficient to mark the abode of Veronica; a broken column, separated from its companions in a colonnade in the next street, is pointed out as that to which the decree of Pilate was affixed, or on which the cock crew; a faint line on the surface of a rock is the mark of the girdle which the Virgin dropped to convince Thomas. There is no attempt at fraud, or even at probability; nothing seems to have been too slight, too modern, for the tradition to lay hold of it. Criticism and belief are alike disarmed by the child-like, almost playful spirit, in which the early pilgrims and crusaders must have gone to and fro, seeking for places here and there, in which to localise the dreams of their own imaginations.[2]

From these—the mere sport and exuberance of monastic tradition—we pass to the more important of the sacred localities of Jerusalem.

Church of the Ascension.

1. The present edifice of the Church of the Ascension on the top of Olivet has no claims to antiquity. It is a small octagon chapel within the court of a mosque, the minaret of which is ascended by every traveller for the

[1] A far wider field for such inventions would be open if the platform of the Mosque of Omar were accessible, as may be seen in Sæwulf's unconscious account of its accommodation to Christian purposes during that short period in the twelfth century when it was in the hands of the Crusaders (Early Travellers in Palestine, p. 40). The only professedly Christian scene which it is now alleged to contain, is that of the Presentation in the Mosque of Aksa.

[2] Arculf (Early Travellers in Palestine, p. 5) speaks of the "dust" on which the impression remains. And so also Jerome (*loc. Heb.*), who speaks of two footsteps of which the impression was always carried off and always remained. Quaresmius (ii. 302) vainly endeavours to reconcile this with the *rock*.

sake of its celebrated view over Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. Within the chapel is the rock which has been pointed out to pilgrims, at least since the seventh century, as imprinted with the footstep of our Saviour. There is no spot to which the remarks just made may be more joyfully applied respecting the slightness of ground on which these lesser traditions rest. It would be painful to witness any mark of fraud, or even any trick of nature, in connection with an event like that which this rock professes to commemorate. Nothing but deep repulsion would now be excited were there, for example, any such mark as that which is shown in the Chapel of Domine Quo Vadis at Rome, or of St. Radegonde at Poitiers, where a well-defined footmark in the stone is supposed to indicate the spot where, in those two places, our Saviour appeared to St. Peter and St. Radegonde. Here there is nothing but a simple cavity in the rock, with no more resemblance to a human foot than to anything else. It must have been sought and selected in default of anything better; it could never either have been invented or have suggested the connection.

The site is probably ancient. This doubtless is "the top of the hill" on which Helena built one of the only two churches which Eusebius ascribes to her (the other being, as we have seen, at Bethlehem)—the church whose glittering cross first caught the eye of the pilgrims[1] who approached Jerusalem from the south and west. At the same time there is one[2] circumstance on which Eusebius lays great stress, and which throws a new light on the special object for which this church was erected. That object, he tells us, as at Bethlehem, was a cave—a cave, as he further adds, in which "a true tradition maintains that our Lord had initiated his disciples in his secret mysteries" before the Ascension, and to which, on that account, pilgrimages were in his time made from all parts of the Empire. It was to honour this cave, which Constantine himself also adorned, that Helena built a church on the summit of the mountain, in memory of the

[1] Hieronym. Epitaph. Paul.
[2] Euseb. Vit. Const., iii. 41, 43; Demonst. Evang., vi. 18, p. 288.

Ascension. The cave[1] to which Eusebius refers must almost certainly be the same as that singular catacomb, a short distance below the third summit of Olivet, commonly called the Tombs of the Prophets, and first distinctly noticed by Arculf in the seventh century, to whom were shown within it "four stone tables, where our Lord and the Apostles sate."[2] In the next century the same "four tables of His Supper," were shown again to Bernard the Wise, who speaks of a church being erected there to commemorate the Betrayal.[3] From that period it remained unnoticed till attention was again called to it by the travellers of the seventeenth century, in whose time it had assumed its present name, which it has borne ever since.

It is clear from the language of Eusebius that the traditional spot which Helena meant to honour was not the scene of the Ascension itself, but the scene of the conversations before the Ascension, and the cave in which they were believed to have occurred. Had this been clearly perceived, much useless controversy might have been spared. There is in fact no proof from Eusebius that any tradition pointed out the scene of the Ascension. Here was (as usual) the tradition of the *cave*, and nothing besides. Helena fixed upon the site of her church, partly from its commanding position, partly from its vicinity to the cave. The contradiction of the present spot to the words of St. Luke, and its still more palpable contradiction to the whole character of the scene of the Ascension, has been already pointed out. Even if the Evangelist had been less explicit in stating that He led them out "as far as Bethany"—the secluded hills[4] which overhang that village on the eastern slope of Olivet, are evidently as appropriate to the whole tenor of the narrative as the startling, the almost offen-

[1] Van Egmont (374) speaks of it as having been first thrown open at the time when the graves of the Saints were opened by the earthquake of the Crucifixion. There are or were two other caves, those of Pelagia and of the "Credo," but these are such mere niches as to exclude them from Eusebius's description. Quaresmius altogether denies the cave of the Credo, and calls that of S. Pelagia "angustissimus." (ii. 302, 308). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A. D. 333) speaks of Constantine's church as being on the place where Christ taught *before His passion*.

[2] Early Travels in Palestine, p. 4.

[3] Ibid. p. 24.

[4] That especially to which Tobler assigns the name of Djebel Sajach (Siloahquelle und Oelberg, p. 84). See Chapter III.

sive publicity of the traditional spot in the full view of the whole city of Jerusalem is wholly inappropriate, and (in the absence, as it now appears, of even traditional support) wholly untenable.

Tomb of the Virgin.

2. There are few travellers whose attention has not been arrested, even in the first flush of the ascent of Mount Olivet, by the sight of a venerable chapel, approached by a flight of steps, which lead from the rocky roots of Olivet, on which it stands, and entered by yet again another and deeper descent, under the low-browed arches of a Gothic roof, producing on a smaller scale the same impression of awful gloom that is so remarkable in the subterranean Church of Assisi. This is the traditional burial-place of the Virgin. "You must know," says Maundeville,[1] "that this church is very low in the earth, and a part is quite within the earth. But I imagine that it was not founded so; but since Jerusalem has been so often destroyed, and the walls broken down, and levelled with the valley, and that they have been so filled again and the ground raised, for that reason the church is so low in the earth. Nevertheless, men say there commonly, that the earth hath been so ever since the time that our Lady was buried there, and men also say there that it grows and increases every day without doubt." Its history is comparatively recent. It is not mentioned by Jerome amongst the sacred places visited by Paula. And, if on such matters the authority of Councils is supposed to have any weight, the tomb of the Virgin ought to be found, not at Jerusalem, but at Ephesus, where it was placed by the Third Council.[2] But even the authority of a General Council has been unable to hold its ground against the later legend, which placed her death and burial at Jerusalem. Even the Greek peasants of Ephesus, though still pointing to the ruined edifice on the heights of Coressus, as the tomb of the Panaghia, have been taught to consider it the tomb of another Panaghia than the "Theotocos," in whom their great Council exulted. And Greeks and Latins unite in contending for the possession of the rocky sepulchre at the foot of

[1] Early Travels in Palestine, p. 176.

[2] Concil. Hardouin, tom. i. pp. 143. The history of the tradition is well given in Mr. Williams's Holy City, 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 434.

Olivet—the scene, in the belief of both Churches, of that "Assumption" which, in our later ages, has passed from the region of poetry and devotion into a sober and literal doctrine.

The Garden of Gethsemane.

Close beside the Church of the Virgin is a spot which, as it is omitted in Abbé Michon's catalogue of Holy Places, might perhaps have been passed over; yet a few words, and perhaps the fewer the better, must be devoted to the garden of Gethsemane. That the tradition reaches back to the age of Constantine is certain. How far it agrees with the slight indications of its position in the Gospel narrative will be judged by the impressions of each individual traveller. Some will think it too public; others will see an argument in its favour from its close proximity to the brook Kedron; none, probably, will be disposed to receive the traditional sites which surround it, the grotto of the Agony, the rocky bank of the three Apostles, the "terra damnata" of the Betrayal. But, in spite of all the doubts that can be raised against their antiquity or the genuineness of their site, the eight aged olive trees, if only by their manifest difference from all others on the mountain, have always struck even the most indifferent observers. They are now indeed less striking in the modern garden enclosure built round them by the Franciscan monks, than when they stood free and unprotected on the rough hill side; but they will remain, so long as their already protracted life is spared, the most venerable of their race on the surface of the earth; their gnarled trunks and scanty foliage will always be regarded as the most affecting of the sacred memorials in or about Jerusalem; the most nearly approaching to the everlasting hills themselves in the force with which they carry us back to the events of the Gospel History.

The Cœnaculum.

3. On the brow of the hill now called Mount Zion, a conspicuous minaret is pointed out from a distance to the traveller approaching Jerusalem from the south, as marking the Mosque of the Tomb of David. Within the precincts of that mosque is a vaulted gothic chamber, which contains within its four walls a greater confluence of traditions than any other place of like dimensions in Palestine. It is startling

to hear that this is the scene of the Last Supper, of the meeting after the Resurrection, of the miracle of Pentecost, of the residence and death of the Virgin, of the burial of Stephen. If one might hazard a conjecture respecting the cause of such a concentration of traditions, some of them dating as far back as the fourth century, it would be this. We know from Cyril and Epiphanius that a building existed on this spot, claiming to be the only edifice which had survived the overthrow of the city by Titus. This building of unknown origin would naturally serve as an appropriate receptacle for all recollections which could not otherwise be attached to any fixed locality. There is one circumstance which, if proved, would be fatal to the claims of the "Cœnaculum." It stands above the vault of the traditional Tomb of David. It is difficult to trace back to its origin this belief, which, although entertained by Christians, Jews, and Mussulmans alike, yet has given the place a special sanctity only in the eyes of the last. Possibly it may have been occasioned by a misunderstanding of St. Peter's words, "His sepulchre is *with us* (ἐν ἡμῖν) until this day;"[1] according to which, it might have been thought that David's Tomb was literally in the midst of the Pentecostal Assembly, that is, in the chamber now shown as the Cœnaculum. At any rate, it is impossible to support both claims at once. No residence, at the time of the Christian era, could ever have stood within the precincts of the Royal Sepulchre.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

4. We now approach the most sacred of all the Holy Places; in comparison of which, if genuine, all the rest sink into insignificance; the interest of which, even if not genuine, stands absolutely alone in the world. I shall not attempt to unravel the tangled controversy of the identity of the Holy Sepulchre. Everything which can be said against that identity will be found in the Biblical Researches of Dr. Robinson—everything which can be said in its favour will be found in the Holy City of Mr. Williams, including, as it does, the able discussion on the architectural history of the church by Professor Willis.[2]

[1] See Thrupp's Ancient Jerusalem, p. 165.

[2] Perhaps the most complete summary of *both* sides of the question is given in the eighth number of the "Museum of Classical Antiquities," April, 1853.

It is enough to state that the argument mainly turns on the solution of two questions, one historical, the other topographical. The historical question rests on the value of the tradition that the spot was marked before the time of Constantine by a temple or statue of Venus, which the Emperor Hadrian had erected in order to pollute a spot already in his time regarded as sacred by the Christians. The topographical question is whether the present site can be proved to have stood without the walls of Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion. On the historical question the advocates of the identity of the Sepulchre never have fairly met the difficulty,[1] that it is hardly conceivable that Hadrian could have had any motive in such a purpose, when his whole object in establishing his new city of Ælia was to insult, not the Christians, but the Jews, from whom, in Palestine at that time, the Christians were emphatically divided. And it is at least curious that to the corresponding tradition respecting Hadrian's temple of Adonis at Bethlehem, there is no allusion whatever by Justin, or by Origen, though speaking of the very cave in which the Pagan temple is said to have been erected, and within a century of the time of its erection. In the topographical question, on the other hand, the opponents of the identity of the Sepulchre have never done justice to the argument first clearly stated in England by Lord Nugent, and pointedly brought out by Professor Willis, which is derived from the so-called tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus. Underneath the western galleries of the church, behind the Holy Sepulchre, are two excavations in the face of the rock, forming an ancient Jewish sepulchre as clearly as any that can be seen in the Valley of Hinnom or in the Tombs of the Kings.[2] That they should have been so long overlooked both by the advocates and opponents of the identity of the Holy Sepulchre, can only be accounted for by the perverse dulness of the conventual guides of the church, who point the attention of travellers and

[1] Milman's History of Christianity, vol. i. p. 417.

[2] As I have seen it doubted whether these tombs are capable of containing a human body, it may be worth while to state that I tried the experiment and found it perfectly possible.

pilgrims, not to those sepulchres but to two graves sunk in the floor[1] in front of them—possibly, like similar excavations in the rocky floors at Petra, of ancient origin—possibly, however, as Dr. Schulz suggests, dug at a later time to represent the graves, when the real object of the ancient sepulchres had ceased to be intelligible—just as the tombs of some Mussulman saints are fictitious tombs erected over the rude sepulchres hewn in the rock beneath. The traditional names of Joseph and Nicodemus are of course valueless. But the existence of these sepulchres proves almost to a certainty that at some period the site of the present church must have been outside the walls of the city, and lends considerable probability to the belief that the rocky excavation, which perhaps exists in part still, and certainly once existed entire, within the marble casing of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre was at any rate a really ancient tomb, and not, as is often rashly asserted, a modern structure intended to imitate it. One further point deserves consideration. The tradition that Adam or Adam's skull was buried in Golgotha seems anterior to the tradition of the Sepulchre itself.[2] It was suggested by Dr. Clarke that the curious cavity still shown as the site of that burial-place may have been the centre of the whole story. It is, at any rate, remarkable that this should have been the only traditional spot in connection with the Crucifixion pointed out in the third century.

Farther than this in our present state of knowledge no merely topographical consideration can bring us. Even though these tombs prove the site to have been outside some wall, they do not prove that wall to have been the wall of Herod: it may have been the earlier wall of the

[1] Even Mr. Curzon, whilst arguing for the antiquity of these tombs, in his graphic account of the Church, speaks of them as "in the floor." (Eastern Monasteries, p. 166.) One other slight inaccuracy may be noticed (p. 203), because it confuses the tenor of a very interesting narrative. He confounds "the stone where the women stood during the anointing" with "the stone where the Virgin stood during the Crucifixion." The two spots are wide apart.

[2] Origen (Tract. in Matt. 35; Latin. Græc. in Matt. xxvii. 27, ed. Cramer), distinctly asserts that there was a Jewish tradition that the body of Adam was buried in the Place of a Skull. Jerome disputes the fact, from his notion that Adam was buried at Hebron. But the passage of Origen certainly proves that in his time there was in Jerusalem a place known by the name of Golgotha, or the Skull.

ancient monarchy; and, even though it be outside the wall of Herod, this only proves the possibility—not even the probability—of its identity with the scene of the Crucifixion. And the question whether the wall of Herod really ran so as just to exclude or just to include the present site, must depend for its solution on such excavations under the accumulated ruins of ages as are now impossible, but will doubtless in some future day clear up the topography of ancient Jerusalem, as they have in the analogous case of Rome, cleared up, beyond all previous expectation, the topography of the Forum. But, granting to the full the doubts which must always hang over the highest claims of the Church of the Sepulchre, no thoughtful man can look unmoved on what has, from the time of Constantine, been revered by the larger part of the Christian world as the scene of the greatest events of the world's history, and has itself in time become, for that reason, the centre of a second cycle of events of incomparably less magnitude, indeed, but yet of an interest in the highest degree romantic. It may be too much to expect that inquiring travellers, who see the necessary uncertainty of the whole tradition, should be able to partake of those ardent feelings which even a sceptical observer like Dr. Clarke acknowledges, in that striking passage which describes the entrance of himself and his companions into the Chapel of the Sepulchre. But its later associations may be felt by every student of history without fear of superstition or irreverence.

The Rock of Golgotha.

Look at it as its site was first fixed[1] by Constantine and his mother. Whether Golgotha were here or far away, there is no question that we can still trace the sweep of rocky hill, in the face of which the Sepulchre stood, as they first beheld it.[2] For if the rough limestone be

[1] This is not said in ignorance of Mr. Fergusson's ingenious, one might almost say brilliant attempt to disprove even the Constantinian origin of the present site; and it is much to be wished that some competent opponent would seriously consider the architectural argument from the dome of the Sakrah, on which he chiefly relies, and which undoubtedly is calculated to produce a great impression. But the historical objections still seem to me insurmountable.

[2] It may be well to remind the reader that there are two errors implied in the popular expression "Mount

disputed, which some maintain can still be felt in the interior of the Chapel of the Sepulchre, there can be no doubt of the rock which contains the "tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus;" none of that which in the "prison" and in the "entombment of Adam's head" marks the foot of the cliff of the present Golgotha; or of that which is seen at its summit in the so-called fissure of the "rocks rent by the earthquake;" none, lastly, of that through which a long descent conducts the pilgrim to the subterraneous chapel of the "Invention of the Cross." In all these places enough can be seen to show what the natural features of the places must have been before the "ingenuous rock" had been "violated by the marble" of Constantine; enough to show that the church is at least built on the native hills of the old Jerusalem.[1]

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

On these cliffs have clustered the successive edifices of the venerable pile which now rises in almost solitary grandeur from the fallen city. The two domes, between which the Turkish sheykh was established by Saladin to watch the pilgrims within — the lesser dome surmounting the Greek church which occupies the place of Constantine's basilica; the larger, that which covers the Holy Sepulchre itself, and for the privilege of repairing which France and Russia have involved the world in war—the Gothic front of the Crusaders, its European features strangely blending with the Oriental imagery which closes it on every side—the minaret of Omar[2] beside the Christian belfry, telling its well-known story of Arabian devotion and magnanimity—the open court thronged with buyers and sellers of relics to be

Calvary." 1. There is in the Scriptural narrative no mention of a mount or hill. 2. There is no such name as "Calvary." The passage from which the word is taken in Luke xxiii. 33, is merely the Latin translation ("Calvaria") of what the Evangelist calls "a skull"—*κρανιον*.

[1] Perhaps the most valuable part of Professor Willis's masterly discussion of the whole subject is his attempt to restore the original form of the ground. (Sections 7 and 9).

[2] The minaret is said to stand on the spot where Omar prayed, as near the church as was compatible with his abstaining from its appropriation by offering up his prayers within it. The story is curiously illustrated by the account which Abbé Michon (p. 72) gives of the occupation of the "Cœnaculum" by the Mahometans. A few Mussulmans, in the last century, who were determined to get possession of the convent, entered it on the plea of its being the tomb of David, said their prayers there, and from that moment it became a Mahometan sanctuary.

carried home to the most distant regions of the earth; the bridges and walls and stairs by which the monks of the adjacent convents climb into the galleries and chambers of all kinds which run through the sacred edifice; all these, and many like appearances, unfold more clearly than any book the long series of recollections which hang around that tattered and incongruous mass. Enter the church, and the impression is still the same. There is the place in which to study all the diverse rites and forms of the older Churches of the world. There alone are gathered together all the altars of all the sects which existed before the Reformation. On one side is the barbaric splendour of the Greek Church, exulting in its possession of Constantine's basilica and of the rock of Calvary. In another corner is the deep poverty of the Coptic and Syrian Churches, each now confined to one paltry chapel, forcibly contrasted again with the large portions won by the rich revenues of the merchant Church of Armenia. And intermingled with each of these is the more chastened and familiar worship of the Latin Church, here reduced from the gigantic proportions which it bears in its native seat to a humble settlement in a foreign land, yet still securing for itself a footing, with its usual energy, even on localities which its rivals seemed most firmly to have occupied. High on the platform of Calvary, beside the Greek sanctuary of the Crucifixion, it has claimed a separate altar for the Exaltation of the Cross. Deep in the Armenian chapel of St. Helena it has seated itself in the corner where the throne of Helena was placed during the "Invention." In the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre itself, whilst the Greek Church, with its characteristic formality, confines its masses to the ante-chapel, where its priests can celebrate towards the east, the Latin Church, with its characteristic boldness, has rushed into the vacant space in the inner chapel, and regardless of all points of the compass, has adopted for its altar the Holy Tomb itself. For good or for evil—for union or for disunion—the older forms of Christendom are gathered together, as nowhere else in Europe or in Asia, within those sacred walls.

Diversity of sects.

To unfold the claims of these several communions would be in itself a history. The apportionment of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is, in fact, an epitome of the crusade within the Crusades which forms so curious an episode in that eventful drama. We are there reminded of what else we are apt to forget, that the chivalry of Europe were engaged not only in the great conflict with the followers of Mahomet, but also in a constant under-struggle with the emperors of the great city which they encountered in their midway progress. The capture of Constantinople by the Latins in the fourth Crusade was but the same hard measure to the Byzantine Empire, which on a smaller scale they had already dealt to the Byzantine Church, then as now the national and native Church of Palestine and of the East. The Crusaders, by virtue of their conquest, occupied the Holy Places which had before been in the hands of the Greeks; and the Greeks in turn, when the Crusaders were ultimately expelled by the Turks, took advantage of the influence of wealth and neighbourhood to regain from the Turks the share in the sanctuaries of which the European princes had deprived them. Copt and Syrian, Georgian and Armenian, have, it is true, their own claims to maintain, as dissenters, so to speak, against the great Byzantine establishment from which they have successively separated. But the one standing conflict has always been between the descendants of the crusading invaders, supported by France or Spain, and the descendants of the original Greek occupants, supported by the great Northern Power which claims to have succeeded to the name and privileges of the Eastern Cæsars. Neither party can ever forget that once the whole sanctuary was exclusively theirs, and, although France and Russia have doubtless pressed the claims of their respective Churches from political or commercial motives, yet those claims themselves arise from the old conflict of the two great national Churches of the East and West, here alone brought side by side within the same narrow territory. Once only besides has their controversy been waged in equal proximity, namely, when the Latin Church, headed by Augustine, found itself, in our own island, brought into

abrupt collision with the customs and traditions of the Greeks, in the ancient British Church founded by Eastern missionaries. What in the extreme West was decided once for all by a short and bloody struggle, in Palestine has dragged on its weary length for many centuries.

It would be an easy though melancholy task to tell how the Armenians stole the Angel's stone from the ante-chapel of the Sepulchre—how the Latins procured a firman to stop the repairs of the dome by the Greeks—how the Greeks demolished the tombs of the Latin Kings, Godfrey and Baldwin, in the resting-place which those two heroic chiefs had chosen for themselves at the foot of Calvary—how, in the bloody conflicts at Easter, the English traveller was taunted by the Latin monks with eating the bread of their convent, and not fighting for them in the church—how the Abyssinian convent was left vacant for the Greeks in the panic raised when a drunken Abyssinian monk shot the Muezzin going his rounds on the top of Omar's minaret—how, after the great fire of 1808, which fire itself the Latins charge to the ambition of the Greek monks, two years of time, and two-thirds of the cost of the restoration, were consumed in the endeavours of each party, by bribes and litigations, to overrule and eject the others from the places they had respectively occupied in the ancient arrangement of the Churches—how each party regards the Turk as his best and only protector against the other. These dissensions, however painful, are not without their importance, not only in regard to the recent troubles which have arisen from them, but also as illustrations of the state of feeling there preserved, though now happily extinct in Europe, with which the mediæval orders and cathedrals even of our own country strove by force or fraud to enrich themselves with relics and sanctuaries at the cost of their neighbours or rivals. They are instructive too, as exhibiting within a small compass, and in the most palpable form, the contentions and jealousies which, not in Palestine only, or in the middle ages, but from the earliest times to the present day have been the bane of the history of the Christian Church; making common enemies dearer than rival brethren, common good

insignificant in comparison with the special claims and privileges of each sect and Church. Yet let us not so part. Grievous as these dissensions are, their extent has been often exaggerated. Ecclesiastical history, after all, is not all controversy, nor is the area of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at all times and in all places a mere battle-field of its several occupants. To the ordinary traveller it exhibits only the sight of all nations, kindreds, and languages worshipping, each with its peculiar rites, round what they all believe to be the tomb of their common Lord—a sight edifying by the very reason of its singularity, and suggestive of a higher and nobler, and, perhaps the time may come when it may be added, a truer image of the Christian Church than that which is too often and too justly derived from the history both of holy things and of holy places. "Vox quidem dissona, sed una religio. Tot pæne psallentium chori, quot gentium diversitates."[1] So wrote the pilgrims of the days of Jerome: so, from a higher point of view than has yet been reached, might be said by those who, in our days, whether at Jerusalem or elsewhere, can discover a common faith amidst diversities yet greater.

There is one more aspect in which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre must be regarded. It is not merely the centre of the worship of Christendom, it is also in an especial manner the Cathedral Church of Palestine and of the East; and in it the local religion, which attaches to all the Holy Places, reaches its highest pitch, and, as is natural, receives its colour from the Eastern and barbarous nations, who necessarily contribute the chief elements to what may be called its natural congregation. It may be well, therefore, to conclude by a description of the Greek Easter, which will also sum up the general impressions of the whole building, in whose history it forms so remarkable a feature. The time[2] is the morning of Easter Eve, which, by a strange anticipation, here, as in Spain, eclipses Easter Sunday. The place is the great Rotunda of the nave; the model of all the circular churches of Europe,

Greek Easter.

[1] Hieron. Opp. i. p. 82.

[2] In the time of Van Egmont (Vol. i. p. 355), it was the 6th day after Easter.

especially that of Aix-la-Chapelle. Above is the great dome with its rents and patches waiting to be repaired, and the sky seen through the opening in the centre, which here, as in the Pantheon, admits the light and air of day. Immediately beneath are the galleries, in one of which on the northern side — that of the Latin convent — are assembled the Frank spectators. Below is the Chapel of the Sepulchre—a shapeless edifice of brown marble ; on its shabby roof a meagre cupola, tawdry vases with tawdry flowers, and a forest of slender tapers ; whilst a blue curtain is drawn across its top to intercept the rain admitted through the dome. It is divided into two chapels—that on the west containing the Sepulchre, that on the east containing 'the Stone of the Angel.' Of these, the eastern chapel is occupied by the Greeks and Armenians. On its north side is a round hole from which the Holy fire is to issue for the Greeks. A corresponding aperture is on the south side for the Armenians. At the western extremity of the Sepulchre, but attached to it from the outside, is the little wooden chapel, the only part of the church[1] allotted to the poor Copts ; and further west, but parted from the Sepulchre itself, is the still poorer chapel of the still poorer Syrians, happy in their poverty however for this, that it has probably been the means of saving from marble and decoration the so-called tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus, which lie in their precincts, and on which rest the chief evidence of the genuineness of the whole site.

The Holy Fire.

The Chapel of the Sepulchre rises from a dense mass of pilgrims, who sit or stand wedged round it ; whilst round them, and between another equally dense mass which goes round the walls of the church itself, a lane is formed by two lines, or rather two circles, of Turkish soldiers stationed to keep order. For the spectacle which is about to take place nothing can be better suited than the form of the Rotunda, giving galleries above for the spectators, and an open space below for the pilgrims and their festival. For the first two hours everything is tranquil. Nothing indicates what is coming, except that

[1] The history of this chapel is well given in Van Egmont, vol. i. 321.

the two or three pilgrims who have got close to the aperture keep their hands fixed in it with a clench never relaxed.[1] It is about noon that this circular lane is suddenly broken through by a tangled group rushing violently round till they are caught by one of the Turkish soldiers. It seems to be the belief of the Arab Greeks that unless they run round the Sepulchre a certain number of times the fire will not come. Possibly, also, there is some strange reminiscence of the funeral games and races round the tomb of an ancient chief.[2] Accordingly, the night before, and from this time forward for two hours, a succession of gambols takes place, which an Englishman can only compare to a mixture of prisoners' base, football, and leapfrog, round and round the Holy Sepulchre. First, he sees these tangled masses of twenty, thirty, fifty men, starting in a run, catching hold of each other, lifting one of themselves on their shoulders, sometimes on their heads, and rushing on with him till he leaps off, and some one else succeeds; some of them dressed in sheep-skins, some almost naked; one usually preceding the rest as a fugleman, clapping his hands, to which they respond in like manner, adding also wild howls, of which the chief burden is "This is the tomb of Jesus Christ—God save the Sultan"—"Jesus Christ has redeemed us." What begins in the lesser groups soon grows in magnitude and extent, till at last the whole of the circle between the troops is continuously occupied by a race, a whirl, a torrent of these wild figures, like the Witches' Sabbath in "Faust," wheeling round the Sepulchre. Gradually the frenzy subsides or is checked; the course is cleared, and out of the Greek

[1] The holy fire once came through four holes in the form of a cross, said to be the impression of St. George's fingers. Into those holes the Greek and Armenian pilgrims thrust their hands, and shut their eyes, under the conviction that whoever so did would be saved. (Van Egmont, 308.)

[2] A curious illustration of these Arab races in the Church of the Sepulchre may be found in Tischendorf's description of the races at the tomb of Sheykh Saleh (see Chapter I.), and in Jerome's account of the wild fanatics, who performed gambols exactly similar to those of the Greek Easter before the reputed tomb of John the Baptist and Elisha, at Samaria (see Chapter V.)—"Ululare more luporum, vocibus latrare canum — alios rotare caput, et post tergum terram vertice tangere"—(*Epitaph. Paul.* p. 113.) Is it possible that it was to parody some such spectacles that the Latins held their dances at St. Sophia, on the capture of Constantinople, at the fourth Crusade? Hesselquist (136) was told that they danced to keep the earth warm, and so to kindle the fire.

Church, on the east of the Rotunda, a long procession[1] with embroidered banners, supplying in their ritual the want of images, begins to defile round the Sepulchre.

From this moment the excitement, which has before been confined to the runners and dancers, becomes universal. Hedged in by the soldiers, the two huge masses of pilgrims still remain in their places, all joining, however, in a wild succession of yells, through which are caught from time to time strangely, almost affectingly, mingled the chants of the procession—the solemn chants of the Church of Basil and Chrysostom, mingled with the yells of savages. Thrice the procession paces round; at the third time the two lines of Turkish soldiers join and fall in behind. One great movement sways the multitude from side to side. The crisis of the day is now approaching. The presence of the Turks is believed to prevent the descent of the fire, and at this point it is that they are driven, or consent to be driven, out of the church. In a moment the confusion, as of a battle and a victory, pervades the church. In every direction the raging mob bursts in upon the troops, who pour out of the church at the south-east corner—the procession is broken through, the banners stagger and waver. They stagger and waver, and fall, amidst the flight of priests, bishops, and standard-bearers hither and thither before the tremendous rush. In one small but compact band the Bishop of Petra (who is on this occasion the Bishop of "the Fire," the representative of the Patriarch) is hurried to the Chapel of the Sepulchre, and the door is closed behind him. The whole church is now one heaving sea of heads resounding with an uproar which can be compared to nothing less than that of the Guildhall of London at a nomination for the City. One vacant space alone is left; a narrow lane from the aperture on the north side of the chapel to the wall of the church. By the aperture itself stands a priest[2] to catch the fire; on each side of the lane, so far as the eye can reach, hundreds of bare arms are stretched out like the branches of a leafless forest—like the branches of a forest quivering in some violent tempest.

[1] The procession is described by Richardson (ii. 330) as taking place *after* the fire.

[2] In Hasselquist's time (p. 138) an Armenian paid 30,000 sequins for this place.

In earlier and bolder times the expectation of the Divine presence was at this juncture raised to a still higher pitch by the appearance of a dove hovering above the cupola of the chapel—to indicate, so Maundrell was told,[1] the visible descent of the Holy Ghost. This extraordinary act, whether of extravagant symbolism or of daring profaneness, has now been discontinued; but the belief still continues—and it is only from the knowledge of that belief that the full horror of the scene, the intense excitement of the next few moments, can be adequately conceived. Silent—awfully silent—in the midst of this frantic uproar, stands the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. If any one could at such a moment be convinced of its genuineness, or could expect a display of miraculous power, assuredly it would be that its very stones would cry out against the wild fanaticism without, and wretched fraud within, by which it is at that hour desecrated. At last the moment comes. A bright flame as of burning wood appears inside the hole—the light, as every educated Greek knows and ackowledges, kindled by the Bishop within—the light, as every pilgrim believes, of the descent of God Himself upon the Holy Tomb. Any distinct feature or incident is lost in the universal whirl of excitement which envelops the church as slowly, gradually, the fire spreads from hand to hand, from taper to taper, through that vast multitude—till at last the whole edifice from gallery to gallery, and through the area below, is one wide blaze of thousands of burning candles. It is now that, according to some accounts, the Bishop or Patriarch is carried out of the chapel, in triumph, on the shoulders of the people, in a fainting state, "to give the impression that he is overcome by the glory of the Almighty, from whose immediate presence he is believed to come."[2] It is now that a mounted horseman, stationed at the gates of the church, gallops off with a lighted taper to communicate the sacred fire to the lamps of the Greek church in the convent at Bethlehem. It is now that the great rush to

[1] With this and one or two other slighter variations, the account of Maundrell, in the 17th century, is an almost exact transcript of what is still seen.

[2] Curzon's Monasteries, p. 203.

escape from the rolling smoke and suffocating heat, and to carry the lighted tapers into the streets and houses of Jerusalem, through the one entrance to the church, leads at times to the violent pressure which in 1834 cost the lives of hundreds. For a short time the pilgrims run to and fro—rubbing their faces and breasts against the fire to attest its supposed harmlessness. But the wild enthusiasm terminates from the moment that the fire is communicated; and perhaps not the least extraordinary part of the spectacle is the rapid and total subsidence of a frenzy so intense—the contrast of the furious agitation of the morning, with the profound repose of the evening; when the church is once again filled—through the area of the Rotunda, the chapels of Copt and Syrian, the subterranean church of Helena, the great nave of Constantine's basilica, the stairs and platform of Calvary itself, with the many chambers above—every part, except the one chapel of the Latin Church, filled and overlaid by one mass of pilgrims, wrapt in deep sleep and waiting for the midnight service.

Such is the Greek Easter—the greatest moral argument against the identity of the spot which it professes to honour—stripped, indeed, of some of its most revolting features, yet still, considering the place, the time, and the intention of the professed miracle, probably the most offensive imposture to be found in the world.

It is as impossible to give any precise account of the origin of this extraordinary scene as of the story of the transference of the House of Loretto. The explanation often offered, that it has arisen from a misunderstanding of a symbolical ceremony, is hardly compatible with its remote antiquity. As early as the ninth century it was believed that "an angel came and lighted the lamps which hung over the Sepulchre, of which light the Patriarch gave his share to the bishops and the rest of the people, that each might illuminate his own house."[1] It was probably the continuation of an alleged miraculous

[1] Bernard the Wise, A.D. 867. (Early Travels in Palestine, p. 26.) There is a story of a miraculous supply of oil for the lighting of the lamps on Easter Eve at Jerusalem, as early as the 2nd century. Euseb. H. E. vi. 9.

appearance of fire in ancient times—an appearance suggested, it may be, in part by some actual phenomenon in the neighbourhood, such as that which is mentioned in the account by Ammianus of Julian's rebuilding the Temple—in part also by the belief found at many of the tombs of Mussulman saints, that on every Friday a supernatural light blazes in their sepulchres, which supersedes all necessity of lamps, and dazzles all beholders.[1] It is a remarkable instance of a great, it may almost be said an awful superstition, gradually deserted by its supporters, yet still maintained for the sake of the multitude.[2] Originally all the Churches partook in the ceremony, but one by one they have fallen away. The Roman Catholics, after their exclusion from the church by the Greeks, denounced it as an imposture, and have never since resumed it. Only inferior to the delight of the Greek pilgrims at receiving the fire, is the delight of the Latins in deriding what, in the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith," they describe (forgetful of the past and of S. Januarius at Naples) as a "ridiculous and superstitious ceremony." "Ah! vedete la fantasia," exclaim the happy Franciscans in the Latin Gallery. "Ah! qual fantasia!—ecco gli bruti Greci—noi non facciamo così." Next, the grave Armenians deserted, or only with great reluctance acquiesced in, what they too regarded as a fraud. And lastly, unless they are greatly misrepresented, the enlightened members of the Greek Church itself,[3] including, it is said, no less a person than the late Emperor Nicholas, would gladly discontinue the ceremony, could they but venture on such a shock as this step would give to the devotion and faith of

[1] See Chapters VI. and XII.

[2] A complete history of the Holy Fire is given in a Latin essay by Mosheim, "De Lumine Sancti Sepulchri," 1736. It appears from his statement that it began in the 9th century—that from the 9th to the 12th century it was effected by some preparation which kindled the lights in the church simultaneously, and that the present mode of kindling it within the chapel began from the 12th century. He compares it to a strange ceremony in Mingrelia, where a sacred bull is once a year covertly introduced into the Church of St. George, and there exhibited to the eyes of the pilgrims as having been miraculously transported thither through closed doors by St. George himself.

[3] An exiled patriarch of Constantinople told Van Egmont, in the Convent of Mount Sinai, that he had declined the patriarchate of Jerusalem from his unwillingness to take part in what he regarded as a fraud. (Van Egmont, 355.)

the thousands who yearly come from far and near, over land and sea, for this sole object.

It is doubtless a miserable thought that for such an end as this Constantine and Helena planned and builded —that for such a worship as this, Godfrey and Tancred, Richard and St. Louis, fought and died. Yet in justice to the Greek clergy it must be remembered that this is but the most extreme and the most instructive case of what every Church must suffer which has to bear with the weakness and fanaticism of its members, whether brought about by its own corruption or by long and inveterate ignorance. And however repulsive to our European minds may be the orgies of the Arab pilgrims, we ought rather perhaps to wonder that these wild creatures should be Christians at all, than that being such they should take this mode of expressing their devotion at this great anniversary. The very violence of the paroxysm proves its temporary character. On every other occasion their conduct is sober and decorous, even to dulness, as though— according to the happy expression of one of the most observant of Eastern travellers[1]—they 'were not working out, but *transacting* the great business of salvation.'

It may seem to some a painful, and perhaps an unexpected conclusion, that so great an uncertainty should hang over spots thus intimately connected with the great events of the Christian religion,—that in none the chain of tradition should be unbroken, and in most cases hardly reach beyond the age of Constantine. Is it possible, it is frequently asked, that the disciples of the first age should have neglected to mark and commemorate the scenes of such events? And the answer, though often given, cannot be too often repeated, that it not only was possible, but precisely what we should infer from the absence of any allusion to local sanctity in the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, who were too profoundly absorbed in the events themselves to think of their localities, too wrapt in the spirit to pay regard to the letter or the place. The loss of the Holy Sepulchre thus regarded,

[1] Eothen, p. 137—143. See Chapter VII.

is a testimony to the greatness of the Resurrection. The loss of the Manger of Bethlehem is a witness to the universal significance of the Incarnation. The sites which the earliest followers of Our Lord would not adore, their successors could not. The obliteration of the very marks which identified the Holy Places was effected a little later by what may without presumption be called the Providential events of the time. The Christians of the second generation of believers, even had they been anxious to preserve the collection of sites familiar to their fathers, would have found it in many respects impossible after the ruin of Jerusalem by Titus. The same judgment which tore up by the roots the local religion of the Old dispensation, deprived of secure basis what has since grown up as the local religion of the New.[1] The total obliteration of the scenes in some instances is at least a proof that no Divine Providence, as is sometimes urged, must have watched over them in others. The desolation of the Lake of Gennesareth has swept out of memory places more sacred than any that are alleged to have been preserved. The Cave of Bethlehem and the House of Nazareth, where our Lord passed an unconscious infancy and an unknown youth, cannot be compared for sanctity with that "House" of Capernaum which was the home of His manhood and the chief scene of His words and works. Yet of that sacred habitation every vestige has perished as though it had never been. It is a certain fact, and one dwelt upon with considerable emphasis by the Sacred historian, that "of the sepulchre of Moses no man knoweth unto this day."[2] It is conjectured with some probability by the only European who has thoroughly investigated[3] the tomb of Mahomet at Medina, that this, too, is a later fiction, and that in the first fervour of the Mussulman faith the burial-place of the Prophet was left unknown. Is it surprising that the causes which thus obscure the local reminiscences of the first

[1] "Fast as evening sunbeams from the sea,
Thy footsteps all *in Sion's 'deep decay'*
Were blotted from the ground."—
*Christian Year*. Monday before Easter.

[2] See Chapters II. and VII.

[3] See Burton's Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, ii. pp. 109, 314.

beginnings of Judaism and Islamism should have had still greater weight in covering with a like uncertainty the cradle and the sepulchre of Gospel History.

But the doubts which envelop the lesser things do not extend to the greater,—they attach to the "Holy Places," but not to "the Holy Land." The clouds which cover the special localities are only specks in the clear light which invests the general geography of Palestine. Not only are the sites of Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem absolutely indisputable, but, as we have seen, there is hardly a town or village of note mentioned in the Old and New Testament which cannot still be identified with a certainty which often extends to the very spots which are signalised in the history. If Sixtus V. had succeeded in his project of carrying off the Holy Sepulchre, the essential interest of Jerusalem would have suffered as little as that of Bethlehem by the alleged transference of the manger to S. Maria Maggiore, or as that of Nazareth, were we to share the belief that its holy house were standing far away on the hill of Loretto. The very notion of the transference being thought desirable or possible, is a proof of the slight connection existing in the minds of those who entertain it between the sanctuaries themselves and the enduring charm which must always attach to the real scenes of great events. It shows the difference (which is often confounded) between the local superstition of touching and handling, of making topography a matter of religion—and that reasonable and religious instinct which leads us to investigate the natural features of historical scenes, sacred or secular, as one of the best helps to judging of the events of which they were the stage.

These "Holy Places" have, indeed, a history of their own, which, whatever be their origin, must always give them a position amongst the celebrated spots which have influenced the fortunes of the globe. The convent of Bethlehem can never lose the associations of Jerome, nor can the Church of the Holy Sepulchre ever cease to be bound up with the recollections of the Crusades, or with the tears and prayers of thousands of pilgrims, which, of themselves, amidst whatever fanaticism and ignorance,

almost consecrate the walls within which they are offered. But these reminiscences, and the instruction which they convey, bear the same relation to those awakened by the original and still living geography of Palestine as the later course of Ecclesiastical history bears to its divine source. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in this as in other aspects, is a type of the History of the Church itself, and the contrast thus suggested is more consoling than melancholy. Alike in Sacred Topography and in Sacred History, there is a wide and free atmosphere of truth above, a firm ground of reality beneath, which no doubts, controversies, or scandals, concerning this or that particular spot, this or that particular opinion or sect, can affect or disturb. The Churches of the Holy Sepulchre or of the Holy House may be closed against us, but we have still the Mount of Olives and the Sea of Galilee: the sky, the flowers, the trees, the fields, which suggested the Parables,—the holy hills, which cannot be moved, but stand fast for ever.

# APPENDIX.

## VOCABULARY OF TOPOGRAPHICAL WORDS.

In the foregoing chapters I have often had occasion to refer to the richness and precision of the local vocabulary of the Hebrew language. In the Authorised Version this is unfortunately lost; not so much by the incorrect rendering of any particular word, as by the promiscuous use of the same English word for different Hebrew words, or of different English words for the same Hebrew word. It has been my endeavour to supply this defect, by substituting in all cases one uniform rendering in the passages quoted. But, in order to justify and explain these slight changes, I have thought it best to append a list of the topographical words used in the Hebrew Scriptures, with a brief account of their exact meaning, as fixed by the root of the word, or, if possible, by actual examples of the thing described.

Such an inquiry is the more interesting, in a language so primitive, and in a nomenclature so expressive, as that of the Hebrews. The geographical passages of the Bible seem to shine with new light, as these words acquire their proper force. How keenly, for example, are we led to notice the early tendency to personify and treat as living creatures the great objects of nature, when we find that the "springs" are 'the eyes,'—the bright, glistening, life-giving eyes of the thirsty East; that the mountains have not merely summits and sides, but 'heads,' 'shoulders,' 'ears,' 'ribs,' 'loins.' How

strongly the character of Eastern scenery is brought out, when we discover that, for ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, where the Authorised Version reads "river," we ought to read 'dry watercourse;' and how grandly does the Euphrates stand out, when we find that he is emphatically "The River" of Asia; and the Nile, when we find that he has his own peculiar name, never applied to any lesser stream. How powerfully is the cave life of the Israelite history illustrated by the numerous words for the cavities in rocks; the absence of sea life by the few words for "bay" or "harbour." What a picture is held out to us, as we glance over the names of the several towns and cities in the allocation of the tribes by Joshua, and see that, in Judæa, the "Hazer" or Bedouin village hangs everywhere on the frontier; that the remnants of the lairs of wild beasts linger in the towns of the interior; that "terebinth" and "forest" grew once where they have long since vanished; that the "tents" are still found in Havoth Jair beyond the Jordan. How clearly are the natural divisions of the country exhibited, as we see the often-repeated arrangement of Palestine into "the country of the 'mountains,'" [of Judah, Ephraim, and Naphtali], the "south" [of the frontier], and "the low country" [of Philistia], and the "issuings forth of the springs" [of Pisgah],—or again, the "desert" [of the Jordan], the "sea-shore" [of the Phœnician plain,]—or again, "the circles," or "the round" [of the oases of the Jordan], and the "level downs" [of the Transjordanic table-lands]. Many are the events of which the scene is fixed by the precise mention of "the mountain" instead of "the hill," or of "the hill" instead of "the mountain;" "the spring" for "the well," or "the well" for "the spring;" the "river" for "the torrent," or "the torrent" for "the river." Many are the images which come out with double force from perceiving their original local meaning; as when "the valley of the shadow of death" is seen to be a narrow 'ravine,' where the shade of the closing rocks is never absent.

So also by restoring the definite article, which the English translators—whether following the Vulgate or for other reasons which cannot here be examined—too often neglected, the locality which would else be passed by as unknown, comes out

clothed with a long train of venerable recollections, or distinguished by some remarkable feature. Thus we shall find that the spot by which "the angel of the Lord found" Hagar was not merely "*a* fountain of water," as we read in our version, but a well-known spot, '*the* spring' of water in the wilderness—"*the* 'spring' in the way to Shur," which probably refreshed the traveller in the desert in times long after. Thus '*the*' solitary oak of Deborah stands out as a landmark to our eyes (Gen. xxxv. 8); and we perceive that the tree in which Absalom met his death, was evidently a tree of note even amongst the forests of Gilead, not only held in remembrance at the date of the composition of the history, but well known before the occurrence, as is proved by the fact that it is not only called "'*the*' great 'terebinth'" in the narrative, but that the same form is used by Joab's informant—"A certain man told Joab, I saw Absalom hanging in '*the* terebinth'" (2 Sam. xviii. 19, 20).

Finally, it is instructive to observe the tenacity with which these local designations have in some instances survived even to this day in the native Arabic. The valley of Cœle-Syria is still called by the same peculiar word for 'plain' which it bore in the time of Amos: and the desert valley of the Dead Sea has never lost its name of 'Arabah.'

All these points, which have been briefly intimated in the general sketch, will be stated at length in the following Catalogue. I have here to repeat my obligations to Mr. Grove, for his kindness in arranging, verifying, and enlarging the materials of this Appendix.

# VOCABULARY, &c.

1. No attempt has been made to express the exact force of the Hebrew consonants and vowels beyond a uniform rendering of the same Hebrew by the same English letter. Thus ח is throughout H; ז is Z; ח is Ch, with the guttural sound which it has in the Scottish *loch* and the German *ich*; י is J pronounced like Y, as in German, *Jesu, Jahr*; כ is C hard as in *come*; ץ is Tz; פ is K; ש is S; שׁ Sh; and ע is not rendered at all. With regard to the vowels it is only necessary to say generally that they should be pronounced rather as in German than as in English, with a full broad sound. The only exception is in the case of ֫ which is denoted by (') so as to throw the accent strongly on the following syllable: thus—שְׁפֵלָה Sh'-phēlah.

2. Unless indicated to the contrary, the derivations and meanings of the words are those of Gesenius as given in his *Thesaurus Linguæ Hebrææ*, 4to, Leipzig, 1829—42. The Handwörterbuch of Dr. Julius Fürst, now in course of publication (8vo. Leipzig, Tauchnitz), has been referred to when possible.

3. The Greek quotations, unless otherwise noted, are from the Vatican codex of the LXX, in the edition of Van Ess (Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1835). Where the readings of the Alexandrian MSS. differ from these and have seemed worthy of notice, they are distinguished by the prefix of *Alex.* and are taken from the folio of Grabe (Oxford, 1707—9). *Aq.*, *Symm.*, *Theod.*, denote the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as given in Bahrdt's edition of the fragments of Origen's Hexapla (2 vols. 8vo, Leipzig, 1770). The very few citations from the Targum and the Samaritan version have been taken from Walton's Polyglott. The Latin quotations from the Vulgate—always in italics—are from the beautiful edition of Van Ess (3 vols. 8vo, Tubingen, 1824). Occasional reference is made to the German version of De Wette (Heidelberg, 1839); to that edited by Dr. Zunz—Old Testament only—(Berlin, 1848); and to the version of Isaiah by Gesenius (Leipzig, 1829). The edition of Ewald's Geschichte referred to is the second.

4. The words between double inverted commas, as "palaces," are invariably quotations from the Text of the English Authorized Version; while the single commas, as 'cliff,' are exclusively employed to indicate the variations from that Text consequent on the new rendering of the topographical words. Thus "the crag of the 'cliff'" denotes that the passage is quoted from the Authorized Version (Job xxxix. 28), but that the word 'cliff' is substituted for the "rock" there found, as being a more accurate rendering of the Hebrew word Sela (see § 29 *e*). In like manner "the valley of 'the Terebinth,'" denotes that 'the Terebinth' is substituted for "Elah" of the English Bible (1 Sam. xvii. 2, § 72).

5. The passages quoted under each head are intended to be a complete list of all the occurrences of the word in the Old Testament. Where this is the case the word [All] will be found subjoined (see §§ 1, 2, &c.) But when the occurrences have been too numerous for entire quotation, the word All is omitted, indicating that a selection only has been given.

6. Throughout the compilation of this Catalogue, great assistance has been derived from the very accurate Concordance of Mr. Wigram, ("The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance," 2 vols. Longman, 1843.)

# INDEX TO VOCABULARY.

## I.—*Valleys, Tracts of Land, &c.*

1. Emek . . . . . valley.
2. Gai . . . . . ravine.
3. Shaveh . . . . . dale.
4. Metzoolah . . . . . bottom.
5. Bikah . . . . . plain.
6. Mishor . . . . . downs.
7. Sharon.
8. Shephelah . . . . . low country.
9. Midbar . . . . . wilderness.
10. Arabah . . . . . desert.
11. Jeshimon . . . . . waste.
12. Ciccar . . . . . round.
13. Geliloth . . . . . circles.
14. Carmel . . . . . park.
15. Sadeh . . . . . field.
16. Shedemoth . . . . . fields.
17. Abel . . . . . meadow.
18. Achu . . . . . reeds.
19. Maareh . . . . . open field.
20. Chelkah . . . . . plot.
21. Naphot . . . . . region.
22. Chebel . . . . . district.

## II.—*Mountains, &c.*

23. Har . . . . . mountain.
    - *a.* Rosh . . . head.
    - *b.* Aznoth . . ears.
    - *c.* Cataph . . shoulder.
    - *d.* Tzad . . side.
    - *e.* Shecem . . back.
    - *f.* Tzelah . . rib.
    - *g.* Chisloth . . loins.
    - *h.* Ammah . . elbow.
    - *i.* Jerecataim . flanks.
    - *k.* Sether . . "covert."

24. Pisgah . . . . . 'the height.'
25. Gibeah . . . . . hill.
26. Ophel . . . . . mound.
27. Shefi . . . . . bare hill.
28. Tzur . . . . . rock.
    - *a.* Nikerah . . . . . hole.

29. Sela . . . . . cliff.
    - *a.* Chagavim . chasms.
    - *b.* Seiph . . cleft.
    - *c.* Tzechiach . top.
    - *d.* Nekik . . cranny.
    - *e.* Shen . . . crag.

30. Cephim . . . . . rocks.
31. Misgab . . . . . lofty rock.
32. Arootz . . . . . .
33. Maaleh . . . . . ascent.
34. Morad . . . . . descent

## III.—*Rivers and Streams.*

35. Nahar . . . . . river.
    - *a.* Jad . . . . side.
    - *b.* Saphah . . . brink.
    - *c.* Lashon . . . tongue.
    - *d.* Gedoth . . . banks.
    - *e.* Katzeh . . . end.
    - *f.* Maavar . . . ford.

36. Jeor . . . . . Nile.
37. Shichor . . . . . Nile.
38. Jarden . . . . . Jordan.
39. Nachal . . . . . torrent.
40. Peleg . . . . . stream.
41. Mical . . . . . brook.
42. Tealah . . . . . conduit.
43. Jooval . . . . . flood-stream.
44. Aphik. . . . . body of water.
45. Zerem . . . . .
46. Nazal . . . . .
47. Shibboleth . . . . .
48. Eshed ; Ashdoth.
49. Mabbool . . . . The Deluge.
50. Sheteph . . . . flood.

## IV.—*Springs, Wells, and Pits.*

51. Ain . . . . . spring.
52. Ma-an . . . . .
53. Motza . . . . . springhead.
54. Makor . . . . . well-spring.
55. Gulloth . . . . . bubblings.
    - *a.* Gal.

56. Mabbooa . . . . gushing spring.
57. Beer . . . . . well.
58. Agam . . . . . pond.
59. Mikveh . . . . . reservoir.
60. Berecah . . . . pool.
61. Ceroth . . . . . dug wells.
62. Micreh . . . . . pit.
63. Mashabim . . . . troughs.
64. Bor . . . . . cistern, pit.
65. Pachath . . . . hollow.
66. Geb . . . . . ditch.
67. Shuchah . . . . pitfall.
68. Goommatz . . . . sunk-pit.
69. Mahamoroth . . . whirlpools.

## V.—*Caves.*

70. Mearah . . . . . cave.
71. Chor . . . . . hole.
72. Mechilloth . . . . fissures.
73. Minharoth . . . . burrows.

VI.—*Forests and Trees.*

74. Choresh . . . . wood.
75. Jaar . . . . . forest.
76. Pardes . . . . . plantation.
77. Etz . . . . . tree.
78. El; Allon; Elah . . oak, terebinth.
79. Eshel . . . . . tamarisk.
Ashrah . . . . . "Grove."

VII.—*Cities, Habitations, &c.*

80. Ir . . . . . city.
81. Kir . . . . . wall.
82. Kirjath . . . . . city.
83. Birah . . . . . palace.
84. Aremon . . . . . keep.
*a.* Haremon.
85. Chatzer . . . . . enclosure.
86. Chavvoth . . . . tent-villages.
87. Cephar . . . . . hamlet.
88. Tirah . . . . . Bedouin castle.
89. Perazoth . . . . . unwalled villages.
90. Beth . . . . . house.
91. Soc; Succoth . . . booth.
92. Mivtzar . . . . . fortress.
*a.* Bittzaron.
93. Maoz . . . . . stronghold.
94. Maon . . . . . den.
95. Metzad . . . . . lair.
96. Metzoorah . . . . fort.
97. Mistar . . . . . hiding-place.
98. Meoorah . . . . aperture.

VIII.—*The Sea and its Waves.*

99. Jam . . . . . the sea.
100. Choph . . . . . sea shore.
101. Miphratz . . . . . bay.
102. Machoz . . . . . haven.
103. Gal . . . . . } wave.
104. Daci . . . . . }
105. Mishbar . . . . }
106. Bamah . . . . . }

# VOCABULARY.

## I.—VALLEYS, TRACTS OF LAND, &c.

### § 1.

EMEK, עֵמֶק, 'a valley'—from עָמַק to be deep, unexplored: used however not so much in the sense of depression as of lateral extension, like *βαθεῖα αὐλή*, Il. v. 142, and as we speak of a 'deep' as opposed to a 'shallow,' house. And thus the word is not applied to ravines, but to the long broad sweeps sometimes found between parallel ranges of hills. Such is "the valley of Jezreel," between Gilboa and Little Hermon. Assuming the above to be the correct meaning of the word, it would seem that the "Valley of Jehoshaphat" (Joel iii. 2, 12), is not the narrow glen between Olivet and Moriah, to which the name is now applied.

The *Emeks* of Palestine named in the Bible, are as follows:—

1. "The *vale* of Siddim," (*i. e.* 'of the fields,' see Sadeh.) Gen. xiv. 3, 8, 10, LXX, *φάραγξ ἀλυκή, κοιλὰς ἡ ἁλυκή.*
2. "The *valley* of Shaveh, which is the king's *dale*," (see Shaveh), Gen. xiv. 17, *τὴν κοιλάδα τοῦ Σαβό· τοῦτο ἦν τὸ πεδίον τῶν βασιλέων.*
3. "The *vale* of Hebron," Gen. xxxvii. 14. *ἡ κοιλὰς τῆς Χεβρών.*
4. "The *valley* of Achor," ('of trouble'). Josh. vii. 24, 26, xv. 7; Isa. lxv. 10; Hos. ii. 15. Ἀχώρ, and Ἐμεκαχώρ, and *φάραγξ ἀχώρ.*
5. "The *valley* of Ajalon." Josh. x. 12. *κατὰ φάραγγα αἰλών.*
6. "The *valley* of Rephaim," ('of giants'). Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16; 2 Sam. v. 18, 22; xxiii. 13; 1 Chron. xi. 15; xiv. 9, 13; *κοιλὰς τῶν τιτάνων, ῥαφαΐν,* and *γιγάντων.* Isa. xvii. 5. *ἐν φάραγγι στερεᾷ.*
7. "The *valley* of Jezreel." Josh. xvii. 16; Jud. vi. 33; vii. 1, 8, 12; Hos. i, 5. *κοιλὰς Ἰεξραέλ.* Probably this is the valley named in 1 Sam. xxxi. 7, and 1 Chron. x. 7.
8. "The *valley* of Keziz." Josh. xviii. 21. Ἀμεκασίς.

9. "The *valley* that [lieth] by Beth-rehob,' in which Laish or Dan was situated. Jud. xviii. 28. κοιλάς.
10. "The *valley* of Elah," (עֵמֶק הָאֵלָה, 'of the Terebinth'). 1 Sam. xvii. 2, 19, xxi. 9. κοιλὰς τῆς τερεβίνθου : τῆς δρύος : Ἠλᾶ.
11. "The *valley* of Berachah," ('of blessing'). 2 Chron. xx. 26. τὸν αὐλῶνα τῆς εὐλογίας, also κοιλάς.
12. "The *valley* of Baca," (עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא, 'of weeping'). Ps. lxxxiv. 6. κοιλὰς τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος.
13. "The *valley* of Succoth." Ps. cviii. 7, lx. 6. κοιλὰς τῶν σκηνῶν.
14. "The *valley* of Gibeon." Isa. xxviii. 21. φάραγξ γαβαών. Probably the valley of Ajalon (5).
15. "The *valley* of Jehoshaphat." Joel iii. 2, 12. κοιλὰς Ἰωσαφάτ.
16. "The *valley* of 'the' decision," (or of Charutz. עֵמֶק הַחָרוּץ). Joel iii. 14. ἡ κοιλὰς τῆς δίκης.

In Josh. xix. 27, we have Beth-emek, 'house of the valley.'

The word also is used without special designation, in Numb. xiv. 25; Josh. viii. 13; xiii. 19, 27; Jud. i. 19, 34, v. 15; 1 Sam. vi. 13 (Bethshemesh); 2 Sam. xviii. 18 ("dale"); 1 Kings xx. 28; 1 Chron. xii. 15; xxvii. 29; Job xxxix. 10, 21; Psalm lxv. 13; Cant. ii. 1; Isaiah xxii. 7; Jer. xxi. 13; xxxi. 40; xlvii. 5; xlviii. 8; xlix. 4; Micah i. 4.

In these cases it is most frequently rendered by the LXX. by κοιλάς—but also by φάραγξ, πεδίον, and αὐλών. In Josh. xv. 8, it is ἐκ μέρους γῆς Ῥαφαΐν—as if Ge, a ravine, had been read for Emek, and been literally rendered, having afterwards been taken to be γῆ, the earth, and put into the genitive case accordingly. In Jer. xxxi. 40, the Hebrew is literally rendered by κοιλὰς φαγαρείμ. In Jer. xlvii. 5 and xlix. 4, the LXX appear to have read עֲנָק Anak, for עֵמֶק Emek, for they render these passages, οἱ κατάλοιποι Ἐνακίμ, and τοῖς πεδίοις Ἐνακείμ. Comp. Josh. xiii. 19, ἐν τῷ ὄρει Ἐνακ. [all]

## § 2.

GAI, גַּיְא, also גַּי, and GE, גֵּיא, and גָּיְא, 'a ravine:' possibly from the same root as γαῖα, γῆ, *Germ.* Gau, in the general sense of flatness: but rather from גָּיָה, to break out, used of water bursting forth in Job xxxviii. 8, and Ezek. xxxii. 2. By this word, too, are designated actual gorges, really or apparently formed by a burst of water, such as the Sîk at Petra (see Chap. I. p. 90). Hence Gihon, the second river of Paradise; and also the spring or reservoir near Jerusalem, in all probability at the mouth of the Ge-Hinnom,—the narrow glen of Hinnom,—south of the city, which affords the best instance of the meaning of the word. There is one passage where *Emek* and *Gai* seem to be used convertibly. In 1 Sam. xvii. 2, "Saul pitched in the valley (Emek) of 'the Terebinth,'" which in the following verse seems to be described as 'the ravine' (Gai) ὁ αὐλών. But probably a closer inspection of the locality would show (what indeed a closer inspection of the text suggests) that the ravine between the two armies was the glen into which the valley contracted in its descent towards the plain of Philistia, and through which (xvii. 52, *Gai* again) the routed army fled on their way to Ekron.

The name Gai is given to several localities of Palestine: these are:—

1. "The *valley*, in the 'field' of Moab," "over against Beth-Peor," in which Moses was buried. Numb. xxi. 20; Deut. iii. 29; iv. 46; xxxiv. 6.
2. "The *valley* of Hinnom," or "of the son," or "the children of Hinnom." Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16; 2 Kings xxiii. 10; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Neh. xi. 30; Jer. vii. 31, 32; xix. 2, 6; xxxii. 35. Probably Isa. xxii. 1, 5.

   This ravine also gave its name to the "*valley*-gate" of Jerusalem. 2 Chron. xxvi. 9; Neh. ii. 13, 15, iii. 13.

3. "The *valley* of Jiphthah-el," lying on the border between Zebulun and Asher. Josh. xix. 14, 27.
4. "The *valley* of Zeboim" (hyænas). 1 Sam. xiii. 18. (See Neh. xi. 34.)
5. "The *valley* of salt," a ravine in the neighbourhood of Sela, in which David and Amaziah defeated and killed large numbers of the Edomites. 2 Sam. viii. 13; 1 Chron. xviii. 12; 2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 11; Ps. lx. title.[1]
6. "The *valley* of Zephathah." 2 Chron. xiv. 10.
7. "The *valley* of Charashim," 1 Chron. iv. 14, or "of craftsmen," Neh. xi. 35.
8. "The *valley* of the Passengers," (or of Oberim). Ezek. xxxix. 11.
9. "The *valley* of Hamon-gog." Ezek. xxxix. 11, 15.
10. "The *valley*," lying on the north side of Ai. Josh. viii. 2; see Chap. IV.
11. "Some *valley*," near the Jordan, in which the sons of the Prophets sought Elijah, after his ascent to Heaven. 2 Kings ii. 16—perhaps the one just mentioned, more probably on the east of the Jordan.
12. "The *valley*" of Gedor[2] (LXX Gerar; Γέραρα, ἕως τῶν ἀνατολῶν τῆς Γαί) whence the Simeonites drove the children of Ham. 1 Chron. iv. 39.

The word is used without any special application, in Psalm xxiii. 4 ("the valley of the shadow of death"); Isa. xxviii. 1, 4; xl. 4; Jer. ii. 23; Ezek. vi. 3; vii. 16; xxxi. 12; xxxii. 5; xxxv. 8; xxxvi. 4, 6; Micah i. 6; Zech. xiv. 4, 5.

The LXX have commonly rendered Gaï by *φάραγξ*—but also by *νάπη, κοιλάς*, and *αὐλών*. They have in several cases expressed it by *γῆ*, as *ἐν γῇ ἐννομ* or *γῇ βενεννομ*. In 2 Kings ii. 16, it is strangely translated *βουνός*. [all]

## § 3.

SHAVEH, שָׁוֵה, a dale or level spot: from שָׁוָה, to make level (Isaiah xxviii. 25). The word only occurs twice—for two places apparently east of the Jordan. (1) Gen. xiv. 5, Shaveh-kiriathaim—the dale of (or near) Kirjathaim, 'the double city,' therefore in the district afterwards taken by Reuben (Numb. xxxii. 37). LXX, *ἐν Σαυῇ τῇ πόλει*. (2) Gen. xiv. 17. "The valley of Shaveh,[4] which is the 'valley' of the King," *τὴν κοιλάδα τοῦ Σαβύ* (Alex. *τὴν Σαυήν*: Vers. Venet. *τὴν ἴσην*) *τοῦτο ἦν τὸ πεδίον τῶν βασιλέων* (Alex. *βασιλέως*). In 2 Sam. xviii. 18, where 'the valley of the King' is mentioned, the word Shaveh is not used. [all]

## § 4.

M'TZULLAH, מְצֻלָה, 'dell' or 'bottom:' from צָלַל, hidden in shade. Occurs only in Zech. i. 8, probably for a secluded part of the ravine of the Kedron, containing a myrtle grove (see p. 144 note.) Jerome, *in profundo*.

## § 5.

BIK'AH, בִּקְעָה, 'a plain'—properly a plain between mountains: from בָּקַע, to rend. But it differs from Gai—which seems to be derived from a similar idea—in this respect, that the rent implied in Gai is one of comparatively modern

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[1] See Chapter I. part ii. p. 95.

[2] See Ewald, Geschichte, i. 322, *note*.

[3] In this text, Zech. xiv. 4, it is used for the cleft which is represented as rending Mount Olivet in twain, as if with another ravine like that of Kedron or Hinnom.

[4] Shaveh may be an older word than Emek, in which case this sentence is parallel to the expression, the *Lake* of Winder-*mere*; the *Valley* of *Nant*-gwynant; *Peel-castle*.

formation, while that implied in Bikah carries us back to the first separation of level land and mountains.

Bikah is never used like Gai for a narrow valley, but for a broad plain enclosed within ranges; like that of Coele-Syria, which still bears the name of Ard-el-Bekaa, "the land of the plains," as apparently in the time of the Jews it was called Bikath-Aven; Amos i. 5.

The *Bikahs* named in the Bible are:—

1. "The *valley* of Jericho," Deut. xxxiv. 3.
2. "The *valley* of Mizpeh," Josh. xi. 8.
3. "The *valley* of Lebanon," Josh. xi. 17; xii. 7.
4. "The *valley* of Megiddo," 2 Chron. xxxv. 22; Zech. xii. 11.
5. "The *plain* of Ono," Neh. vi. 2.
6. "The *plain* of Aven," Amos i. 5.
7. "The *plain* of Dura, in the province of Babylon," Dan. iii. 1.
8. "The *plain* of Mesopotamia," Ezek. iii. 22, 23; viii. 4; xxxvii. 1, 2; probably the same as
9. The "*plain* in the land of Shinar," Gen. xi. 2.

Besides the above, the word is used generally in the following passages:—Deut. viii. 7; xi. 11; Ps. civ. 8; Isai. xli. 18; lxiii. 14 ("valley"); Isai. xl. 4 ("plain").

In the LXX the word invariably used for Bikah is πεδίον. [all]

## § 6.

MISHOR, מִישׁוֹר, 'level downs' or table-land: from יָשַׁר, just, straightforward; hence applied to a country without rock or stone; like ἀφέλεια, ἀφελής, (N. T. ἀφελότης,) properly a level without stones, φελλεύς, and thus in the New Testament used for plainness or simplicity of character. The transition is seen in Ps. xxvii. 11; cxliii. 10; Isai. xl. 4; xlii. 16.

With the article (הַמִּישׁוֹר, ha-Mishor), the word is, with one possible exception, used for the upland downs east of Jordan, apparently in contradistinction to the rocky soil and more broken ground on the west. The use of the word in 1 Kings xx. 23—25, fixes the site of the battle of Aphek as on the east of Jordan. The exception noticed above is 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, where it would seem that the "Mishor," in which Uzziah had his cattle, must have been within his own dominion; just as the Carmel in the same verse must be that in the south of Judah, and not the well-known mountain in the tribe of Issachar. But the Trans-jordanic situation would be accounted for by his connection with the Ammonites (verse 8).

In its topographical sense the word occurs in Deut. iii. 10; iv. 43; Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 17, 21; xx. 8; 1 Kings xx. 23, 25; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; Jer. xxi. 13; xlviii. 8, 21.

In the authorised version it is everywhere translated "plain" or "plains." By the LXX it is either rendered ἡ Μισωρ—or translated by πεδίον; πεδινή; ἡ γῆ ἡ πεδινή or (1 Kings xx. only) κατ' εὐθύ. By Aquila and Symmachus ἡ ὁμαλή; ἡ εὐθεῖα; κοῖλος τόπος; and by Jerome *planities*; *campestris*. See Chap. VIII. [all]

## § 7.

SHARON, שָׁרוֹן (fully ישרון): from יָשַׁר, level, a word of exactly the same meaning as Mishor. It occurs always as a proper name, and excepting once, with the article; הַשָּׁרוֹן, Ha-Sharon,—'the level ground.' It is thus invariably applied to the plain between the mountains of Ephraim and the sea, bounded

by Joppa on the south, and Carmel on the north; the great pasture land on the west of the Jordan, as 'the Mishor' was on the east. See Chapter VI.

| | |
|---|---|
| Josh. xii. 19. (In the A. V. "Lasharon," the article being taken as a part of the word) . . . . . | LXX omits. |
| 1 Chron. xxvii. 29. . . . . | ἐν τῷ Σαρων. |
| Isaiah xxxiii. 9. . . . . | ὁ Σαρων. |
| xxxv. 2. . . . . | omits. |
| lxv. 2. . . . . | ἐν τῷ δρυμῷ. |
| Cant. ii. 1. . . . . | τοῦ πεδίου. |

The only exception to the use of the article is in 1 Chron. v. 16; its absence perhaps indicates that the Sharon, on which the Gadites fed their flocks, was 'the Mishor' of Gilead and Bashan. Indeed it is difficult to see how their pasture grounds could be so far from the tribe as Sharon proper must have been. [all]

## § 8.

SH'PHELAH, שְׁפֵלָה, a low flat: from שָׁפַל, to depress. It has been conjectured that this word appears in Spain as *Hispalis*, *Sevilla*, *Seville*; having been transferred by the first Phœnician colonists to the level plain of the Guadalquivir, in which Seville stands. (Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 129.)

This word is, with one exception, always found with the definite article, הַשְּׁפֵלָה, as the designation of the maritime plain of Philistia: Ha-Shephelah—'The low country;' to which, in Zeph. ii. 5, is applied the more general term of Canaan, or lowland.

The one exception is in Josh. xi. 16 (*b*), "the valley of the same," where it seems to be used for Sharon.

Ha-Shephelah occurs in the following places:—

| | *English Version.* | *Septuagint.* |
|---|---|---|
| Deut. i. 7. . . . . | The vale. | In these passages the word in the LXX is τὸ πεδίον or ἡ πεδινή. |
| Josh ix. 1. . . . . | The valleys. | |
| x. 40. . . . . | The vale. | |
| xi. 2, 16 (*a*); xii. 8; xv. 33; Judg. i. 9. | The valleys. | |
| 1 Kings x. 27. . . . . | The vale. | |
| 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. . . . . | The low plains. | |
| 2 Chron. i. 15. . . . . | The vale. | |
| ix. 27. . . . . | The low plains. | |
| xxvi. 10; xxviii. 18. . . | The low country. | |
| Jerem. xvii. 26. . . . . | The plain. | |
| xxxii. 44. . . . . | The valley. | τῆς Σεφηλά. |
| xxxiii. 13. . . . . | The vale. | τῆς Σεφηλά. |
| Obadiah 19. . . . . | The plain. | ἐν τῇ Σεφηλά. |
| Zech. vii. 7. . . . . | The plain. | ἡ πεδεινή. |
| 1 Macc. xii. 38. . . . . | Sephela. | ἐν τῇ Σεφήλᾳ. |

Under the name of "the plain,"—ἡ γῆ ἡ πεδινή and τὸ πεδίον,—this district is further mentioned in 1 Macc. iii. 40; iv. 6; ix. 21.

## § 9.

MID'BAR, מִדְבָּר, 'wilderness:' from דָּבַר, to drive; as in German, *Trift*, from *treiben*.

The idea is that of a wide open space, with or without actual pasture; the country of the nomads,[1] as distinguished from that of the agricultural and

[1] Part of the word appears in the name Lo-debar, לֹא דְבָר, a place which we see from 2 Sam. xvii. 27, was in the nomad pastoral country on the east of Jordan.

settled people. With the article, ha-Midbar, it is generally used for the desert of Arabia; but sometimes for the barren tracts which reach into the frontier of Palestine, as in the valley of the Jordan (Josh. viii. 15), or in the southern mountains of Judæa (Judg. i. 16; Gen. xxi. 14). Compare Matt. iii. 1, iv. 1., Luke xv. 4.

In the LXX, as in these passages of the N. Test., Midbar is, in the great majority of cases, rendered ἔρημος, or ἡ ἔρημος; but it is also occasionally translated by ἀγρός, ἄνυδρος γῆ, πεδίον, &c. In the A.V. it is usually rendered "wilderness." In Numb. xxxiii. 15, 16, it occurs as follows: "And they departed from Rephidim and pitched in the *wilderness* of Sinai; and they removed from the *desert* of Sinai and pitched at Kibroth-hat-taavah." It is besides rendered "desert" in Exod. iii. 1, v. 3, xxiii. 31; Numb. xx. 1; Deut. xxxii. 10; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; Job xxiv. 5; Isaiah xxi. 1; Jer. xxv. 24. In Psalm lxxv. 6, it is "south."

## § 10.

ARABAH, עֲרָבָה, 'desert:' from עָרַב, to be dry (the same word as חרב; whence חורב, Horeb, = the dried-up mountain). Arabah and Midbar both describe a similar region, with the difference, that Midbar describes it in relation to its use by man,—Arabah, in relation to its physical qualities. Accordingly, in the poetical parts of Scripture, Arabah is used almost interchangeably with Midbar, in the general sense of any uncultivated wild,—frequently as the parallel word to Midbar. (See Isai. xxxv. 1, 6, xli. 19, li. 3, &c.) In the historical portions, however, the word is used with a remarkable precision:—(1) With the article, ha-Arabah, The Desert, it denotes (with two probable exceptions, to be noticed immediately,) the desert tract which extends along the valley of the Jordan from the Dead Sea to the Lake of Gennesareth, now called by the Arabs El-Ghor; but (2) when this is not intended, and the word is used for other districts, or for parts of the valley of the Jordan—as, for instance, the "plains" of Moab, or the "plains" of Jericho—there the article is omitted, and the word is in the plural, ערבות, Araboth. The two will be found in juxtaposition in 2 Kings xxv. 4, 5: "The king fled by the way toward the plain (ha-Arabah, *i.e.* the Ghor, Vulg. *ad campestria solitudinis*); but the Chaldees pursued after him, and overtook him in the plains (Araboth) of Jericho," (*in planitie Jericho*). (3). The two exceptions just named are Deut. i. 1, and ii. 8, in which (in the former probably, in the latter certainly,) the word is applied to the valley between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba; to which, and to which alone, the name is now given by the Arabs (Robinson B. R., vol. ii. 599, 600). In this, its widest sense, as the name of the whole valley from Hermon to the Red Sea, it corresponds to the ancient use of the word Ghor, by Abulfeda,—the two words having had a parallel history; each, in its larger sense, including the whole extent of desert valley; each, in its narrower sense, including only a portion, and that portion the northern.

Ha-Arabah, *the* Desert, occurs in the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Deut. i. 1, 7; ii. 8; iii. 17; iv. 49. | The plain. |
| xi. 30. | The champaign. |
| Josh. iii. 16; viii. 14; xi. 16; xii. 1, 3. | The plain. |
| xi. 2; xii. 8. | The plains. |
| xv. 6 (בֵּית הַעֲ׳). | Beth-arabah. |
| xviii. 18. | Arabah. |
| 1 Sam. xxiii. 24; 2 Sam. ii. 29; iv. 7. | The plain. |
| 2 Kings xiv. 25; xxv. 4. | The plain. |
| Jeremiah xxxix. 4; lii. 7. | The plain. |
| Ezek. xlvii. 8. | The desert. |

In the great majority of these passages, the LXX has Ἄραβα or ἡ Ἄραβα, and in the remainder ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς or πρὸς δυσμῶν; once καθ' ἑσπέραν.

In the plural, and without the article, Araboth, it occurs as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Numb. xxii. 1; xxvi. 3, 63; xxxi. 12; xxxiii. 48, 49, 50; xxxv. 1; xxxvi. 13. | The plains of Moab. | |
| Deut. xxxiv. 1, 8. | The plains of Moab. | In these it is either literally Ἀραβώθ, or else δυσμαί; once (Jer. lii. 8) τῷ πέραν Ἰεριχώ. |
| Josh. iv. 13; v. 10. | The plains of Jericho. | |
| xiii. 32. | The plains of Moab. | |
| 2 Sam. xv. 28. | The plain. | |
| xvii. 16. | The plains. | |
| 2 Kings xxv. 5. | The plains of Jericho. | |
| Jerem. xxxix. 5; lii. 8. | The plains of Jericho. | |

In the poetical books, sometimes with, and sometimes without the article, but apparently with the general sense of a desert, the word is found: Job xxiv. 5, xxxix. 6; Isai. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 1, 6, xl. 3, xli. 19, li. 3; Jer. ii. 6, v. 6, xvii. 6, l. 12, li. 43; Amos vi. 14; Zech. xiv. 10. It is rendered in these passages by the LXX ἔρημος; δυσμαί; γῆ ἄνυδρος, ἄπειρος, and ἄβατος; ἔλος and ἀγρός. In the English version, "wilderness," "desert," or "plain," apparently indiscriminately. [all]

## § 11.

J'SHIMON, יְשִׁימוֹן, 'waste:' from שָׁם, to be laid waste; with the article, apparently for the desert tract in the south of Palestine, on both sides of the Dead Sea, (see Num. xxi. 20; xxiii. 28; 1 Sam. xxiii. 19, 24; xxvi. 1, 3). In all these cases the English version has "Jeshimon."[1] Beth-Jesimoth, "the house of the wastes," Num. xxxiii. 49, is in the same district.

Without the article, it occurs in the following passages of poetry, generally with the meaning of the Wilderness of the Wanderings.

| | |
|---|---|
| Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. lxviii. 7. | "wilderness." |
| Ps. lxxviii. 40; cvi. 14; Isa. xliii. 19, 20. | "desert." |
| Ps. cvii. 4. | "solitary." |

LXX generally ἄνυδρος—sometimes ἔρημος. [all]

## § 12.

CICCAR, כִּכָּר, 'round:' from כָּרַר, to move in a circle; thus κύκλος, *circus*, circle. In accordance with its origin, this word is used in the Bible in three senses, each involving the idea of circularity: (1) a coin, or piece of money—a talent,—as Exod. xxv. 39, 2 Kings v. 22, 23, 1 Chron. xxii. 2; (2) a cake, or loaf of bread,—Exod. xxix. 23, 1 Sam. x. 3, 1 Chron. xvi. 3; and (3) topographically, mostly with the article, Ha-Ciccar, for (*a*) the floor of the valley through which the Jordan runs; but more especially for (*b*) the oasis which formerly existed in the lower part of the river, "well watered everywhere . . . as the garden of the Lord and the land of Egypt," in which "the cities of the round" stood before their destruction. See Chapter VII. p. 281.

In the former sense (*a*), it appears to be used in

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 Sam. xviii. 23[2] | τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν τοῦ Κεχάρ. |
| 1 Kings vii. 46 | ἐν τῷ περιοίκῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. |
| 2 Chron. iv. 17 | „ περιχώρῳ „ |
| Nehem. iii. 22 | ἐκ Χεχάρ. |
| Nehem. xii. 28 | τῆς περιχώρου. |

[1] The two expressions, "which looketh toward," and "which is before," in the above passages are translations of the same Hebrew words עַל־פְּנֵי = in face of.

[2] Ewald (2nd edit.) vol. iii. 237, has an ingenious suggestion of a different meaning. See Chapter VIII.

In the latter and narrower sense (*b*), it occurs in

| | |
|---|---|
| Gen. xiii. 10, 11 (without the article). | |
| Gen. xiii. 12 . . . . | τὴν περίχωρον. |
| Gen. xix. 17, 25, 28 . . . | |
| Gen. xix. 29 . . . . . | τῆς περιοίκου. |
| Deut. xxxiv. 3 . . . . . | τὰ περίχωρα. |

In the English version it is constantly rendered "plain." [all]

## § 13.

G'LILOTH, גְּלִילוֹת, 'circles:' from גָּלַל, to roll.

Of the five times in which this word occurs in Scripture, two are in the general sense of coast or border:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Josh. xiii. 2. . | "All the *borders* of the Philistines." . | ὅρια. |
| Joel iii. 4. . . | "All the *coasts* of Palestine." . . | Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων. |

and three specially relate to the course of the Jordan

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Josh. xxii. 10, 11. . | "The *borders* of Jordan." . . | Γαλαὰδ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (Symm. ὅρια). |
| Ezek. xlvii. 8.[1] . . | "The east *country*." . . | εἰς τὴν γαλιλαίαν. |

It has been pointed out in Chap. VII. p. 278 *note*, that this word is analogous to the Scotch term "links," which has both the meanings of Geliloth, being used of the snake-like windings of a stream, as well as with the derived meaning of a coast or shore. Thus Geliloth is distinguished from Ciccar, which will rather mean the circle of vegetation or dwellings, gathered round the bends and reaches of the river.

A place named Geliloth is mentioned in Josh. xviii. 17, which, as far as the imperfect indications of the text allow, seems to be close to the Arabah, or Jordan valley.

The word rendered in the Old Testament Galilee,—probably to keep up the correspondence with the New Testament,—is גָּלִיל, Galil, and גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, the 'district of the Gentiles,' or heathen; probably from the number of Canaanites who remained unexpelled from the cities of that part of the country (see Judg. i. 27—33). It seems, from 1 Kings ix. 11, to have consisted of twenty cities, the chief of which was the sacred city, Kedesh in Galilee, or Kedesh-Naphtali. [all]

## § 14.

CAR'MEL, כַּרְמֶל, 'a park:'[2] from כָּרַם, to be noble (whether of man or vegetable); whence Cerem, a vine,[3] and Carmel, a "fruitful field" or well wooded country. Its meaning, as distinguished from a 'wilderness' (Midbar, § 9), and a 'forest' (Jaar, § 71), is fixed by

| | |
|---|---|
| Isai. xxix. 17; xxxii. 15, 16. . . . | "fruitful field." |
| Jer. ii. 6, 7. . . . . | "plentiful country." |

[1] "These waters issue out toward the eastern 'circles' [of the Jordan], and go down into the 'Arabah,' and go into the 'Dead' Sea."

[2] Gesenius, (*Jesaia*), Gartenwald; Baumgarten.

[3] Comp. Abel-*ceramim*, "the meadow of the vineyards," Judges xi. 33.

With the same general signification it is also used in

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 Kings xix. 23; Isai. xxxvii. 24. . . | "Carmel." |
| Isai. x. 8. . . . . | "fruitful field." |
| xvi. 10. . . . . | "plentiful field." |
| Jer. iv. 26. . . . . | "fruitful place." |
| xlviii. 33. . . . . | "plentiful field." |

By the LXX the word is rendered *οἱ δρυμοί, ἀμπελών, παλάθη*, but is oftenest given as *Κάρμηλον*.

As a proper name (almost invariably with the definite article ha-Carmel) the word belongs to two places.

1. The well-known mountain of the name, the present aspect of which is the best evidence of the meaning of "Carmel," as a mixture of cultivated ground, and woodland. It occurs as follows:—

Josh. xii. 22; xix. 26. 1 Kings xviii. 19, 20, 42. 2 Kings ii. 25; iv. 25. Isai. xxxiii. 9; xxxv. 2. Jer. xlvi. 18; l. 19. Cant. vii. 5; Amos i. 2; ix. 3. Micah vii. 14; Nahum i. 4; Judith i. 8.

2. The Carmel in the "wilderness of Paran;"—or, as the LXX read it, 'of Maon,'—in the south of Judah, where the possessions of Nabal were, and the name of which continued to designate David's favourite wife, "Abigail the Carmelitess," the "wife of Nabal the Carmelite." Inferior as the vegetation of the southern Carmel is to that of its northern namesake, it must yet have been a 'park' to those who "went up" to it (1 Sam. xxv. 5) from the desert at its feet. (See Chap. I. part ii. pp. 100, 101.)

See Josh. xv. 55; 1 Sam. xv. 12; xxv. 2, 5, 7, 40; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10. [all]

## § 15.

SADEH, שָׂדֶה, 'field:' probably from שָׂדַה, to smooth; or level with a harrow; as *arvum*, from *arare*. Hence, although like the English word field it has several applications ("the beasts of the field;" "in the open fields;" "wild," literally, 'of the field,') it is most commonly used for cultivated land, as distinguished from town, desert, or garden. This is clear from the following passages amongst many: Gen. xli. 48, xlvii. 20, 24; Lev. xix. 9, 19; Numb. xvi. 14, xx. 17; Ruth ii. 2, 3, &c.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, and 1 Chron. xi. 13 (in both "ground"); Job xxiv. 6; Jerem. xxvi. 18: Micah iii. 12; Prov. xxiv. 30. A further example of this use of the word is seen in Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5, 7, 28, xxxvii. 7—15, where it is employed to designate the piece of cultivated land lying "before the city" of Shechem, the acquisition of which marked the transition of Jacob from the Bedouin shepherd into the agricultural settler (Chap. V. pp. 232, 244). And it is thus used in 2 Kings, viii. 3, 5 ("land") for the property of the Shunamite, which it is evident from iv. 18, was farm-land.

The expression שְׂדֵה מוֹאָב, or שְׂדֵי מ׳, "the field, or fields, of Moab," is used in Gen. xxxvi. 35, and 1 Chron. i. 46; Numb. xxi. 20; Ruth i. 1, 2, 6, 22, ii. 6, iv. 3; 1 Chron. viii. 8; probably for the pasture and corn-fields on the uplands, as distinguished from Araboth, "the plains of Moab," or deserts, meaning the dry sunken region in the valley of the Jordan (Chap. VII., p. 292). See also

"*Country* of the Amalekites," Gen. xiv. 7,
"*Country* of Edom," Gen. xxxii. 3, "field of Edom," Judges v. 4.
"*Field* of Zophim," Numbers xxiii. 14.
"*Country* of the Philistines," 1 Sam. xxvii. 5, 7, 11. (Compare the cultivation betokened in the "corn, and vineyards, and olives" of Judges xv. 5.)

"*Country* of Syria," Hosea xii. 12. (Compare Gen. xxxi. 4.)
"*Field* of Zoan," Psalm lxxviii. 12, 43.
"*Country* of the inheritance of Israel," Judges xx. 6.

If the above explanation of the word be the correct one, the "vale of Siddim," (עֵמֶק הַשִּׂדִּים), Gen. xiv. 3, 8, is 'the valley of well cultivated fields' in the oasis of the five cities. (See, however, a different meaning in Gesenius, p. 1321). LXX ἡ φαραγξ ἡ ἁλυκή. Aquila, ἡ κοιλάς τῶν περιπεδίνων. Theod. and Symm., τῶν ἅλσων. Jerome, *Vallis Silvestris.*

In Ruth iv. 3, the word occurs twice, each time differently rendered "Naomi that is come out of the *country* of Moab, selleth a parcel of *land*, which was," &c.

By the LXX Sadeh is oftenest rendered ἀγρός; but also πεδίον and γῆ, as well as γεώργιον, δρυμός, χόρτος, κτῆμα, &c. [all]

## § 16.

SHEDEMOTH, שְׁדֵמוֹת, 'fields:' from שָׁדַם, to enclose. "The fields of Gomorrah," Deut. xxxii. 32: of Kidron, 2 Kings xxiii. 4; Jer. xxxi. 40; of Heshbon, Isa. xvi. 8; see also Hab. iii. 17. From its connection with the vine and olives in the first and two last of these passages, Shedemoth would seem to be used for highly cultivated ground. LXX τὰ πεδία, and literally σαδημωθ. [all]

## § 17.

ABEL, אָבֵל, 'a meadow:' from אָבַל, "to be wet, like moist grass:" hence applied to places deriving their names from adjacent trees or water; as

1. Abel, Abel-beth-maachah, or Abel-maim, ('the meadow of waters,') 2 Sam. xx. 14, 15, 18; 1 Kings xv. 20; 2 Kings xv. 29; 2 Chron. xvi. 4.
2. Abel-meholah, ('the meadow of dancing,') Jud. vii. 22; 1 Kings iv. 12; xix. 16.
3. "The plain of the vineyards," (Abel-ceramim,) Jud. xi. 33.
4. Abel-ha-Shittim, ('the meadow of the acacias,') Numb. xxxiii. 49.

None of these sites have been precisely identified, but they must have all more or less been under the circumstances involved in the derivation. Thus Abel-maim must have been in the marshy valley of the Lake of Merom: (see Chap. XII. p. 388). Abel-meholah—being named with Zartan, or Zererath, and Bethshean—must have been close to the Jordan: and Abel-shittim was "by Jordan," and as its name shows, under the shade of acacia groves. Abel-mizraim, according to the explanation in the text, (Gen. l. 11,) has its name from אֵבֶל 'mourning'—and was so called from the weeping of the Egyptians. "The great [stone of] Abel" (it will be perceived that "stone of" is supplied by the translators) in 1 Sam. vi. 18, appears by comparison with verse 15, and with the Targum, and the LXX, ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ μεγάλου, to be a corruption for אֶבֶן Eben, a stone (compare vii. 12.) Our translators, as was their frequent custom, here followed the Vulgate, which has *ad abel magnum.*

For Abil or Abila, the capital of Abilene, see Chap. XII. p. 405. [all]

## § 18.

The word translated in Gen. xli. 2, 18, "meadow," is

ACHU, אָחוּ, a word of Egyptian derivation (see Gesenius, p. 67, *s. voce*) probably signifying the rushes or flags which grew in the marshy ground along

the Nile. In the LXX it is literally rendered τῷ ἀχι, Aqu. and Symm. ἕλος. It is only met with once again, in Job. viii. 11,[1] where the LXX has it βούτομον, Auth. Vers. "flag." Philo in his version of Gen. xli. has παρὰ τὰς ὀχθάς.

## § 19.

MAAREH, מַעֲרֶה, 'an open field,' from עָרָה, to be bare: occurs only in Judg. xx. 33, the "meadows of Gibeah" (Geba). The word has, however, been considered by some interpreters as מְעָרָה, 'the cave of G.;' by others, as מִמַּעֲרֶב, 'from the west of G.' And so the LXX *Alex.* ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῆς γαβαα.

As a proper name, it is found in Maarath, a town of Judah; Josh. xv. 59.

## § 20.

CHELKAH, חֶלְקָה, 'a plot of ground;' strictly, a smooth piece (comp. Gen. xxvii. 16, "smooth"): from חָלַק, to be smooth. It is used with Sadeh, (§ 16) in

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|---|---|
| Gen. xxxiii. 19 | "*parcel* of a field." |
| Josh. xxiv. 32 | "*parcel* of ground." |
| Ruth ii. 3 | "*part* of the field." |
| iv. 3 | "*parcel* of land." |
| 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12[2] | (*a*) "*piece* of ground," (*b*) "*ground*." |
| 2 Kings ix. 25 | "*portion* of the field." |
| 1 Chron. xi. 13 | "*parcel* of ground." |

and without it in:

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 Sam. xiv. 30, 31 | field. |
| 2 Kings iii. 19, 25 | piece of land. |
| ix. 21 | portion. |
| 26 | a plat. |
| 1 Chr. xi. 14 | parcel. |

The word is frequently used in the poetical books, as is also the kindred חֵלֶק, chelek, mostly rendered "portion," LXX, μερις.

As a proper name, Chelkah is found in *Chelkath hat-tzurim*, 2 Sam. ii. 16. "The mount Chalak," (margin, 'the smooth mountain,') occurs Josh. xi. 17; xii. 7.

## § 21.

NAPHATH, נָפַת, a word used only in connexion with Dor, the ancient Phœnician city on the maritime plain on the south of Carmel. (See Chap. VI.) It is translated by Symmachus ἡ παραλία Δωρ, 'the sea coast of Dor'—a signification which seems more correct than Gesenius' explanation of it (*Thesaurus*, p. 866) as "promontory" or "high tract," since Dor (the modern Tantura) is dis-

[1] The use of this word and of that for "rush" (גֹּמֶא, *papyrus nilotica;* comp. Exod. ii. 3, &c.) in this passage of Job, is one of several proofs that the author of that book was acquainted with Egypt.

[2] There is here a curious confusion in the Auth. Version. "The Philistines were gathered together in a troop, where was a piece (chelkah) of ground (sadeh) full of lentiles . . . . . but he stood in the midst of the ground (chelkah) and defended it."

tinctly apart from Carmel and the hilly country on its southern flanks. The word only occurs three times: in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Joshua xi. 2 | "*borders* of Dor" | φενεαδδὼρ, *Alex.* ναφεθδωρ. |
| ,, xii. 23 | "*coast* of Dor" | φενεαλδὼρ, *Alex.* ναφεδδωρ. |
| 1 Kings iv. 11 | "*region* of Dor" | νεφθαδὼρ.[1] |

In Joshua xvii. 11,—with a different pointing, נָפַת, the word is applied to the whole district of the plains at the foot of Carmel, both on its north and south sides—"the inhabitants of En-Dor[2] and her towns, and the inhabitants of Taanach and her towns, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns—three *countries*," or, more strictly, 'the triple district' (as Decapolis).

From this, Naphath would appear to be a local word applied to the plains at the foot of Carmel, much as Ciccar (§ 12) and Geliloth (§ 13) were to the Jordan valley. [all]

## § 22.

CHEBEL, חֶבֶל, land measured out, or allotted, by a rope, חבל — a tract or 'district.' The district of Argob in Bashan, is uniformly distinguished by the use of this word, rendered in the A. V. "region" and "country." See Deut. iii. 4, 13, 14, and 1 Kings iv. 13. Chebel is used in a general topographical sense in Josh. xvii. 5, 14; xix. 9, (all "portion"); and Josh. xix. 29; Zeph. ii. 5, 6, 7, (all "coast"). The LXX seem to have rendered it indifferently *περίχωρα, ἡ περίχωρος*, and, retaining its original meaning, *σχοίνισμα*. Symm. *περίμετρον*. Jerome: *regio; funiculus*.

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# II.—MOUNTAINS AND RISING GROUND.

## § 23.

HAR, הַר, and HOR, הוֹר or הֹר (compare the Greek *ὄρος* and the Slavonic *gora*), a 'mountain,' as distinguished from Gibeah, a low mountain or hill.

Har is employed both for single mountains—as Sinai, Gerizim, Zion, or Olivet—and for ranges, as Lebanon. It is also applied to a mountainous country or district, as in Josh. xi. 16, where "the mountain of Israel" is the highland of Palestine, as opposed to the "valley and the plain:" and in Josh. xi. 21, xx. 7, where "the mountains of Judah" (incorrectly rendered plural) is the same as "the hill country" (הַר) in xxi. 11. Similarly, Mount Ephraim (Hor Ephraim) is the mountainous district occupied by that tribe, which is evident from the fact that the Mount Gaash (Josh. xxiv. 30), Mount Zemaraim (2 Chron. xiii. 4), the hill of Phinehas (Josh. xxiv. 33), and the towns of Shechem, Shamir (Judges x. 1), Timnath-Serach (Josh. xix. 50), besides other cities (2 Chron. xv. 8), were all situated upon it.

Compare also, "the mountain of the Amorites," which apparently is the elevated country east of the Dead Sea and Jordan (Deut. i. 7, 19, 20)—and "Mount Naphtali," (Josh. xx. 7.)

The name of Mount Hor (הֹר הָהָר, *i. e. the* mountain *κατ' ἐξοχήν*) is borne (1) by that close to Petra, on which Aaron died (LXX Ωρ τὸ ὄρος); and

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[1] All plainly mere corruptions of a literal rendering of the original.

[2] By comparison with the parallel list of Manasseh's cities in Judges i. 27, it would appear that En-Dor in the above passage is probably an interpolation for Dor. The LXX in Josh. xvii. 11, have *τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δὼρ*.

(2) by a member of the Lebanon range, named in Num. xxxiv. 7, 8, as one of the marks of the northern boundary of Palestine (LXX τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὅρος, Vulg. *ad montem altissimum*), which is explained in the Talmud (Gittin viii.) to be the mountain Amana, Cant. iv. 8. (See Fuerst's HandW.Buch, p. 336.)

The various mountains or districts to which the word Har is applied in the Old Testament are as follows:—

Abarim, Amana (Cant. iv. 8); Ararat: Baalah; Baal-Hermon (Judg. iii. 3; compare Josh. xiii. 5); Bethel; Bether (Cant. ii. 17); Carmel; Ebal; Emek (Josh. xiii. 19), translated "the mount of the valley," after the Vulgate *monte convallis*, but probably Emek[1] (valley) was its name; LXX ἐν τῷ ὄρει Ἐνάκ,[2] Zunz, *auf dem Thalberg*); Ephron (Josh. xv. 9); Gaash; Gerizim; Gilboa; Gilead; Halak (the smooth mountain, Josh. xi. 17); Heres (Judg. i. 35); Hermon; Hor (2); Horeb; Jearim (Josh. xv. 10); Olivet, or of Olives (Zech. xiv. 4; in 2 Sam, xv. 30, the expression is, David went up "by the ascent (maaleh) of 'the Olives,'" not "of Mount Olivet"); Mizar[3] (Ps. xlii. 6); Moriah; Nebo; Paran (Deut. xxxiii. 2); Perazim (Isai. xxviii. 21); Samaria (1 Kings xvi. 24, "the hill Samaria," accurately 'the mountain Shomeron'); Seir; Sephar (סְפָר Gen. x. 30); Sinai; Sion, Sirion, or Shenir (all names for Hermon, Deut. iii. 9; iv. 48); Shapher (שָׁפֶר Numb. xxxiii. 23); Tabor; Zalmon (Jud. ix. 48); Zemaraim (2 Chron. xiii. 4); Zion.

There are also, the mountain of the Amorites; of the Amalekites (Judg. xii. 15); of Ephraim; of Esau; of Israel; of Judah; of Naphtali; and of Bashan (Ps. lxviii. 15).

Har is rendered in the English version by "mountain," "mount," and "hill;" in the LXX, with a few exceptions, ὄρος and ὀρεινή.

Mention has been made of the frequent occurrence throughout the Scriptures of personification of the great features of the country.

The following are, it is believed, all the words used with this object in relation to mountains or hills:—

(*a*) Head, רֹאשׁ, Rosh. Gen. viii. 5; Exod. xix. 20; Deut. xxxiv. 1; 1 Kings xviii. 42; (E.V. top). Of a hill (gibeah), Exod. xvii. 9, 10.

(*b*) Ears, אַזְנוֹת, Az'noth. Aznoth-Tabor, Josh. xix. 34; possibly in allusion to some projection on the top of the mountain.

(*c*) Shoulder, כָּתֵף, Cataph. Deut. xxxiii. 12; Josh. xv. 8, and xviii. 16 ("side"); all referring to the hills on which Jerusalem is placed. (See Chapter IV., p. 195.) Josh. xv. 10, "the side of Mount Jearim."

(*d*) Side, צַד, Tzad. (See the word for the side of a man in 2 Sam. ii. 16, Ezek. iv. 4. &c.) Used in reference to a mountain in 1 Sam. xxiii. 26, 2 Sam. xiii. 34.

(*e*) Loins or Flanks, כִּסְלוֹת, Cis'loth. Cisloth-Tabor, Josh. xix. 12; and occurs also in the name of a village, probably situated on this part of the mountain, Ha-Cesulloth, הַכְּסֻלוֹת, *i.e.* the 'loins.' Josh. xix. 18.

(*f*) Rib, צֶלַע, Tzelah. Only used once, in speaking of the Mount of Olives, 2 Sam. xvi. 13, and there translated "side," ἐκ πλευρᾶς τοῦ ὄρους.

(*g*) Back, שְׁכֶם, Sh'cem. Probably the root of the name of the town *Shechem*, which may be derived from its situation, as it were on the back of Gerizim.

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[1] Compare the same collocation in the name of the well-known mountain Lang-*dale Pikes*, in Cumberland.

[2] Compare the same reading by the LXX in Jer. xlvii. 5, xlix. 4. See § 1.

[3] The use of the word Har shows that the Prayer-Book version "the little *hill* of Hermon" is erroneous: *Mizar* is 'small,' perhaps by comparison with the main Peak of Hermon, though a large mountain in itself.

(*h*) ELBOW, אַמָּה, Ammah. The same word as that for cubit. It occurs in 2 Sam. ii. 24, as the name of a hill near Gibeon. LXX, ἕως τοῦ βουνοῦ Ἀμμάν.

(*i*) THIGH, יֶרֶךְ, Jar'cah. (See the word for the thigh of a man in Jud. iii. 16, 21.) Of Mount Ephraim, Judges xix. 1, 18: of Lebanon, 2 Kings xix. 23; Isai. xxxvii. 24. Used also for the "sides" of a cave, 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

(*k*) The word translated "covert" in 1 Sam. xxv. 20 (LXX, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ ὄρους) is סֵתֶר, Sê'ther: from סָתַר, to hide (the same root as that from which Mistor, § 90, is derived), and probably refers to the shrubbery or thicket through which Abigail's path lay. In this passage "hill" should be 'mountain.'

## § 24.

PISGAH, or more strictly HA-PISGAH, הַפִּסְגָּה, 'the height:' a range of hills on the east of Jordan opposite Jericho, remarkable as having been the scene of Moses' view of the Promised Land: Nebo, from which Moses looked, was (Deut. xxxiv. 1[1]) a peak of the range. Pisgah itself had, at least in places (see Numb. xxiii. 14), a flat surface on its top, and even cultivated land—"the *field* of Zophim," (comp. Sadeh, § 15).[2] In the time of Eusebius this district on the east of the Jordan retained the name of φασγώ (Onom. s. v. Ἀβαρείμ).

Ha-Pisgah occurs as follows: Numb. xxi. 20; xxiii. 14; Deut. iii. 27; xxxiv. 1. By the LXX it is rendered ὁ λελαξευμένος, 'the quarried,' in every case but the last: in that, φασγά. The Sam. Vers. has uniformly סכיתה, *specula*, a watch-tower.

For Ashdoth-Pisgah, the "roots" or "springs" of Pisgah, see § 48. [all]

## § 25.

GIB'AH, גִּבְעָה, 'a hill,' (as distinguished from Har, a mountain): from גָּבַב, גּב, a hump, or curve; (compare the Latin *gibbus*, and German *gipfel*.) The distinction is not always so strictly observed, but that of two eminences, not far from each other, the lower may not be called 'hor' and the higher 'gibeah': e. g. Gibeon (El Jib), and Gibeah (Jeba), are both higher than the Hor or Mount of Olives. But the word Gibeah is never applied to a high or extended mountain like Lebanon or Sinai, while from its root it is particularly applicable to the humped or rounded hills of Palestine. On the distinction between Hor and Gibeah depends an important argument in deciding the claims of Mount Serbal and Gebel Mousa to be the Sinai of the Exodus: see Chap. I. p. 41.

In modern Arabic, the word Gebel is applied to all eminences; as, for example, to the rock of Tarik,—Gebel-tarik, or Gibraltar.

There were several places of this name in Palestine.

1. "Gibeah of Benjamin," Judg. xix. 14; 1 Sam. xiii. 2, 15; or—from Saul's residence there—"of Saul," 1 Sam. xi. 4; xv. 34; 2 Sam. xxi. 6; Isai. x. 29. Apparently the first mention of it is in the list of the cities of Benjamin in Josh. xviii. 28, where it is called Gibeath; and it occurs simply as Gibeah in Judg. xix. 12; 1 Sam. x. 26, and many other places.
   Note.—Gibeah, in 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4, has the article, and should be rendered, as indeed it is in 1 Sam. vii. 1, 'the Hill,' that is, a hill close to Kirjath-jearim.
2. Gibeah, a city in the mountains of Judah, Josh. xv. 57, only.
3. Geba, or Gaba; a city of Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 24; 1 Sam. xiii. 3; 2 Kings xxiii. 8. A distinct place from Gibeah (1), though evidently (Isai. x. 29) in close proximity to it. That the two names were interchangeable is apparent from the fact that in Judg. xx. 10, and in 1 Sam. xiii. 16, Gibeah of Benjamin is, in the Hebrew, "Geba

[1] Accurately, 'the Mount Nebo, head of the Pisgah.' [2] See Ritter, Syrien, p. 1192.

of B." In addition there is some confusion in the A. V. 'Geba' being rendered "Gibeah" in both the above instances, as well as in Judg. xx. 33, and 1 Sam. xiv. 5.

4. Gibeon, the important city in Benjamin. Josh. ix. 3; 1 Kings iii. 4, 5, &c. &c. From 1 Chron. xiv. 16 (compared with 2 Sam. v. 25, and 2 Kings xxiii. 8), Gibeon would seem to be used interchangeably with Geba for the northern boundary of the kingdom of Judah.

Mention is also made of

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|---|---|
| "Gibeah ha-araloth," 'the hill of the foreskins,' βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστιῶν . . . . . | Josh. v. 3. |
| "The hill of Phinehas in Mount Ephraim:" γαβαὰρ φινεές . . . . . | Josh. xxiv. 33. |
| "Hill of Moreh:" ἀπὸ γαβααθαμωραί . . . | Jud. vii. 1. |
| "Hill of Hachilah" (darkness): τῷ βουνῷ τοῦ Ἐχελᾶ . | 1 Sam. xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1. |
| "Hill of Ammah:" ἕως τοῦ βουνοῦ Ἀμμάν . . | 2 Sam. ii. 24. |
| "Hill Gareb:" ἕως βουνῶν Γαρήβ . . . . | Jer. xxxi. 39. |

In Isai. xxxi. 4, and Ezek. xxxiv. 26, gibeah is used for the hill of Zion. In the LXX it is almost constantly rendered βουνός, and in the E.V. without an exception, "hill."

## § 26.

OPHEL, עֹפֶל, 'swelling mound:' from עָפַל, to swell; and hence the plural *ophelim* is used for 'tumours,' in Deut. xxviii. 27; 1 Sam. v. 6, &c. (Compare the Latin *tumulus* from *tumeo*). In 2 Kings v. 24, it is applied to the residence of Elisha, near Jericho, and translated "tower," LXX, τὸ σκοτεινόν, Vulg. *vesperi*. Elsewhere, with the doubtful exceptions of Isai. xxxii. 14, and Micah iv. 8,—and in every case with the definite article ha-Ophel, *the* mound—it is applied to an eminence on the south-east (comp. Neh. iii. 26.) of the Temple, on the old site of Solomon's Palace, (see 2 Chron. xxvii. 3; xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 26, 27; xi. 21). Hence, in later times, the word appears to have acquired the meaning of 'fort,' as in Ὠβλίαμ (עפלעם), "bulwark of the people," the name applied to St. James the Just by Hegesippus (Eus. H. E. II. 23).

## § 27.

SH'FI, שְׁפִי, 'a bare place on a hill,' from שָׁפָה, to scrape, or shave. The word occurs in Num. xxiii. 3, "to an high place;" LXX, ἐπορεύθη εὐθεῖαν; and also in the following passages:—Isai. xli. 18; xlix. 9; Jer. iii. 2, 21; iv. 11; vii. 29; xii. 12; xiv. 6; in each of which it is rendered "high place." [all.]

## § 28.

TZUR, צוּר, or Chald. TUR, טוּר, 'a rock:' from צוּר, to bind together (see the word employed, and so translated, in Deut. xv. 25, 2 Kings v. 23.) Thus the leading idea of the word is strength and solidity; and it is so used in many well known passages as one of the titles of Jehovah: Psalm xxxi. 2, lxii. 6, &c. It is accordingly applied to rocks, irrespective of their height, height being only in one or two cases (as Numb. xxiii. 9, Psalm lxi. 2) associated with the word. Thus, Tyre or Tzur—which still retains its name—is built not on a cliff, but on a reef of rock (see Chap. VI. p. 265).

The particular 'rocks' named in the Bible, are "the rock in Horeb," Exod. xvii. 6; and "the rock Oreb," the scene of the death of the Midianitish chief of the same name. Jud. vii. 25; Is. x. 26.

The word is also found in Helkath-hat-*tzur*im, 'the smooth piece of the strong,' 2 Sam. ii. 16; and in Beth-tzur, Josh. xv. 58.

Tzur is most commonly rendered by the LXX *πέτρα*, and occasionally *ὄρος*—in the Psalms and poetical Books, where God is called a Rock, it is according to the usual custom of the LXX *Θεός*, but also *βυηθός, ἅγιος, φύλαξ, κτίστης*, &c.

In connection with Tzur is found,

(*a*) NIK'RAH נִקְרָה, 'a hole:' from נָקַר, to dig or bore, which only occurs twice, Exod. xxxiii. 22; Isa. ii. 21; in the latter in contrast to Seiph and Sela—"to go into the 'holes' of the 'rocks,' and into the 'clefts' of the 'cliffs.'"

## § 29.

SELA, סֶלַע, 'a cliff:' from סָלַע, to be lifted up: hence here the leading idea is that of height, and the allusions are continually to "the top of the cliff," as, for instance, Jud. xv. 8; 2 Kings xiv. 7; Isa. ii. 21, &c.

The 'cliffs' named in the Bible are:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Etam . . . . . | Judges xv. 8, 11 . | *ἡ πέτρα Ἠταμ.* |
| Rimmon . . . . . | Judges xx. 45 . | *ἡ πέτρα τοῦ Ῥ.* |
| Sela-ha-machlekoth, 'The cliff of the escapes' | 1 Sam. xxiii. 28 . | *πέτρα ἡ μερισθεῖσα.* |

Sela is specially used for the cliff at Kadesh, from which Moses brought water, as Tzur is for that struck in Exod. xvii. a distinction which may be of importance in determining the scenes of these two events: Numb. xx. 8, 10, 11; Neh. ix. 15; Psalm lxxviii. 16. (chap. I. *p.* 96.)

With the article, ha-Sela, *the* cliff, it is the capital of the Edomites, afterwards called by the equivalent name *Petra*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| See 2 Kings xiv. 7 . . . . . | | *ἡ πέτρα.* |
| 2 Chron. xxv. 12 . . . . . | | *τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ κρημνοῦ.* |
| Also probably Judges i. 36 . . . . . | | *τῆς πέτρας.* |
| Without article | Isai. xvi. 1 . . . . . | *πέτρα.* |
| | Obad. 3 . . . . . | *τῶν πέτρων.* |

Like Tzur, and apparently without any distinction, Sela is used in the poetical books as an epithet of Jehovah; see Ps. xviii. 2, xlii. 9. In poetry it is the parallel word to Tzur; Ps. lxxviii. 15, 16, xxxi. 2, 3; Isai. ii. 21. The word is in the LXX, almost always rendered *πέτρα*. The only exception worth notice is *κρημνός*, in 2 Chron. xxv. 12.

In exclusive connexion with Sela several words are found. These are:—

(*a*.) CHAGAVIM, חַגָוִים, 'depths' or 'chasms:' from חָגָה, to penetrate deeply. This word only occurs three times, in the poetical books; viz. Cant. ii. 14, Jer. xlix. 16, and Obad. 3. It is always used with sela, 'cliff;' and the two last passages referring to the cliffs of Petra fix its meaning with accuracy.

(*b*.) S'IPH, סְעִיף, 'cleft:' from סָעַף, to split. It occurs in Jud. xv. 8, 11; Isa. ii. 21; lvii. 5.

(*c*.) TZ'CHIACH, צְחִיחַ, a place exposed to the sun, and thence the dried-up surface at the top of a cliff. It occurs, Neh. iv. 13 ("higher places"), Ezek. xxiv. 7, 8; xxvi. 4, 14.

(*d.*) N'KIK, נְקִיק, 'a cranny.' It occurs, Isai. vii. 19; Jer. xiii. 4, xvi. 16.

(*e.*) SHEN, שֵׁן, 'a crag,' literally a tooth: Job xxxix. 28, "the crag of the 'cliff.'" It occurs also in 1 Sam. xiv. 4, 5. which is accurately, "a crag of the cliff was on one side, and a crag of the cliff on the other side . . . . the one crag was situate northward . . . and the other southward." The place Shen, named only in 1 Sam. vii. 12, was probably some conspicuous pointed rock. It is accurately ha-Shen 'the crag;'—with the definite article: LXX, *τῆς παλαίας*.[1]

## § 30.

CEPHIM, כְּפִים. The word only occurs twice; viz. in Job xxx. 6, and Jer. iv. 29, "rocks;" and it is perhaps impossible to fix the distinction between it and Tzur, or Sela; but it is interesting as being the word from which the Syriac name Cephas (John i. 42) was derived. Caipha, the modern town under Carmel, is probably the same word; and thus corresponds to Tzur or Tyre.

## § 31.

MIS'GAB, מִשְׂגָּב, 'refuge,' on a high rock: from שָׂגַב, to be high. Only used in the poetical books of Scripture,—as for example 2 Sam. xxii. 3; Psalm xviii. 2; Isai. xxv. 12, of the Auth. Version, the idea of height being in most cases preserved either in the text or margin.

With the article, it is used in Jer. xlviii. 1, apparently to denote one of the fortresses of Moab.

## § 32.

AROOTZ, עֲרוּץ, is a word only used once in the Bible, Job xxx. 6; it is there rendered "cliffs of the valleys" עֲרוּץ נְחָלִים:—but the meaning probably is, 'frightful torrents,' from עָרַץ, to terrify.

## § 33.

MAALEH, מַעֲלֶה 'an ascent' or 'rising ground:' from עָלָה, to go up; LXX, *ἀνάβασις* and *πρόσβασις*. A word applied to several localities of Palestine; viz. (1) "the ascent of Akrabbim," or of Scorpions, Num. xxxiv. 4; also rendered "the going up to Akrabbim," Judg. i. 36; and Maaleh-Acrabbim, Josh. xv. 3; on the south border of Judah—probably the Pass of Safeh: (See Chap. I., Part II., p. 99). (2) "the going up to (or of) Adummim" (the ascent of the Red) a rising ground near Gilgal on the border between Judah and Benjamin, Josh. xv. 7; xviii. 17, probably the Pass of Jericho (see Chap. XIII. p. 416): (3) "the going up to Gur," 2 Kings ix. 27: (4) "the cliff of Ziz,"—the ascent of the flowers,—2 Chron. xx. 16. (5) "the mounting up of Luhith," in Moab, Isai. xv. 5; Jerem. xlviii. 5. The word is also applied to the steep pass from Gibeon to Bethhoron, Josh. x. 10; and 1 Maccab. iii. 16: to the road up the Mount of Olives, 2 Sam. xv. 30: and to the approach to the city in which Samuel anointed Saul, 1 Sam. ix. 11,—"the hill to the city."

The words in Judg. viii. 13, rendered "before the sun was up,"—after the Vulgate *ante solis ortum*,—probably mean 'from the ascent of the sun,' or 'of Heres' (see Gesenius *s. v.* p. 1030). De Wette, "*von der Anhöhe Heres.*"

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[1] The LXX appears to have read יָשָׁן, old, in this place.

## § 34.

MORAD, מוֹרָד, a 'descent' or steep slope: from יָרַד, to come down (the root from which Jordan—'the descender'—probably derives his name[1]), applied (1) to the declivity into the Jordan valley, down which the men of Ai chased the Israelites, Josh. vii. 5 (see p. 198), ἀπὸ τοῦ καταφεροῦς. (2) The descending path leading from Bethhoron the upper, to B. the nether. Josh. x. 10; 1 Mac. iii. 24: κατάβασις. (3) A descent from Horonaim in Moab; opposed to the "'ascent' of Luhith," Jer. xlviii. 5. ὁδός.

In the above three cases, the word is rendered "going down." It occurs again in Micah i. 4—"steep place."

This is probably the word represented by κατάβασις in Luke xix. 37—"the descent of the Mount of Olives." [all]

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# III.—RIVERS AND STREAMS.

## § 35.

NAHAR, נָהָר 'a (perennial) River:' from נָהַר, to flow; in contradistinction to Nachal (§ 39), an intermittent stream, or torrent.

I. This word is used in the following passages of the poetical books,

(1) for rivers generally, and for the sea:

| | |
|---|---|
| Job xiv. 11; xx. 17; xxii. 16; xxviii. 11. . . . . | "flood." |
| Job xl. 23. . . . . | "river." |
| Ps. xxiv. 2; xlvi. 4; lxxviii. 16; xciii. 3; xcviii. 8; cv. 41; cvii. 33. . | "river." |
| Cant. viii. 7. . . . . | "floods." |
| Isai. xviii. 2, 7; xxxiii. 21; xli. 18; xlii. 15; xliii. 2, 19, 20; l. 2; lvi. 12. | "river." |

(2) for "a *stream* of fire" in Dan. vii. 10.

II. The word also designates more especially the great rivers of Mesopotamia and Egypt, in the following: the word in the English version being in every case "river."

Gen. ii. 10, 13, 14; xv. 18; Exod. vii. 9; viii. 5; 2 Kings v. 12; xvii. 6; xviii. 11; 1 Chron. v. 26: Ezra. viii. 15, 21, 31, 36; Isai. vii. 20 (Euphr.); xviii. 1; xix. 5, 6; Jer. ii. 18 (Euphr.); xlvi. 7, 8; Ezek. i. 1, 3; iii. 15, 23; x. 15, 20, 22; xxxii. 2, 14; xliii. 3; Dan. x. 4: Zeph. iii. 10; Micah vi. 1, 12, (Euphr.); Zech. ix. 10 (Euphr.)

The word which the English translators, following the LXX, have rendered Mesopotamia, is, as may be seen in the margin of our Bibles, Aramnaharaim, *i. e.* Syria of the two rivers,—Tigris and Euphrates—for this see,

Gen. xxiv. 10; Deut. xxiii. 4; Jud. iii. 8; Ps. lx. title; 1 Chron. xix. 6.

The Jordan has its own special name (§ 38), and is never spoken of topo-

[1] See Chap. VII. p. 278, note 2.

graphically by any other: but it appears to be intended in the following passages, which, however, may equally refer to the Red Sea:

Ps. lvi. 6; lxxiv. 15;[1] Hab. iii. 8, 9.

III. But the special and distinctive meaning of Nahar, when used with the article, ha-Nahar, is The Euphrates (Phrat), *The* River of the East; whether (1) with the addition of the name—"the river E."—"the river, the river E."—"the great river, the river E."—or, (2) simply "The River."

(1) Gen. ii. 14; xv. 18; Deut. i. 7; xi. 24; Josh. i. 4; 2 Sam. viii. 3; 2 Kings xxiii. 29; xxiv. 7; 1 Chron. v. 9; xviii. 3; Jer. xlvi. 2, 6, 10.

(2) Gen. xxxi. 21; xxxvi. 37; Exod. xxiii. 31; Numb. xxii. 5; xxiv. 6;[2] Josh. xxiv. 2, 3, 14, 15: 2 Sam. x. 16; 1 Kings iv. 21, 24; xiv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 48; xix. 16; 2 Chron. ix. 26; Neh. ii. 7, 9; iii. 7; Ps. lxxii. 8; lxxx. 11; Isai. viii. 7; xi. 15; xxvii. 12; xlviii. 18; lix. 19.

The words so often occurring in Ezra, "beyond the river," (עבר־נהרה) and "on this side the river," (אנהרה) refer to the Euphrates. Excepting the passages in Joshua, and those in Isai. lix. 19,[3] and Ezek. xxxi. 15, the translation in the above passages is uniformly "river."

IV. Nahar is used in the plural, apparently to denote the canals or branches of the Euphrates, in

Ps. lxxxix. 25; cxxxvii. 1; Isai. xliv. 27; xlvii. 2; Ezek. xxxi. 4, 15; Nah. i. 4; ii. 6. [all]

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The following are the terms which, in the imagery of the East, are applied to the various parts of a river.

(*a*) JAD, יָד, a hand: used for the 'side' of a river, as in the English expression, 'to the right hand of the stream.' Thus Numb. xiii. 29 ("coast"); Deut. ii. 37; Jud. xi. 26.

(*b*) SAPHAH, שְׂפָה, a lip:[4] the 'edge or brink' of a river, or of the sea: and thus Gen. xxii. 17; xli. 3, 17; Exod. ii. 3; vii. 15; xiv. 30; Deut. ii. 36; iv. 48; Josh. xi. 4; xii. 2; xiii. 9, 16; Jud. vii. 12, 22; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; 1 Kings iv. 29; ix. 26; 2 Kings ii. 13; 2 Chron. viii. 17; Ezek. xlvii. 6, 7, 12; Dan. xii. 5. Of the "molten sea" in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings vii. 23, 26; 2 Chron. iv. 2.

(*c*) LASHON, לָשׁוֹן, a tongue (of the sea): from לָשַׁן, to lap or lick.

Used in Josh. xv. 2, 5; xviii. 19. . "bay" λοφιά.
and in Isai. xi. 15. . . . . "tongue" τὴν θάλασσαν Αἰγύπτου.

(*d*) G'DOTH, גְּדוֹת, 'banks': of the Jordan, Josh. iii. 15; iv. 18; 1 Chron. xii. 15; and of the Euphrates, Isai. viii. 7.

(*e*) KATZEH, קָצֶה, the extreme edge or end of a thing, (1 Sam. xiv. 27): from קָצָה, to cut off the end. Thus, amongst others,
Of a river, Josh. xv. 5; xviii. 19; ("end" and "uttermost part") in this case the point of junction with the Dead Sea.
Of the water, Josh. iii. 8, 15.

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[1] "Mighty rivers." "Mighty" (איתן) is the word rendered "rough" in Deut. xxi. 4, and "mighty" in Amos v. 24, and really meaning 'perennial.' See Nachal.

[2] See Chap. VII. p. 293.

[3] The force of the figure in this passage is materially increased by reading 'the river' (*i. e.* Euphrates) for "a flood."

[4] Saphah is also used for "language:" Gen. xi. 1, "the whole earth was of one 'lip.'"

Of a lake, Numb. xxxiv. 3 ; Josh. xv. 2.
Of a country, Gen. xlvii. 21 ; Exod. xiii. 20 ; Numb. xxxiii. 37.
Of a mountain, Exod. xix. 12 ; Josh. xviii. 16.
And of a town, Josh. xviii. 15 ; 1 Sam. xiv. 2.

It is of frequent occurrence, and is rendered in the A. V. "border," "brim," "brink," "edge," "end," "frontier," "outmost coast," "outside," "quarter," "shore," "side," "utmost part," &c.

(*f*) Maavar, מַעֲבָר, and Ma'barah, מַעְבָּרָה, a pass ; from עָבַר, to go over. Hence the word is used for a ford ; as, the fords of Jordan, in

Josh. ii. 7 ; Jud. iii. 28. . . . . "fords."
Jud. xii. 5, 6. . . . . "passages."

Also of Jabbok, Gen. xxxii. 22 ; and of Arnon, Isai. xvi. 2.

I is used to express a defile or pass between rocky hills at Michmash (See Chap. IV. p. 202). 1 Sam. xiii. 23 ; xiv. 4 ; Isai. x. 29 ; Jer. li. 32. LXX, *ἡ διαβάσις*, and *τῷ πέραν*. In the passage from Isaiah they read *φάραγγα*.

## § 36.

JOR, יְאוֹר, יְאֹר, and once, אֹר,[1] The Nile : an Egyptian word.

It occurs in,

Gen. xli. 1, 2, 3, 17 ; Exod. i. 22 ; ii. 3, 5 ; iv. 9 ; vii. 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25 ; viii. 3, 9, 11 ; xvii. 5 ; Isai. xxiii. 3, 10. . . . . "river."
Jer. xlvi. 7, 8[2]. . . . . "flood."
Ezek. xxix. 3, 9 . . . . . "river."
Amos viii. 8 ; ix. 5. . . . . "flood."
Zech. x. 11. . . . . "river."

In Dan. xii. 5, 6, 7, it is applied to the river Ulai.

The plural, Jorim, יְאֹרִים, is always used for the canals of the Nile : thus,

Exod. vii. 19 ; viii. 5 ; 2 Kings xix. 24 ; Job xxviii. 10 (*δίνας ποταμῶν*) ; Ps. lxxviii. 44 ; Isai. vii. 18. . . . . "rivers."
Isai. xix. 6, 7, 8. . . . . "brooks."
xxxiii. 21, "streams." *διώρυχες πλατεῖς καὶ ἐυρύχωροι.*
xxxvii. 25 (*συναγωγὴν ὕδατος*), Ezek. xxix. 3, 4, 5, 10 ; xxx. 12 ; Nah. iii. 8. . . . . "rivers."

It will be observed that most of the above passages refer obviously to Egypt. In Job xxviii. 10, "He cutteth out 'Nile-canals' amongst the rocks,"—the allusion may be to the Cataracts. In Isai. xxxiii. 21, "there (*i. e.* Jerusalem) the glorious Lord will be to us a place of broad rivers and 'Nile-canals,'"—the whole figure is based on a transference of Egyptian splendour to Judæa. In 2 Kings xix. 24 ; Isai. xxxvii. 25, and xix. 6, the word occurring in connexion with Jorim, and rendered "besieged (marg. fenced) places," and "of defence," namely, matzor (§ 90), is treated by Gesenius, De Wette, and Fürst as being a form of the word mitzraim, and rendered 'Egypt'—'all the canals of Egypt.'

With the three exceptions noted above, the word used by the LXX is *ποταμος*.

[all]

The other name for the Nile is :—

[1] In Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 27, this abbreviated word אֹר, has been read by the Greek translator as the very similar word אוֹר, 'light.' The passage will thus read correctly as follows : "He maketh the doctrine of knowledge to appear as 'the Nile,' and as Gichon in the time of vintage."

[2] The force of this passage is obscured by the substitution of "a flood" for 'the Nile' of the original. So also in the passages from Amos.

## § 37.

SHICHOR, שִׁחוֹר, 'The Black River:' from שָׁחַר, to be black (Cant. i. 5). It occurs Josh. xiii. 3. . . "from Sihor" . . . ἀπὸ τῆς ἀοικήτου.
1 Chron. xiii. 5. . "from Shihor of Egypt" . ἀπὸ ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου.
Isai. xxiii. 3. . . "the seed of Sihor" . . σπέρμα μεταβόλων.
Jer. ii. 18. . . "the waters of Sihor" . . ὕδωρ Γηῶν.

in the two former of which passages it may be the Wady-el-Arish, elsewhere called "the river of Egypt." (See Nachal.)

In Josh. xix. 26, it is used for the little stream of the Belus—Shihor-Libnath—'the Nile of glass,'—from the glass there made from the sand. LXX, καὶ τῷ Σιὼν καὶ Λαβανάθ.

It is remarkable that the renderings of the LXX should throw so little light on the use of these two words for the Egyptian river. [all]

## § 38.

JAR'DEN, יַרְדֵּן, or (except in two cases) uniformly with the article הַיַּרְדֵּן, "the descender:" The Jordan; LXX, ὁ Ἰορδάνης. The various derivations proposed for this name are discussed by Gesenius (p. 625), who decides in favour of that from יָרַד to descend. See Chap. VII. The two exceptions to the use of the article are Ps. xlii. 6, and Job xl. 23. In the latter instance this may arise from the name being used either as a representative of any river, or in its original meaning, as simply a rapid river.

## § 39.

NACHAL, נָחַל, 'a torrent-bed,' or water-course: from נָחַל, to perforate (see Chap. I. p. 15). The word corresponds with the Arabic Wâdy, the Greek χειμάρρους, the Indian Nullah, and the Italian "fiumara," and signifies the hollow, or valley, of a mountain torrent, which, while in rainy seasons it may fill the whole width of the depression, in summer is reduced to a mere brook, or thread of water, and is often entirely dry. (Such streams are graphically described in Job vi. 16, 17.) Nachal, therefore, is sometimes used for the valley (Num. xxi. 12; Judg. xvi. 4); and sometimes for the torrent which flows through the valley. The double application of the word is well seen in 1 Kings xvii. 3, where Elijah is commanded to "hide himself 'in' (not "by") the 'wâdy' Cherith," and to "drink of the brook,"—Nachal being used in both cases. No English word is exactly equivalent, but perhaps 'torrent-bed' most nearly expresses it.

The most decisive examples of its use are the Kedron, the Wâdy el-Arish, and the Kishon.

The following is a list of the places to which it is applied, with some examples of the various translations of the English Version, and of the LXX:—

1. GERAR.
   "The valley," Gen. xxvi. 17, ἐν τῇ φάραγγι Γεράρων.
   "The valley," 1 Sam. xv. 5, ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ.
2. ESHCOL (the cluster).
   "The brook of," Numb. xiii. 23, ἕως φάραγγος βότρυος.
   "The brook," Numb. xiii. 24.
   "The valley of," Numb. xxxii. 9.

3. ZARED (the woody).
"The valley," Numb. xxi. 12, *εἰς φάραγγα Ζαρέδ.*
"The brook Zered," Deut. ii. 13, *τὴν φάραγγα Ζαρέτ.* Possibly also
"The brook of the willows," Isai. xv. 7, *τὴν φ. Ἀραβας* (marg. "*Valley of the Arabians,*") and
"The river of the 'Arabah,'" Amos vi. 14, *τοῦ χ. τῶν δυσμῶν.*

4. ARNON.
"The brooks," Numb. xxi. 14, *τοὺς χειμάρρους Ἀρνῶν.*
"The river," Deut. ii. 24, *τὴν φάραγγα Ἀ.*
"The river of," Deut. iii. 8, *ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμάρρου Ἀ.*

5. JABBOK.
"The brook," Gen. xxxii. 23, *τὸν χειμάρρουν.*
"The river," Deut. ii. 37, *χειμάρρου Ἰαβόκ.*

6. KANAH.
"The river," Josh. xvi. 8, *Vat. ἐπὶ χελκανά,* probably a contraction of *Ναχαλκανα. Alex. ἐπὶ χειμάρρου Κανα.*

7. KISHON.
"The river," Jud. iv. 7; v. 21, *χειμάρρους Κισῶν.*
"The brook," 1 Kings xviii. 40, *τοῦ χ. Κισσῶν.*
"The brook of," Ps. lxxxiii. 9, *ἐν τῷ χ. Κεισῶν.* Probably
"The river that is before Jokneam," Josh. xix. 11, *τὴν φάραγγα.*

8. BESOR.
"The brook," 1 Sam. xxx. 9, *τοῦ χ. Βοσορ.*

9. SOREK.
"The valley of," (marg. "*or by the brook of*") Jud. xvi. 4, *Vat. ἀλσωρηκ. Alex. ἐπὶ τοῦ χ. Σωρήκ.*

10. KEDRON.
"The brook," 2 Sam. xv. 23, *τῷ χ. τῶν κέδρων* (!)
"The brook," 1 Kings ii. 37, *τὸν χ. Κέδρων.*
"The brook of," Jer. xxxi. 40, *ἕως Νάχαλ Κέδρων.*

11. GAASH.
"The brooks of," 2 Sam. xxiii. 30, *Alex. Ναναλγαιας.*
"The brooks of," 1 Chron. xi. 32, *ἐκ Ναχαλὶ Γάας.*

12. CHERITH.
"The brook," 1 Kings xvii. 3, *ἐν τῷ χ. Χορράθ.*
"The river of Gad," (marg. "*or valley*") 2 Sam. xxiv. 5, *της φ. Γαδ.*

13. WADY-EL-ARISH.
"The river of Egypt," Numb. xxxiv. 5, *χειμάρρους Αἰγύπτου.*
"The river of Egypt," Josh. xv. 4, *φάραγξ Α.*
"The river of Egypt," 1 Kings viii. 65, *ποταμός.*
"The stream of Egypt," Isai. xxxvii. 12, *Ῥινοκορουρων.*

14. "Valley of Shittim," Joel iii. 18, *τὸν χ. τῶν σχοίνων.*

The above renderings are sufficiently various, but, in addition, Nachal is translated "the river," in Ps. xxxvi. 8—"the flood," Ps. lxxiv. 15—"the streams," Ps. lxxviii. 20—"the valleys," Ps. civ. 10—"the brook," Ps. cx. 7.

In Deut. iii. 16 it occurs as follows: "Unto the *river* Arnon, half the *valley*, and the border even unto the *river* Jabbok." (LXX, *χειμάρρους* in all three.)

The expression ארץ נחלי מים ('a land of torrents of waters') rendered in Deut. viii. 7 "a land of *brooks* of water," is in Deut. x. 7, "a land of *rivers* of waters." (LXX, *χειμάρροι ὑδάτων.*) So again, the words נחל איתן (a perennial torrent) are translated in Deut. xxi. 4, "a rough *valley*."—*φάραγγα τραχεῖαν*—but in Amos v, 24 "a mighty *stream*," *χειμ. ἄβατος.*

The LXX have once rendered the word *νάπαι*, Numb. xxiv. 6; and once, Job xx. 17, *νομάς*, apparently reading, נוה, pasture.

## § 40.

PELEG, פֶּלֶג, 'stream:' possibly from פָּלַג, 'to divide' (see Gen. x. 25) like *rivus:* but also probably from the idea of flowing, like *flumen, fluctus*, and therefore from פּוּל, 'to well up,' as in *πέλαγος*. But in either case the word is always used for the flow of lesser rivulets; and thus distinguished on the one hand from the great river (Nahar), and the varying wâdy, or mountain-torrent (Nachal), on the other.

Used only in the poetical passages: as, for example,

*Judges v. 15, 16,* "divisions," *μερίδες*: *διαιρέσεις.* (Probably the more correct rendering of this obscure passage is, "in, or by, 'the streams' of Reuben great were the searchings of heart." See Chap. VIII. p. 320.)
Ps. i. 3, "rivers," *τὰς διεξόδους.*
Ps. xlvi. 4, "streams," *τὰ ὁρμήματα.*
Ps. lxv. 9, "the river of God" (of the dew), *ὁ ποταμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.*
Isai. xxx. 25, "rivers," (contrasted with Jooval), [*ὕδωρ*] *διαπορευόμενον.*
Job xx. 17, "rivers," (contrasted with Nachal), *ἄμελξιν νομάδων.*

## § 41.

MICAL, מִיכָל, brook: perhaps from מָכַל, a little water. Only occurs in 2 Sam. xvii. 20; LXX, *μικρὸν τοῦ ὕδατος.* Vulg. *festinanter.*

## § 42.

T'ALAH, תְּעָלָה, 'a conduit:' from עָלָה, to rise, the idea being of water raised for irrigation or other purposes: used in 1 Kings xviii. 32, 35, 38, for the "trench" made by Elijah round the altar of Jehovah: and specially to designate the canal or aqueduct by which the water was supplied to the reservoirs of Jerusalem, 2 Kings xviii. 17; xx. 20; Isai. vii. 3; xxxvi. 2. See also Job xxxviii. 25: and, referring to irrigation, Ezek. xxxi. 4. LXX, *ὑδραγωγός*, but once *ῥύσις*, and in 1 Kings xviii. *θάλασσα*, probably a corruption of *θααλα*, a literal transference of the word. [all]

## § 43.

JOOVAL, יוּבַל, JAVAL, יָבָל, or OOVAL, אוּבָל, and אֲבָל, 'flood stream,' or 'full river:' from יָבַל, to flow tumultuously.

Used in the poetical books only: as follows,

Isai. xxx. 25, "streams."
Isai. xliv. 4, "[water] courses," *παραῤῥέον.*
Jer. xvii. 8, "the river," *ἐπὶ ἰκμάδα.*
Dan. viii. 2, 3, 6, "the river" (of Ulai), *ἐπὶ τοῦ Οὐβάλ.* [all]

## § 44.

APHIK, אֲפִיק, from אָפַק, to be strong, is used throughout the poetical parts of Scripture in the general sense of any rush of water. Amongst other places it occurs in Ps. xlii. 1; Job vi. 15 ("stream"); Cant. v. 12; Isai. viii. 7; Ezek. vi. 3; xxxi. 12; and Joel i. 20; being translated "stream," "channel," "brook," and "river."

Other words used in the poetry of the Bible for streams or torrents are the following :—

## § 45.

ZEREM, זֶרֶם. Used both for a violent storm of rain, and for the "floods," (compare Matt. vii. 27) occasioned by it. Thus, amongst others, Job xxiv. 8, "showers;" Isa. xxv. 4, "storm;" xxviii. 2, "tempest" and "flood;" Hab. iii. 10, "overflowing."

## § 46.

NAZAL, נָזַל. Used with reference both to the sea—Exod. xv. 8, "floods"—and to fresh water, Ps. lxxviii. 16, "streams;" Prov. v. 15, "running waters."

## § 47.

SHIBBOLETH, שִׁבֹּלֶת. This is the word, the pronunciation of which was used to test the fugitive Ephraimites, in Judg. xii. 6. It occurs in reference to water, in Ps. lxix. 12, 15, "flood," and with Nahar, in Isai. xxvii. 12, "channel."

## § 48.

ESHED, אָשֻׁד, *Plur.* Ashedôth, אַשְׁדּוֹת: from אָשַׁד, to break forth: the bursting forth of the streams from the roots of the mountains, and hence used for the mountains themselves. The sense is fixed by the poetical passage, Numb. xxi. 15, the 'pouring forth' of the 'torrents.' In Josh. x. 50; xii. 8, it is used in a general sense, but it is usually joined with Pisgah—'Ashdoth-pisgah'—viz. for the roots of the mountains east of the Jordan. See Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49; Josh. xii. 3; xiii. 20. Ἀσηδὼθ τὴν φασγά, and τὴν λαξευτήν. [all]

Benjamin of Tudela makes Ashdoth-Pisgah to be the falls of the Jordan at its exit from the Lake of Gennesareth, and interprets the word to mean "the place where the rapid rivers have their fall." (See Early Travellers, p. 88.)

## § 49.

MABBOOL, מַבּוּל, 'The Flood': from the same root as Jooval (§ 43); used (generally with the definite article) for the great Deluge, except in Ps. xxix. 10, where it signifies the accumulation of waters in the sky.

## § 50.

SHETEPH. The word "flood" has also been used in the A.V. for שֶׁטֶף, from שָׁטַף, to overflow. It is not used definitely, and occurs only in the following passages from the poetical books: Job xxxviii. 25; Ps. xxxii. 6; Prov. xxvii. 4; Dan. ix. 26; xi. 22; Nah. i. 8. [all]

## IV.—SPRINGS, WELLS, AND PITS.

### § 51.

AIN, עַיִן, 'a spring'—properly an eye: the spring in an Eastern country being the eye of the Landscape—and thus used for a natural burst of living water, as distinguished from Beer (§ 55), water arrived at by digging. The word was common to all the oriental tongues, and still continues in Arabic. En-gedi,—the spring of the kid; now *Ain-Jidy*,—on the western shore of the Dead Sea, is a good instance of the object intended.

The importance of distinguishing between this word and Beer is illustrated by Exod. xv. 27, in which the word Ainoth (translated by "Wells,") is used for the springs of fresh water at Elim;—although the rocky soil of that place excludes the supposition of dug wells. In the parallel passage, Numb. xxxiii. 9, the word is rendered—with equal inaccuracy to English ears—"fountains."

The names of a large number of towns and places in Palestine are formed or compounded of *Ain* (En), as is natural from the importance of living springs in the East. These are as follow:

1. Ain, הָעַיִן = the spring. Numb. xxxiv. 11; one of the landmarks on the north-east border of Palestine. The Vulgate is probably right in rendering it *contra fontem Daphnin; i.e.*, the spring of Jordan at Dan, which was called Daphne; (Joseph. Ant. I. x. 2). LXX, *ἐπὶ πηγάς*.
2. Ain, one of the southernmost cities of Judah and Simeon; Josh. xv. 32; xix. 7; xxi. 16; 1 Chron. iv. 32. LXX, *Ἐρεμμων*. Possibly this is En-rimmon.
3. Enam, עֵינָיִם 'the two springs;' in the Shephelah, Josh. xv. 34. If the LXX rendering *πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις Αἰναν*, of the words "in an open place," (see margin), in Gen. xxxviii. 14, 21, be correct, this place is probably intended, Timnath being a Philistine city also in the Shephelah. (Zunz: *an den Eingang der Doppelquelle.* De Wette: *ins Thor von Enaim.*) Comp. Judg. xiii. 25, and xiv. 1, with Josh. xv. 33, 34.
4. En-dor, 'the spring of Dor'; Josh. xvii. 11; 1 Sam. xxviii. 7; Ps. lxxxiii. 10. LXX, *Ἀενδωρ*.
5. En-eglaim, 'the spring of the two calves,' on the shore of the Dead Sea; Ezek. xlvii. 10. LXX, *Ἐναγαλλείμ*.
6. En-gannim, 'the spring of gardens;' a town in the Shephelah; Josh. xv. 34.
7. En-gannim, a Gershonite town in Issachar; Josh. xix. 21; xxi. 29. LXX, *πηγὴ γραμμάτων*. The modern Jenin, see Chap. IX. p. 342.
8. En-gedi, 'spring of the kid;' Josh. xv. 62; 1 Sam. xxiii. 29; xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xx. 2; Ezek. xlvii. 10; Cant. i. 14; Eccles. xxiv. 14 (Engaddi). LXX, *Ἀγκαδης, Ἰνγαδελν, Ἐγγαδδι, ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς*. See Chap. VII. p. 289.
9. En-haddah, 'the strong spring;' Josh. xix. 21. LXX, *Αἰμαρὲκ*.
10. En-hak-Kore, 'the spring of the crier;' *πηγὴ τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου*. Judg. xv. 19.
11. En-hazor (Chatzor); Josh. xix. 37. LXX, *πηγὴ Ἀσόρ*.
12. En-mishpat, 'spring of judgment;' "which is Kadesh." Gen. xiv. 7. LXX, *πηγὴ τῆς κρίσεως*.
13. En-rimmon, 'spring of pomegranates;' Neh. xi. 29; unless this is formed by the erroneous combination of the two places, Ain and Rimmon; (see Josh. xv. 32; xix. 7; 1 Chr. iv. 32.)

14. En-rogel, 'spring of the foot'; possibly from fullers treading it with their feet (Targum); possibly from its waters being drawn up by a machine worked with the foot (Deut. xi. 10). Josh. xv. 7; xviii. 16; 2 Sam. xvii. 17; 1 Kin. i. 9. LXX, πηγὴ Ῥωγηλ.

15. En-shemesh, 'spring of the sun;' Josh. xv. 7; xviii. 17. LXX, ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἡλίου—π. Βαιθσαμυς. Vulg., *ad En-semes, id est, Fontem Solis.*

16. En-tappuah,—near the town of that name; Josh. xvii. 7. There were also:

17. 'The spring in Jezreel,' "a fountain which [is] in Jezreel." 1 Sam. xxix. 1, possibly the same as,

18. "The Well of Harod." *Ain-charod*—'the spring of trembling.' Judg. vii. 1.

19. "The Dragon Well." *Ain-tannim*—'the spring of dragons.' Neh. ii. 13.

20. "The spring' of water in the wilderness—the 'spring' in the way to Shur." Gen. xvi. 7.

21. In the New Testament the word appears as Ænon, *i. e.* 'springs;' "near to Salim": John iii. 23. Αἰνών.

When applied to water, the word Ain is translated in the E. V. "well," with the following exceptions, in which it is rendered "fountain."

Gen. xvi. 7; Numb. xxxiii. 9; (comp. Exod. xv. 27 "wells;") Deut. viii. 7; xxxiii. 28; 1 Sam. xxix. 1; 2 Chron. xxxii. 3; Neh. ii. 14; iii. 15; xii. 37; Prov. viii. 28.

## § 52.

MA'AN, מַעְיָן, 'a collection of springs,' or place watered by springs: from עַיִן, a spring. Topographically used, the word occurs in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Josh. xv. 9 | "fountain" | |
| Josh. xviii. 15 | "well" | In the LXX |
| 1 Kings xviii. 5 | "fountains" | all these |
| 2 Kings iii. 19, 25 | "wells" | are πηγή. |
| 2 Chron. xxxii. 4 | "fountains" | |

It is also found in the following:

Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2; Lev. xi. 36; Ps. lxxiv. 15; cxiv. 8; Prov. v. 16; viii. 24; xxv. 26; Cant. iv. 12, 15; Isai. xli. 18; Hos. xiii. 15; Joel iii. 18, all rendered "fountain." Ps. lxxxiv. 6; Isai. xii. 3, "well;" and Ps. lxxxvii. 7; civ. 10, "springs." [all]

## § 53.

MOTZA, מוֹצָא, 'springhead:' from יָצָא, to go forth.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Used 2 Kings ii. 21 | "spring" | ἡ διέξοδος. |
| 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 (of the spring of Gihon) | "watercourse" | ἡ ἔξοδος. |
| Also in Ps. cvii. 33, 35 | "watersprings" | (omitted). |
| Isai. xli. 18 (contrasted with Agam); lviii. 11. | "spring" | ὑδραγωγός. |

[all]

## § 54.

MAKOR, מָקוֹר, 'wellspring:' from קוּר, to dig for water (2 Kings xix. 24), a word used only in the poetical and rubrical books, and variously rendered by spring, fountain, well, well-spring and issue. See Jer. li. 36; Ps. xxxvi. 9; Prov. x. 11; xvi. 22; Lev. xii. 7, &c. &c.

## § 55.

GULLOTH, גַּלּוֹת, bubblings: from גָּלַל, to tumble or roll over, in allusion perhaps to the globular form in which springs bubble up. Used only to designate the two springs given by Caleb to his daughter Achsah. Josh. xv. 19; Judg. i. 15. LXX, Josh. *δός μοι τὴν Βοτθανις. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ τὴν Γοναιθλὰν τὴν ἄνω καὶ τὴν* Γ. *τὴν κάτω*: Judg. *λύτρωσιν μετεώρων καὶ λ. ταπεινῶν.* Symm. *ἀρδείαν.*

The word occurs in the shorter form of

GAL, גַּל, (strictly 'heap,'[1]) in Cant. iv. 12 ("spring"), and also in Ps. xlii. 7; cvi. 25; Isai. xlviii. 18; Jonah ii. 3, and elsewhere, for the "billows" or "waves" of the sea.

Possibly Gallim (1 Sam. xxv. 44; Isai. x. 30) derived its name from the neighbourhood of such bubbling springs.

The word commonly used for a "heap" of water, as in Exod. xv. 8; and Ps. lxxviii. 13, is Ned (נֵד). See Chap. VII. p. 298, *note*.

## § 56.

MABBOOA, מַבּוּעַ, 'a gushing spring'; from נָבַע, to gush forth. See Isaiah xxxv. 7; xlix. 10 ("springs"), and Eccl. xii. 6 ("fountain"). LXX, *πηγή*.

## § 57.

B'ER, בְּאֵר, from בָּאַר, to dig, (the same root as *forare*, and bore): 'a well,' that is, a dug pit, usually with water at the bottom. The meaning of the word is fixed by the numerous vestiges of such wells still remaining and bearing their ancient names. They have a broad margin of masonry round the mouth, and often a stone filling up the orifice. See Chap. II. p. 146.

The following are the *Beers* named in the Bible:

1. Beer-lachai-roi, 'the well of the vision of life,' Gen. xvi. 14; xxiv. 62; xxv. 11.
2. Beer-sheba, 'the well of swearing,' according to Gen. xxi. 31, and xxvi. 33; or according to De Wette, 'the well of seven.' (Comp. xxi. 29, 30: Sheba=seven.)
3. Beeroth-bene-Jaakan, 'the wells of the sons of Jaakan,' in the Desert; Deut. x. 6. In Numb. xxxiii. 31, "Bene-Jaakan" only.
4. Beeroth, 'Wells,' one of the cities of the Gibeonites. Josh. ix. 17; Ezra ii. 25, &c.
5. Beer, the well dug by the children of Israel close to the border of Moab (Num. xxi. 16), and therefore probably the same as
6. Beer-elim, 'Well of heroes;' Isai. xv. 8.

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[1] Compare the expression in old English poetry; "the heaped spring"; "the heaped water."

7. Beer; Judges ix. 21.
8. Baalath-beer, 'the lady of the well;' Josh. xix. 8.
9. Berothah; Ezekiel xlvii. 16; and
10. Berothai, 2 Sam. viii. 8, both apparently the same place, which has been conjectured to be the city *Berytus*. See Gesenius, p. 176.

Three wells digged by Isaac's herdsmen, and called Esek (strife), Sitnah (hatred), and Rechoboth (room), are named in Gen. xxvi. 20, 21, 22; and a memorable well in the court of a house at Bachurim is mentioned in 2 Sam. xvii. 18 (LXX, λάκκος).

In our version Beer is throughout rendered "well," with four exceptions. These are Gen. xiv. 10; Ps. lv. 23; lxix. 15; and Prov. xxiii. 27, where it is translated 'pit.' In the LXX it is generally φρέαρ. Vulg. *Puteus*.

## § 58.

AGAM, אֲגַם, 'pond,' of stagnant water: from אגם, to be warm like boiling water: specially of the pools left by the inundations of the Nile. Exod. vii. 19; viii. 5. LXX, διώρυγας. Such pools were reedy, and thus in Jer. li. 32, the word is put for "reeds." Ps. cvii. 35, and cxiv. 8, "standing water."

## § 59.

MIK'VEH, מִקְוֶה, or (once) Mikvah, מִקְוָה, 'reservoir'; a place where waters flow together: from קָוָה, to be collected. This word occurs as follows in relation to water:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gen. i. 10. | "gathering together." | τὰ συστήματα. |
| Exod. vii. 19 | (with *agam*) "pools." | τὰ ἕλη. |
| Lev. xi. 36. | "plenty" [of water] | σωναγωγή. |
| Isaiah, xxii. 11 | "ditch" | ὕδωρ. (Gesenius *ein Behälter.*) |

## § 60.

B'RECAH, בְּרֵכָה, 'pool' or artificial tank; (derivation uncertain); hence the Arabic Birket, and the Spanish *Al-berca*. The pools still remaining at Hebron are actual examples of the meaning of the word. In the English Version it is uniformly rendered "pool." Such tanks existed at various places;

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Gibeon | 2 Sam. ii. 13. |
| 2. Hebron | Ditto, iv. 12. |
| 3. Samaria | 1 Kings xxii. 38. |
| 4. Jerusalem | |
| *a.* Upper pool | 2 Kings xviii. 17; Isai. vii. 3; xxxvi. 2. |
| *b.* Lower pool | Isai. xxii. 9. |
| *c.* Old pool | Ditto, xxii. 11. |
| *d.* King's pool | Neh. ii. 14; Eccl. ii. 6. |
| *e.* A fifth appears to be mentioned in | Neh. iii. 16. |
| *f.* Siloah or Siloam | Neh. iii. 15; John ix. 7. |
| *g.* Bethesda | John v. 2. κολυμβήθρα. |
| 5. Heshbon (fish-pools) | Cant. vii. 4. |

The LXX have translated the word oftenest by κολυμβήθρα; but also by κρήνη, and once by λίμνη.

## § 61.

C'RÓTH, כְּרֹת, 'cisterns' or dug wells for sheep; from כָּרָה, to dig: only used once, Zeph. ii. 6, and there translated "cottages." From the same root is derived

## § 62.

MIC'REH, מִכְרֶה, which likewise occurs but once, in Zeph. ii. 9, where it is rendered (salt) "pit."

## § 63.

MASH'ABIM, מַשְׁאַבִים: from שָׁאַב, to draw water: used only in Judg. v. 11, probably for the troughs into which the water for the cattle was poured (the verb is used with this special signification in Gen. xxiv. 19, 20, 44, 45, &c.). LXX, *ὑδρευόμενα*; De Wette, *schöpfrinnen;* E. V. "the places of drawing water.',

## § 64.

BOR, בֹּאר, and בּוֹר, 'a cistern' or 'pit': from the same root as Beer, and with nearly the same signification. Bor, however, is often used for a pit not containing water, a sense in which Beer is only once found (possibly 2 Sam. xvii. 18).

Such was the "pit" into which Joseph was cast, Gen. xxxvii. 20. Pits without water are also named in 1 Sam. xiii. 6; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chron. xi. 22; and 'the house of the pit' occurs with the meaning of dungeon in Gen. xl. 15; xli. 14; Exod. xii. 29, and in Jer. xxxvii. 16 and xxxviii. In Zech. ix. 11, "the pit"=dungeon. (Compare *puteus*, which also has this double meaning.)

Bor is however used for a receptacle for water—whether springing or collected is not indicated—though the "broken cisterns" of Jer. ii. 13, and the "stones of the pit," in Isaiah, xiv. 19, show that such cisterns were sometimes built, and not always "digged," as in Deut. vi. 11; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; Exod. xxi. 33.

The name is borne by

1. "'The' great well in Sechu," 1 Sam. xix. 22; *τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ ἅλω τοῦ ἐν τῷ Σεφί.*
2. "The well of Sirah," 2 Sam. iii. 26; בֹּר הַסִּרָה, *φρέαρ τοῦ Σειράμ.*
3. "The well of Bethlehem," 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, and 1 Chron. xi. 17.
4. "The pit" at Mizpah, Jer. xli. 7, 9, (comp. 2 Kings xxv. 25).

The word is extensively used in the poetical parts of the Scripture; as Ps. vii. 15; Isaiah, xiv. 15; Ezek. xxvi. 20, &c. In Jer. vi. 7, it is translated "fountain." The Keri, however, in this place reads Bair.

Other words of this class, but not employed with topographical exactness, are—

## § 65.

GEB, גֵּב, or גֶּבָא, a 'ditch' or 'trench.' 2 Kings, iii. 16; Isaiah, xxx. 14; Jer. xiv. 3; Ezek. xlvii. 11, ("marshes"). A place of this name, Gebim, near Jerusalem, is mentioned in Isaiah, x. 31.

## § 66.

PACHATH, פַּחַת, 'a hollow'; used in 2 Sam. xvii. 9, and xviii. 17; and also figuratively in Isaiah, xxiv. 17, 18; Jer. xlviii. 43, 44. In these passages it is rendered "pit;" in Jer. xlviii. 28, "hole"; and in Lam. iii. 47, "snare," which indeed seems to be the idea at the root of the word.

## § 67.

SHUCHAH or SHACHATH, שׁוּחָה or שַׁחַת, a 'pitfall'; *i.e.* a trap: used frequently, but only in the poetical books, and figuratively; *e.g.* Psalm ix. 15; Prov. xxvi. 27; Jer. ii. 6; xviii. 20. It is variously rendered pit, ditch, destruction, corruption, and grave.

## § 68.

GOOMMATZ, גֻּמְּץ, 'a sunk pit'; from גָּמַץ, to dig: only used once, viz., in Eccl. x. 8. LXX, *βόθρον*.

## § 69.

MAHAMOROTH, מַהֲמֹרוֹת, 'gulfs' or 'whirlpools'; only in Psalm cxl. 10, where it is rendered "deep pits."

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# V. CAVES.

## § 70.

M'ARAH, מְעָרָה, 'a cave'; from עור, to excavate. Arabic, *Meghara*.
The caves of Palestine are,

1. The cave of Adullam, in which David lived with his followers; 1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13.
2. The cave of Makkedah, in which the five kings of the Amorites took refuge from Joshua; Josh. x. 16, &c.
3. The cave in the wilderness of Engedi, in the 'thighs' of which David and his men remained undiscovered by Saul; 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.
4. The cave in which Obadiah hid fifty prophets of Jehovah from the vengeance of Jezebel; 1 Kings xviii. 4.

Besides the above, are the cave above Zoar, Gen. xix. 30; of Machpelah, Gen. xxiii. xxv. xlix.; "'the' cave" in Horeb—the scene of the vision of Elijah—1 Kings xix. 9; and a cave in the north of Palestine, near Sidon, literally rendered "Mearah," Josh. xiii. 4.

The word is rendered "holes" in Isai. ii. 19; and "den" in Isai. xxxii. 14, and Jer. vii. 11.

## § 71.

CHOR, חוֹר, or חֹר and CHUR, חוּר, 'hole': from חור, to bore (see 2 Kings xii. 9). Hence, a hole in the rock or earth, as in 1 Sam. xiv. 11, and Job xxx. 6,

("caves"),—a passage containing a remarkable description[1] of the wretched fate of an early people who must have been similar to the Chorim (Horim, Hori, Horites, of the E. V.—the troglodytes, or dwellers in holes and caverns LXX, Χορραῖοι)—apparently (Gen. xxxvi. 20) the original inhabitants of Palestine, and who lived in the cavities of the sandstone rocks of Petra until "the children of Esau destroyed them before them, and dwelt in their stead," to be in their turn dispossessed by Israel; Deut. ii. 12.

The district of Chauran (Hauran, *Auran*, Αὐρανῖτις) Ezek. xlvii. 16, north-east of Hermon, derived its name from similar caves, many of which are found to the present day in use as habitations. (See Burckhardt, Syria, i. 110.)

The word is found in the following names of places:—

Beth-horon, 'the house of holes,' Josh. x. 10, xvi. 3, 5, &c.
— horonaim, 'two holes,' Isai. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3, 34; whence Choronite Nehem. ii. 10, &c.
— hor-ha-gidgad, 'the hole of much water,' a station in the Desert. Num. xxxiii. 32.

## § 72.

M'CHILLOTH, מְחִלּוֹת, 'fissures' or caverns: from חָלַל, to dig open. Only used once, Isai. ii. 19, and there in contrast with Mearah; "go into the 'caves' of the rocks, and into the 'fissures' of the earth."

## § 73.

MIN'HAROTH, מִנְּהָרוֹת, only occurs once, viz., in Judges vi. 2, to describe the hiding-places, or 'burrows,' in which the Israelites took refuge from Midian,—at least such is the meaning given to it in the Targum. LXX, τρυμαλίαι.

For the remainder of the words for caves or clefts, see Tzur § 28, Sela § 29; also § 66, 67, 68, 97, 98.

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# VI. FORESTS AND TREES.

## § 74.

CHORESH, חֹרֶשׁ, 'a wood;' indeed a thick growth of vegetation, whether in a single tree or in a copse. Thus in Ezek. xxxi. 3, it is used for the thick foliage—the "shadowing shroud"—of the cedar. Elsewhere the word is employed for a wood, though apparently never like Ja-ar (§ 75) for a tract of any extent.

1. The "wood in the wilderness of Ziph," 1 Sam. xxiii. 15, 16, 18, 19. ἐν τῇ καινῇ.[2]
2. 2 Chron. xxvii 4. "forests," ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς.
3. Isai. xvii. 9. "bough." Gesenius, *im Walddickicht.*

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[1] See Ewald, Geschichte, 2nd. Edit. i. 304.

[2] καινός is elsewhere given in the LXX as the rendering of the similar word חדש, for which, in this instance, חֹרֶשׁ has probably been mistaken.

## § 75.

JAAR, יַעַר, 'a forest,' or dense growth of trees: from יָעַר to abound. In the historical books it is the usual name for the wooded tracts of Palestine, East and West, and is used for,—

"The forest of Hareth." 1 Sam. xxii. 5.
"The forest of Lebanon." 1 Kings vii. 2, x. 17, 21; 2 Chron. ix. 16, 20.
"The wood of Ephraim." 2 Sam. xviii. 6, 8, 17. See also Josh. xvii. 15, 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 25, 26; 2 Kings ii. 24; in all which it is rendered "wood."

In the poetical parts of Scripture it often occurs, and is generally translated "forest;" the exceptions being Deut. xix. 5; 1 Chron. xvi. 33; Ps. lxxx. 13, lxxxiii. 14, xcvi. 12, cxxxii. 6; Eccl. ii. 6; Cant. ii. 3; Isa. vii. 2; Ezek. xxxiv. 25; Mic. vii. 14, in which the word used is "wood." It appears in the well-known name of Kirjath Jearim (city of forests), and of Mount Jearim Josh. xv. 10.

In 1 Sam. xiv. 27 and Cant. v. 1, the word is applied to a honeycomb; that is, an abundant quantity of honey. LXX, (1) τὸ κηρίον τοῦ μέλιτος, (2) ἄρτον μου.

## § 76.

PAR'DES, פַּרְדֵּס 'a plantation;' perhaps from פָּרַד, to enclose.

Occurs three times: viz.

Neh. ii. 8, "forest," where it plainly refers to timber trees.
Eccl. ii. 5; Cant. iv. 13; "orchard," where the reference is as plainly to fruit trees.

It is probably a Persian word, adopted into the Semitic languages, and then Grecised into "Paradise," παράδεισος; by which word it is translated in the LXX. Elsewhere, they have employed παράδεισος as the equivalent to *Gan*, a garden. The diminutive "Fureidis" in Arabic is applied in Palestine to the "Frank Mountain," from its vicinity to Solomon's Gardens at Urtas. See Chap. III.

## § 77.

ETZ, עֵץ, 'a tree,' in the widest sense of the word: thus Gen. i. 29; ii. 16; Deut. xii. 2; Josh. x. 16 (comp. Acts x. 39); Isai. vii. 2, and passim: also "wood," Ex. vii. 19; Lev. xi. 32; 1 Sam. vi. 14, &c.—"timber," 1 Kings v. 6, &c.; —"stick," Num. xv. 32; 1 Kings xvii. 10. Hence, too, the staff of a spear, 1 Sam. xvii. 7, or handle of an axe, Deut. xix. 5 (a verse in which the word occurs twice—as "tree," and "helve.")

From עצה, to be firm. In a slightly varied form it signifies a backbone; whence *Ezion*-Geber, 'the giant's backbone.' See Chap. I. p. 84.

## § 78.

EL: ELAH: ELON: and ILAN: from אוּל or אָיַל, to be strong; and ALLAH, and ALLON: from אָלָה, with the same meaning: 'A strong tree.'

The use of these various forms of the same or similar roots is so indefinite, and the translations of them in the ancient Versions so inconsistent, that it is not possible to fix their meaning with accuracy. The following are the conclusions of Gesenius (Thesaurus, pp. 51 (*a*), 47, 103).

1. El may be either an oak or a terebinth.
2. Where Allon is opposed to Elah, as in Isai. vi. 13; Hos. iv. 13; Elah=terebinth and Allon=oak. But, on the other hand,
3. Elah, Allon, Allah, and Elon, appear to have been all interchangeable, for the same tree which in Josh. xix. 33 is Allon, in Jud. iv. 11 is Elon; while that which is Elon in Jud. ix. 6 (English Version, "plain") is Elah in Gen. xxxv. 4, and Allah in Josh. xxiv. 26. See Chapter II. p. 140.

1. EL, אֵיל, occurs in the singular, only in Gen. xiv. 6, El-paran: LXX, *τῆς τερεβίνθου τῆς φαράν.* Aq. Symm. Theod. *ἕως δρύος.*

In the plural, Elim,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Isai. i. 29. | "oaks." | *εἰδῶλα.* | |
| Isai. lxi. 3. | "trees." | *γενεαί.* | Symm. *ἰσχυρόι.* |
| Ezek. xxxi. 14. | "trees." | omitted. | |

Elim, the second station from the Red Sea, appears to have derived its name from the 70 palms there—*the* trees of the Desert. (Chap. I., pp. 22, 68). See Exod. xv. 27, xvi. 1; Num. xxxiii. 9, 10. So also,

Eloth, or Elath, another plural form of the same word, probably refers to the palm-grove at Akaba (Chap. I. pp. 22, 84). See Deut. ii. 8; 1 Kings ix. 26; 2 Kings xiv. 22, xvi. 6; 2 Chron. viii. 17. xxvi. 2.

2. ELAH, אֵלָה, perhaps 'terebinth.'

Gen. xxxv. 4, "the oak," *ἡ τερέβινθος.* Aq. Symm. Theod. *τὴν δρῦν.*
Jud. vi. 11, 19, "oak," *ἡ τερέμινθος.* Theod. *δρῦς.* In both cases with the article, '*the* Terebinth.'
1 Sam. xvii. 2, 19, xxi. 9, "Elah," (*Heb.* Ha-Elah, '*the* Terebinth'.) *Ηλα.* Aq. Theod. *τῆς δρύος.*
2 Sam. xviii. 9, 10, 14, "oak." In each of these passages the definite article is used. *ἡ δρῦς*: *δένδρον.*
1 Kings xiii. 14 (article); 1 Chron. x. 12, "oak," *δρῦς.*
Isai. i. 30, "oak"; vi. 13, "teil tree." Aq. Symm. Th. *δρυς.* LXX, *τερέβινθος.*
Ezek. vi. 13, "oak," *δένδρου συσκίου*: *δρύς.*
Hos. iv. 13, "elms," LXX, and Theod. *δένδρου συσκιάζοντος.* Aq. *τερέβινθος.* Symm. *πλάτανος.*

3. ELON, אֵלוֹן, probably 'oak.'

Gen. xii. 6; Deut. xi. 30, "plain of Moreh," *'η δρῦς 'η ὑψηλή.* Aq. Symm. *αὐλῶνος καταφανοῦς*: *Convallem illustrem.*
Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1, "plain of Mamre," *'η δρῦς 'η μαμβρῆ. Convallis Mambre.*
Jud. iv. 11, "Plain of Zaanaim" ('wanderers'), *δρ. πλεονεκτούντων. Ad vallem quæ vocatur Sennim.*
Jud. ix. 6, "Plain of the Pillar," *τῇ βαλάνῳ τῇ εὑρετῇ τῆς στάσεως.* Aq. *πεδίον στηλώματος.* Sym. *δρ. 'η ἑστῶσα. Quercum quæ stabat in Sichem.*
Jud. ix. 37, "Plain of Meonenim" (the enchantments), *'Ηλων μαωνενίμ.* Aq. *δρῦς ἀποβλεπόντων. Per viam quæ respicit quercum.* This is probably the same tree as that in Gen. xxxv. 4. See Elah.
1 Sam. x. 3, "Plain of Tabor," *'η δρῦς Θαβωρ. Ad quercum Tabor.*
Elon, אֵילוֹן, town in Dan, Josh. xix. 43, possibly the same as that called E.-beth-hanan in 1 Kings ix. 9.

4. ILAN, אַיִל, 'a great tree.'
Dan. iv. 10, 11, 14, 20, 23, 26; "tree."

5. ALLAH, אַלָּה.
Josh. xxiv. 26, "oak," *'υπὸ τὴν τέρμινθον.*
Alla-melech, the "king's oak," a city of Asher, Josh. xix. 26.

6. ALLON, אַלּוֹן, in A.V. uniformly "oak."
Gen. xxxv. 8, *ὑπὸ τὴν βάλανον*; wrongly rendered "*an* oak."
Isai. ii. 13, "of Bashan," *δένδρον βαλάνου.* Aq. *δρῦς.*

Isai. vi. 13, (with Elah ; see No. 2,) *βάλανος.*
Isai. xliv. 14, *Alex. δρῦς.*
Ezek. xxvii. 6, ("of Bashan"); LXX omits.
Hos. iv. 13, (with Elah, see No. 2); Amos ii. 9; Zech. xi. 2 ("of Bashan"), *δρῦς.*
Allon-bachuth, Gen. xxxv. 8. *βάλανος πένθους. Sam. Ver.* מישר נכיתה.
Allon, in Naphtali, Josh. xix. 33. "Allon to Zaanannim" (אלון בצענים) is probably Allon-zaanaim, Jud. iv. 11 ; see above under Elon.

## § 79.

ESHEL, אֶשֶׁל, probably a tamarisk (*Tamarix orientalis*, Linn.), see Gesenius, s. v. p. 159: but the exact signification is doubtful, since it will be seen that in the third of the following examples, it is interchangeable with Elah (§ 78, 2).

Occurs three times:

In Gen. xxi. 33, "grove." Aq. *δενδρῶνα.* Symm. *φυτείαν.*
1 Sam. xxii. 6, "a tree," accurately, '*the* tamarisk. Aq. *τὸ δένδρωμα.*
1 Sam. xxxi. 13, "a tree." Symm. *φυτόν.* Theod. *τὰς δρῦς*—like the preceding, with the definite article, and therefore, "'*the* tamarisk' at Jabesh." In the parallel passage, 1 Chr. x. 12, the word is Elah. The LXX have, in each case, rendered Eshel by *ἡ ἄρουρα* = the field.

Besides the above, there are other words for trees which need not be specially examined here. Amongst them are some which would seem to have given their names to places; viz., Rimmon,—Pomegranate (Numb. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xv. 32; xix. 45; 1 Chron. vi. 77; Neh. xi. 29;—§ 51): Luz,—Almond (Gen. xxxv. 6): Tamar,—Palm (Gen. xiv. 7; Judg. xx. 33; Deut. xxxiv. 3; Judg. i. 16;—§ 80): Shittah (Plur. Shittim),—Acacia (Judg. vii. 22; Numb. xxv. 1): and Libneh,—White Poplar (Numb. xxxiii. 20; Josh. x. 29). A different derivation of Libnah has been given in Chap. VI. p. 253, *note*, which is probably equally correct. It is worth notice, however, that the three "stations" named in Numb. xxxiii. 18 (Rithmah,—Broom), 19, and 20, all apparently derive their names from some natural feature of vegetation.

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The word rendered "Grove" in the A.V. in connection with the idolatrous worship of the Canaanites, is Asherah. For an examination of all the passages in which it occurs, and of its doubtful and difficult signification, see Gesenius, *s. v.* p. 162.

## VII. CITIES, HABITATIONS, &c.

### § 80.

IR, עִיר, or AR, עָר, 'a city:' probably from a root now extinct, signifying to surround: LXX, πόλις, Vulg. *Oppidum*. The idea is that of a fortified place, as in 2 Kings x. 25, where it signifies "the '*fortress*' of the 'temple' of Baal;" and in 1 Chr. xi. 5, "David took the Castle (Metzadah, § 89) of Zion, which is the *City* of David." See also 2 Kings xvii. 9; xviii. 8. Its general meaning is fixed by the examples of Jerusalem, Samaria, and Jericho, and the cities of Assyria, to which it is frequently applied.

In Lev. xxv. 29, 31, "walled cities," are distinguished from "villages (Hazerim) which have no wall round them;" and in 1 Sam. vi. 18, we find "fenced cities," distinguished from 'country villages,' (Caphar).

Generally, whenever the "gates" or "walls" of a "city" are spoken of, the word used is Ir. See especially Gen. xxiii. 10, 18, xxxiv. 20, 24; Josh. viii. 29, xx. 4. Judg. xvi. 2, 3; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 1 Kings iv. 13, xvii. 10; 1 Chr. xix. 9; 2 Chr. viii. 5; indeed in Ruth iii. 11, "gate" is used as synonymous with "city," and is so translated in the A. V. (see margin). On the other hand, in Deut. iii. 5, we read of "unwalled 'cities,'" LXX, πόλεις τῶν φερεζαίων (see § 82).

A curious play upon the word occurs in Jud. x. 4, where the same word is used for the thirty cities (עָרִים) and the "thirty ass-colts" (עֲיָרִים) of the sons of Jair. This play has been tolerably preserved in the LXX by rendering the words respectively πόλεις and πώλους.

In the Auth. Vers. with the following exceptions, the word is rendered "city."

"Town." Deut. iii. 5; 1 Sam. xvi. 4, xxiii. 7, xxvii. 5; Esther ix. 19 (ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ τῇ ἔξω.) Jer. xix. 15.
"Court." 2 Kings xx. 4. ἐν αὐλῇ τῇ μέσῃ.

It occurs in the following proper names:—

1. Ir-hat-temarim, "the city of 'the' Palmtrees." LXX, πόλις τῶν φοινίκων. Deut. xxxiv. 3; Jud. i. 16, iii. 13; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15. (See p. 143, and 289, *note*.)
2. Ir-ham-melach, "the city of salt," *Alex.* ἡ πόλις ἁλῶν. *Vat.* π. Σαδῶν. Josh. xv. 62.
3. Ir-Shemesh (πόλεις Σαμμάνς) (=Beth Shemesh, 'the city of the sun'). Josh. xix. 41.
4. Ir-nahash, πόλις ναᾶς, 1 Chron. iv. 12, ('the city of the serpent').
5. Ir-ha-heres, "the city of destruction," and "of the sun." Isai. xix. 18. *Compl.* πόλις ἀχερες. *Vat.* ασεδεκ.
6. Rechoboth-Ir, "the city Rehoboth." Gen. x. 11. Vulg. *plateas civitatis*.

AR, עָר, as the name of the capital of Moab (=Rabbah), or rather perhaps of the whole country of the Moabites, occurs in Numb. xxi. 15; Deut. ii. 9, 18, 29; and more fully as "Ar of Moab," in Numb. xxi. 28, and Isai. xv. 1. In Numb. xxi. 28, the LXX seem to have read with the Samaritan Codex and Version, עד מואב, for they render it ἕως Μωαβ. Elsewhere the Samaritan Version gives Arshah; and the LXX Ηρ in Numbers, and Ἀροηρ in Deut. In Numb. xxii. 36, Ar Moab is rendered "a city of Moab," following the Sam. Version, Kiriath Moab (see § 75,) the LXX εἰς πόλιν Μ., and the Vulg. *in oppido Moab*.

## § 81.

KIR, קִיר: possibly from קָרָה, to build; or from קוּר, to dig (see Gesenius, 1210, 1236.)

(*a*) Usually for the wall of a house or building, exterior or interior (=*paries*), as in Lev. xiv. 37. 1 Sam. xx. 25. 1 Kings vi. 5. Ezek. xxiii. 14, &c.
(*b*) For the side of the altar. Lev. i. 15; v. 9.
(*c*) For a fence or enclosure. Num. xxii. 25.
(*d*) For the wall of a town. (once) Num. xxxv. 4.

The usual word for the wall of a city (Engl. "the walls," *mœnia*) is Chomah, חוֹמָה. The two are used together in Josh. ii. 15, "her house was upon the town-wall, and she dwelt upon the wall." Here Chomah is rendered "town-wall" and "wall," while Kir, which, in the original, comes before Chomah, is not translated. The meaning, however, is clear—that the walls of the town formed also the back wall of the house. Thus Zunz, "ihr Haus war in der *Wand* der *Stadtmauer*, und in der Stadtmauer wohnte sie."

As a proper name, Kir seems to have had the signification of citadel, and is so used:

1. In Isai. xv. 1, "Kir of Moab," now called Kerak, possibly the Fortress of Moab, as Ar-moab, or Rabbah, was the Capital.
2. The same place, under the names of Kir-charaseth,[1] Kir-Chareseth, Kir-charesh, and Kir-cheres, is mentioned in 2 Kings iii. 25; Isai. xvi. 7, 11; Jer. xlviii. 31, 36.
3. Kir is also the name of a place or district in Assyria. 2 Kings xvi. 9; Isai. xxii. 6; Amos i. 5; ix. 7.

## § 82.

KIRIAH, or KIRJATH, קִרְיָה, Chald. קִרְיָא: from קָרָה, to build (see Gesenius *in voce*, p. 1236): apparently the ancient, and thence, in later times, the poetical word for 'city.' See, among others, Num. xxi. 28, "*city* of Sihon." Ps. xlviii. 2, "*the city* of the great King." Isai. xxv. 2, "of a defenced *city*." We have seen that Ir and Ar are only seldom used in proper names, whereas Kirjath is a frequent name for the towns of Palestine.[2]

On the other hand, it is hardly ever used as a general noun in prose. The only exceptions worth noticing are: Deut. ii. 36; iii 4, in the quasi-proverbial expression, "there was not one city left:" 1 Kings i. 41, 45, in the conversation of Adonijah and his friends about the uproar in Jerusalem: and Ezra iv. 10, in speaking of Samaria; and 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, in the letter of the Samaritans describing Jerusalem; implying that the word was at that time used only as a Samaritanism.

The cities in the name of which the word occurs are the following. It will be observed, that in every case they existed before Palestine was taken by the Israelites.

1. Kirjath, a town of Benjamin. Josh. xviii. 28. Possibly Kirjath-jearim. LXX *Alex.* πόλις Ιαριμ.

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[1] Compare the use of the word castle in Chester, Newcastle, Doncaster, &c.

[2] Kirjath is probably the word represented by the Latin Carthago, and it appears as a Phœnician word in Sicilian coins (see Gesenius *voce* קָרַת, p. 1237), and in names like Cirta, Tigrano-Certa, &c.

2. Kirjathaim ('the double city'), (*a*) a town of Moab, on the east of Jordan. Gen. xiv. 5; Num. xxxii. 37; Jer. xlviii. 1, &c. It is spelt in the A. V. Kiriathaim: LXX, καριαθάμ. (*b*) A town in Naphtali, allotted to the Gershonites, 1 Chr. vi. 76. In the parallel list in Josh. xxi. the name is contracted to Kartan—as En-gannim to Anem.[1] LXX, καριαθαΐμ.
3. Kirjath-arba, "the city of Arba, the father of Anak," (= Hebron), Gen. xxiii. 2; Josh. xiv. 15, &c. It had retained its old name after the captivity, Neh. xi. 25.
4. Kirjath-huzoth ('the city of Streets'), Num. xxii. 39; εἰς πόλεις ἐπαυλέων.
5. Kirjath-jearim ('city of Forests'), on the borders of Judah and Benjamin, originally Gibeonite, Josh. ix. 17; xv. 60; πόλις Ιαριμ. Called also Baalah, Baale, and
6. Kirjath-arim, Ezra ii. 25, (1 Esdr. v. 19, Kiriathiarius); and in addition,
7. Kirjath-baal, Josh. xviii. 14; καριαθβαάλ.
8. Kirjath-sepher, 'the city of the book,' πόλις γραμμάτων, a Canaanite town in the mountains of Judah, Josh. xv. 15; Judg. i. 11; called also,
9. Kirjath-sannah, 'the city of the Palm,' Josh. xv. 49. After its capture by Caleb it took the name of Debir.

The word also appears in a slightly different form in

10. Kerioth, ('cities') (*a*) a town in the south of Judah, Josh. xv. 25; LXX, Καρίωθ, and hence probably Iscariot: (*b*), a place in Moab, Jerem. xlviii. 24, 41; also Amos ii. 2, where the word is spelt Kirioth.
11. Kartah, קַרְתָּה, a town of Zebulun, allotted to the Merarites, Josh. xxi. 34; Καρθα.

## § 83.

BIRAH, בִּירָה, 'palace;' *i.e.* a royal house or fortress: either from the Hebrew אֲבִירָה, *abirah*, strong, or the Persian *baru*, a wall or fortress; Sanscrit *burâ*, Greek πύργος; German *Burg*; English *Bury*. In Persian names of places it frequently occurs, as Perso-*bora*, Esto-*bara*, &c. (See Gesenius, *s.v.* p. 204.)

It is used chiefly in the Chaldaic books of the Old Testament; where, with two exceptions, it is the epithet of Shushan, the royal residence of the Persian kings. See Ezr. vi. 2; Neh. i. 1; Esth. i. 2; ii. 3; iii. 15; viii. 14; ix. 6, &c.; Dan. viii. 2. The exceptions are Neh. ii. 8, and vii. 2, where it is used by Nehemiah to designate the citadel attached to the Temple at Jerusalem. In 1 Chron. xxix. 1, 19, it means the Temple. In the plural, Biranioth, the word occurs only in 2 Chron. xvii. 12; xxvii. 4, where it is rendered "castles."

In the LXX Birah is rendered by οἶκος, οἰκοδομή, mostly by πόλις, and occasionally by βάρις. It is also often treated as a proper name, and given as Ἀββείρρα, and ἡ Βείρα, or Βίρα. Βάρις was probably introduced from its likeness of sound to the Hebrew word, as βωμός was for *Bamah*, a high place; κιθάρα for *Kitharos*, a harp; ἀγάπη for *ahabah*, love, γῆ for Gai a ravine, and many others. In Egypt it was the word for the state barges of the Nile, and hence its adoption for a great house or palace was not unnatural. Jerome, on Psalm xlv. 10, says that βάρις was a word peculiar to Palestine, and used even in his time for houses closed round on every side and built like towers; and the Scholiast, on Psalm cxxii. 7, that it was the provincial word in Syria for large houses. In Josephus' time it was applied to the tower of Antonia (Antiq. XV., xi. 4).

[1] Compare the well-known contractions in the names of English towns, as Brighton, for Brighthelmston.

## § 84.

AR'MON, אַרְמוֹן, 'keep' of a palace: from אָרַם, to be high, the root of Pyramid, and of Hermon, 'the lofty peak.'[1] (See Gesenius, *s. v.*, p. 152.) A word almost exclusively used in the poetical books, *e.g.* Psalm xlviii. 3, 13; Isaiah xxv. 2; Jer. xvii. 27; Amos, i. 4; ii. 2, &c. In the historical books it occurs only three times: 1 Kings, xvi. 18, and 2 Kings, xv. 25, "the *palace* of the king's house;" possibly a keep or strong tower overlooking the rest of the palace. Ewald (Geschichte, 2nd edit., iii. 451, 602,) suggests that it was the Harem, the most securely guarded portion of Eastern houses. In 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19, the word is used for the "palaces" of Jerusalem. In the LXX it is very variously rendered ϕ *e.g.* Βάρις, πυργόβαρις, τοῖχος, πόλις, χώρα (probably reading ארמה for ארמן) and θεμέλιον. In the two passages from Kings it is (1) ἄντρον, possibly a corruption from ἄρμων, (see Frankel, Vorstudien, p. 65,) and (2) ἐναντίον, probably a further corruption of ἄντρον.

By Aquila and Symmachus it is occasionally rendered βειρας, (Amos, i. 12; ii. 5.) See § 83.

In one passage, Amos iv. 3, the word occurs with a slight change of form, as הַרְמוֹן Har'mon.

## § 85.

CHATZER, חָצֵר, an enclosure; from חָצַר to surround: hence used for a "court" or vestibule, as of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvii. 9, &c.) or Temple (1 Kings, vi. 36; 2 Kings xxi. 5,) or of a palace, (2 Kings, xx. 4; Esther, i. 5; Jer. xxxvi, 20, comp. 22,) or prison, (Neh. iii. 25; Jer. xxxii. 2, &c.,) or even of a house, (2 Sam. xvii. 18). Topographically, however, it is a 'village;' generally a Bedouin village, Gen. xxv. 16 (LXX, σκηνή); Isaiah, xlii. 11; such as are formed of tent-cloths, spread over stone walls. In such "Hazerim," "dwelt" the Avim or Avites, who seem to have pushed their way from the Desert as far as Gaza, and who were destroyed by the Philistines from Caphtor (Deut. ii. 23)[2].

In the LXX the usual renderings are αὐλή, answering to "court;" and κώμη and ἔπαυλις, indiscriminately to "village:" it is also rendered οἰκία, ὁδός, ἐξέδρα, πύλη, σκηνή, and, strangely, πλούσιος in Ps. x. 8 (LXX, ix. 29).

The following are the places in the names of which Chatzer (Hazer) is used. One of them, Hazeroth, is in the Desert itself, (see Chap. I. p. 81,) and it will be observed that the others are all on the Bedouin frontiers of the country.

1. Hazeroth, Ἀσηρώθ. Numb. xi. 35; xii. 16; xxxiii. 17, 18.
2. Hazar-addar, ἔπαυλις Ἀράδ, a place on the south boundary of Palestine, Numb. xxxiv. 4. In Joshua xv. 3, the name is contracted to Adar.
3. Hazar-enan, 'village of springs.' A place in the north of Palestine, near Hamath, Numb. xxxiv. 9, 10; ἀγραναΐν, Ezek. xlvii. 17; xlviii. 1, ἡ αὐλὴ τοῦ Αἰνάν, and τοῦ Αἰλάμ.
4. Hazar-gaddah, 'village of fortune.' One of the "uttermost cities of Judah toward the coast of Edom southward;" Josh. xv. 27.
5. Hazar-hat-ticon, 'the middle village,' αὐλὴ τοῦ Σαυκάν, "by the coast of Hauran," on the north-west of Palestine; Ezek. xlvii. 16.
6. Hazar-shual, 'village of the fox' (see Chap. III. p. 162 *note*). A place in the very south of Judah, near H. gaddah: χολασεωλά, ἀρτωλά, ἐσερσουάλ. Josh. xv. 28; xix. 3; 1 Chron. iv. 28; Neh. xi. 27.
7. Hazar-susah, or susim, 'village of horses:' a place belonging to Simeon, also

[1] See Chap. XII. p. 395.

[2] The word Hazerim in this passage has become curiously corrupted in the LXX to ἀσηδώθ: *Alex.* ἀσηρώθ.

in the extreme south. Josh. xix. 5; 1 Chron. iv. 31; *σαρσουσίν, ἡμισουσεωσίν.*

A slightly different form of the word is Chatzor (Hazor) חָצוֹר, which occurs as follows:—

(1.) Josh. xi. 1; xii. 19; Judges iv. 2; 1 Sam. xii. 9.
(2.) Josh. xv. 23, 25.[1] (3.) Josh. xix. 36.
(4.) Neh. xi. 33. (5.) 2 Sam. xiii. 23 (Baal-hazor).

## § 86.

CHAVVAH, חַוָּה, *plur.* Chavvoth (Eng. Vers. *Havoth*), חַוּוֹת, 'a tent-village;' from חָיָה, life;[2] (whence Eve—*Heb.* Chavah—"the mother of all living.") The Bedouins of the present day use the same word for their own villages. Chavvoth is solely employed in the Bible for those taken from Gilead by Jair the son of Manasseh, and which to a late period retained the name of Chavvoth-Jair. See Chap. VIII. p. 321.

Numb. xxxii. 41, "small towns," *ἐπαύλεις.*
Deut. iii. 14, "Havoth," *Θαυὼθ*; *Alex.* *Αὐώθ.*
Josh. xiii. 30, "towns," *κώμας.*
Judg. x. 4, "Havoth" (*Margin*, Villages), *ἐπαύλεις.*
1 Kings iv. 13, "towns;" *Vat.* omit.; *Alex.* *Αὐώθ,*
1 Chron. ii. 23, "towns," *κώμας.*

## § 87.

CAPHAR, כָּפָר, or Copher, כְּפַר, a 'hamlet:' from כָּפַר, to cover. Compare *tectum.* It occurs in

1 Sam. vi. 18, *κώμη* . .
1 Chron. xxvii. 25, *ἐπαυλία*
Cant. vii. 11, *κώμη* . .
} in each "villages."

See also Chephar-haammonai, 'the hamlet of the Ammonites,' Josh. xviii. 24; and Chephirah, one of the towns of the Hivites, Josh. ix. 17, also Caphar-Salama, 1 Macc. vii. 31.

The application of the word to Caper-naum shows that it indicated a regular village or town, *πόλις*, *κώμη*, and not a mere collection of hovels or tents like Chatzer. In the N. T. *πόλις* and *κώμη*[3] correspond to Kir and Caphar; but their use is indistinct. Thus Caper-naum, which by its name—and Nain, which by its situation—could hardly have been more than villages, are called *πόλις*, as is also Nazareth (Luke ii. 4, 39); whilst Bethsaida, probably the flourishing town of Bethsaida Julias, is called *κώμη.* In this case, however, it is possible that, as the old name of Bethsaida, prevailed in popular language, against the modern Julias, so also did its ancient appellation of *κώμη*[4] continue.

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[1] "And Hazor, Hadattah, and Kerioth: [and] Hezron, which is Hazor," are more correctly 'and Chatzor-Chadattah (*i.e.* New Chatzor) and Kerioth-Chezron, which is Chatzor.'

[2] Compare the common use of the word 'to live' in English, for 'to dwell.'

[3] Κώμη is in the Vulgate rendered *castellum* in John xi. 1, which in later Latin came to mean what is now expressed by its derivative, *castle.* Hence the European Pilgrims in Palestine looked, at Bethany, not for the *village*, but for the *Castle* of Lazarus.

[4] In the same manner the name Hamlet is still retained by the Tower-*Hamlets* of London, now a district containing many thousand

Josephus (Antiq. xviii. ii. 1) expressly contrasts the two, *κώμην δὲ* Βηθσαΐδαν . . . *πόλεως παρασχὼν ἀξίωμα* . . . Ἰουλίᾳ . . . *ὁμώνυμον ἐκάλεσεν*. Probably it was what in Mark i. 38, is called *κωμόπολις*, a village grown into a city. Bethlehem is in Luke ii. 4, *πόλις*; in John vii. 42, *κώμη*.

A large number of places with names compounded of Caphar are mentioned in the Talmuds, and in the Onomasticons of Eusebius and Jerome. See Reland, 684—693. Amongst these is Caphar-Saba, the original name of Antipatris. See Chapter VI. p. 271.

## § 88.

TIRAH, טִירָה, a Bedouin castle: like Chatzer from a root signifying to surround, טוּר—(see Gesenius, p. 548). It is a word of only occasional use, and occurring in the historical books in reference to the strongholds of the nomad tribes, as follows:—Gen. xxv. 16; Num. xxxi. 10, "castles," *ἐπαύλεις*.

See also—Ezek. xxv. 4, "palaces," *σκηνή*.

## § 89.

P'RAZOTH, פְּרָזוֹת, Perazon, פְּרָזוֹן, or Pèrazi, פְּרָזִי, 'unwalled towns' or 'villages,' in contradistinction to walled or fenced cities: from פָּרַז to separate or open (see Gen. xxxviii. 29.) The exact signification of the word is given in Deut. iii. 5; 1 Sam. vi. 18; Esther ix. 19; Ezek. xxxviii. 11. It is also found in Judg. v. 7, 11,[1] and in Zech. ii. 4. Hence Perizzites; *i.e.*, the inhabitants of open villages,—the *Pagani* or peasantry,—as distinguished from the Canaanites, or those who dwelt in the Phœnician cities; Gen. xiii. 7; xxxiv. 30; Judg. i. 4. Probably they inhabited the hills above the plain of Sharon; see Josh. xi. 3; xvii. 14—18.

## § 90.

BAITH (E.V. Beth), בַּיִת, 'house;' probably from בָּנָה, to build (as *δόμος*, *domus*, from *δέμω*),—the most general expression for a fixed habitation, whether tent or building; usually the latter, though sometimes for a tent, as in 2 Kings xxiii. 7,—"the women wove hangings (בָּתִּים = houses; i.e., *tents*) for the grove"[2] of Astarte: (comp. Job. viii. 14, where it is used for a spider's web.) See also Gen. xxvii. 15; Judg. xviii. 31; 1 Sam. i. 7, &c. That the primitive notion was of a dwelling appears from the form of the letter which is called from it, both in the old and modern forms of Hebrew, and more especially in the Ethiopic alphabet.

## § 91.

SOC, סֹךְ, or Sucah, סֻכָּה, *Plur.* Succoth, סֻכּוֹת, 'booth or covert:' from סָכַךְ, to cover as with boughs. Always a habitation of man or beast made of leafy boughs. The "Feast of Tabernacles," so called, was celebrated in such huts, and is

---

inhabitants, and returning two members to Parliament.

[1] In these two places, as well as in Habak. iii. 14, the word translated "villages" should be rendered 'the chiefs,'—*οἱ δυνατοί*. Vulg., *fortes in Israel*. (See Gesenius, *sub voce*, p. 1125.)

[2] This passage is curiously corrupt in the Vatican LXX: *οὗ αἱ γυναῖκες ὕφαινον ἐκεῖ* Χεττιὶμ (Hittites) *τῷ ἄλσει*.

always designated by this word, thus showing that it did not commemorate the tents of the wilderness, but probably the 'booths' of the first start—(Succoth, Lev. xxiii. 43; Exod. xiii. 20), the point of transition between the settled and the nomadic life. So the word is used in Gen. xxxi. 17, in the life of Jacob.

"Succoth" in this connection with the feast is invariably in the English Bible, "tabernacles." In the LXX the word used is constantly σκηνή, the feast being ἑορτὴ τῶν σκηνῶν. Vulg. *tabernaculum, tentorium, umbraculum.*

The words used for the sacred "Tabernacle" worship are *Mishcan*, מִשְׁכָּן, and *Ohel*, אֹהֶל, the former signifying the frame-work and interior part of the construction; the latter, the outer covering of the tent. Space will not permit of these words being analysed.

In the following passages, this word is used for the retreat of the lion: Job xxxviii. 40, "covert;" Psalm x. 9, "den;" Jerem. xxv. 38, "covert;" and hence, in Psalm lxxvi. 2, for Jerusalem, the lair of the Lion of Judah. In 2 Sam. xi. 11, "tents;" 1 Kings xx. 12, 16,[1]—"pavilions"—it is applied to military huts; while in Job xxxvi. 29,—"tabernacle"—2 Sam. xxii. 12, and Psalm xviii. 11,—"pavilions,"—it is the poetical expression for coverings of clouds.

The following are the remaining instances of its use: Lev. xxiii. 42, 43; Neh. viii. 14, 15, 16, 17; Job xxvii. 18, "booths;" Ps. xxxi. 20, "pavilion;" Is. i. 8, "cottage;" iv. 6, "tabernacle;" Jonah iv. 5, "booth."

## § 92.

MIV'TZAR, מִבְצָר, 'fortress:' from בָּצַר, to render inaccessible. The word commonly used with עִיר, and rendered "fenced city;" see Numb. xxxii. 17, 36; Josh. x. 20, xix. 35; 1 Sam. vi. 18; 2 Kings iii. 19; x. 2; xvii. 9, xviii. 8; 2 Chron. xvii. 19. In 2 Kings viii. 12, and Numb. xiii. 19, it is rendered "strong-holds." It is twice applied to Tyre; in Josh. xix. 29, and 2 Sam. xxiv. 7. In the poetical books, the word is frequently used, as Ps. lxxxix. 40; Isai. xvii. 3; Jer. i. 8; Nahum iii. 12; and is rendered by our translators "fortress," and "defenced city."

From the same root is also derived Bitztzaron, בְּצָרוֹן, which is only used in Zech. ix. 12, and there rendered "strong-hold."

## § 93.

MAOZ, מָעוֹז, a 'strong-hold:' from עָזַז, to be firm. Used in Judg. vi. 26, and there translated "rock," elsewhere always employed in the poetical books—as Ps. xxvii. 1—strength. Dan. xi. 7, 19, "fort;" 10, "fortress." It is applied by Isaiah to Tyre, "the strength or strong-hold of the sea," xxiii. 4, 11, 14; and in xxx. 2, 3, to "the strength of Pharaoh," and by Ezekiel—xxx. 15—to Sin (Pelusium), "the strength of Egypt."

## § 94.

MAON, מָעוֹן, and M'ONAH, מְעוֹנָה, a dwelling-place or 'den,' as of wild beasts: from עָנַן to rest or fly for refuge. Used of lions, Job xxxviii. 40; Psalm civ. 22; Cant. iv. 8; Nahum ii. 11, 12; Amos iii. 4; and of other beasts, Job

[1] An instance of the strange inconsistency of the present text of the LXX. In verse 12 we read ἐν σκηναῖς—'in tents'—but in verse 16 ἐν Σοκχώθ—in Succoth.

xxxvii. 8; Jer. ix. 11; x. 22; xlix. 33; li. 37. Of the dwelling-place of Jehovah at Shiloh, 1 Sam. ii. 29, 32; and at Jerusalem and Zion, Psalm xxvi. 8; lxviii. 5; with the image of a lion, Psalm lxxvi. 2, "in Salem is his 'leafy covert,' and his 'den' in Zion" (τὸ κατοικητήριον αὐτοῦ). See Chap. III. p. 170.

## § 95.

M'TZAD, מְצָד, and M'TZOODAH, מְצוּדָה, 'a lair' (as of wild beasts) or 'fastness:' from צוד to hunt or lay snares. The original meaning is seen from its use in Jer. xlviii. 41; Job xxxix. 28; and Ezek. xvii. 20, where the imagery is of birds of prey. Topographically it is applied to the hill forts of Judæa (1) generally, in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Judges vi. 2. . . . | "strongholds" | τὰ κρεμαστά. |
| 1 Sam. xxii. 4, 5. . . | "the hold" | τῇ περιοχῇ. |
| xxiii. 14, 19, 29. . | "strongholds" | ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς and ἐν Μεσσαρὰ ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.[1] |
| xxiv. 22. . . | "the hold" | εἰς τὴν Μεσσερά στενήν. |
| 2 Sam. xxiii. 14. . . | "an hold" | τῇ περιοχῇ. |
| 1 Chron. xi. 16, xii. 8, 16. . | "the hold" | τῇ περιοχῇ and βοήθειαν. |
| Ezek. xxxiii. 27. . . | "the forts" | τετειχισμέναις. |

And (2) specially to the citadel of Zion:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 Sam. v. 7. . . . | "the stronghold" | LXX ἡ περιοχή. |
| 9. . . . | "the fort" | |
| 17. . . . | "the hold" | |
| 1 Chron. xi. 5, 7. . . | "the castle" | |
| 16. . . | "the hold" | |

Besides the above, the word is frequently used in the poetical books, often in connection with Sela and Tzur, and is variously rendered "munitions," "fortress," and "defence." In the case of Isaiah xxxiii. 16, the LXX rendering of the word led to the tradition of the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem. See Chap. XIV. p. 435.

## § 96.

MATZOR, מָצוֹר, and M'TZOORAH, מְצוּרָה, 'fort:' from צור (the root also of Tzur) to bind together. Used alone (2 Chron. xi. 10), and with Ir (§73) to express the fortified towns of Judah and Benjamin, in 2 Chron. viii. 5; xi. 5, 10, 11, 23; xii. 4; xiv. 6,—passages in which it is variously rendered "fenced," "for defence," "fenced cities," and "strongholds." Once applied to Tyre, Zech. ix. 3. Also used in poetical passages for the offensive works of a siege, and rendered, "siege," "bulwarks," and "forts;" see Deut. xx. 19, 20; xxviii. 53, &c.; Isai. xxix. 3; Nah. iii. 14.

The similar word מְצוֹר, occurring in 2 Kings xix. 24; Isai. xxxvii. 25; and xix. 6, with Jor (§ 36) is, as has been pointed out in that place, probably to be translated Egypt (Mitzraim).

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[1] This is a good example of a frequent cause of corruption in the Septuagint text. The ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς is a marginal gloss or explanation of Μεσσαρά, which is in itself a (corrupt) literal rendering of the original Hebrew word. The gloss was in time taken into the text where it now stands side by side with the word it was intended to explain.

## § 97.

MIS'TAR, מִסְתָּר, hiding-place: from סָתַר to cover or hide. Used in the poetical books only; (1) of the lurking-places of lions, Ps. xvii. 12; Lament. iii. 10: and of violent men, Ps. x. 8, 9; lxiv. 4; Hab. iii. 14; (2) of a shelter, Isai. iv. 6; and (3) concealment, Jer. xiii. 17; xxiii. 24; xlix. 10. The English rendering is "secret place," and (once) "covert." See § 23, *k*.

## § 98.

M'OORAH, מְאוּרָה, aperture: strictly a place by which light is admitted to an interior chamber; from אוּר to enlighten. Occurs but once—in Isaï. xi. 8, where it apparently means the crevice leading to the nest of the adder, LXX, κοίτη. It has, however, been conjectured to mean the sparkling eyes, or the glittering crest, of the snake itself (see Gesenius, *s.v.* p. 56).

# VIII.—THE SEA AND ITS SHORES.

## § 99.

JAM, יָם, "the sea"—derivation unknown, but applied to all large pieces of water.

1. With the article—"Ha-Jam"—it is the Mediterranean, Josh. xv. 47; also called "the great sea," Num. xxxiv. 6, 7; the "hinder," or "western sea," Deut. xi. 24. From this application it is used for "the west," even in speaking of countries where the situation of the Mediterranean is not in the west, as of Egypt (Exod. x. 19), Arabia (Exod. xxvii. 13, xxxviii. 12).
2. "The sea of 'weeds,'" for the two branches of the Red Sea. See Chapter I. p. 6.
3. "The sea of Chinnereth," for the Sea of Galilee, Num. xxxiv. 11, Comp. Isa. ix. 1.
4. The "salt sea," Gen. xiv. 3; "sea of the 'desert,'" Deut. iv. 49; "eastern sea," Josh. ii. 20; Zac. xiv. 8, for the Dead Sea.
5. Great rivers, as the Nile. Jer. xlix. 5; Nah. iii. 8; Ezek. xxxii. 2 (so the Arabian *Bahr*), the Euphrates, Isa. xxvii. 1; Jer. li. 26.

It is also applied to the laver in the Temple, 1 Kings, xxv. 18; 1 Chron. xviii. 8.

It is always translated "sea" in the A.V. except when used for "west."

## § 100.

CHOPH חוֹף, "sea-shore," from חָפַף, to wash away—Gen. xlix. 13, "haven;" Deut. i. 7, "side;" Josh. ix. 1, "coasts;" Jud. v. 17, "shore;" παράλιος, *littus maris*. For the words for the banks of a river, see § 35.

## § 101.

MIPH'RATZ, מִפְרָץ, bay, from פָּרַץ, to break, Jud. v. 17. Translated "breaches." See Chapter VI. p. 261.

## § 102.

MACHOZ, מָחוֹז, "haven." Ps. cvii. 30.

The following are the words used for the waves of the sea.

GAL, גַּל, *plur.* Gallim (literally heap). See, amongst others, Job. xxxviii. 11; Ps. lxv. 7; Isa. xlviii. 18; Ezek. xxvi. 3; Zach. x. 11, all "waves;" Ps. xlii. 7, "billows."

DACI, דָּכִי, only in Ps. xciii. 3, "waves."

MISH'BAR מִשְׁבָּר, (metaphorically for the waves of trouble) see 2 Sam. xxii. 5; Ps. xlii. 7, "waves;" Jon. ii. 3, "billows."

BAMAH, בָּמָה, a high place, is used only in Job ix. 8, for the ridges of the waves of the sea.

# ERRATA, &c.

Page 78, line 14, *for* "covered" *read* "crowned."

,, 97, (notes), *read as follows* :—
[3] Judith v. 14. [4] Deut. xxxiii. 2.

,, 103, (map), *for* "Chebah," *read* "Chebar."

,, 158, (map), the names in red indicate the doubtful sites, the names in black the certain sites. "Road to Jericho," and "Road to Bethlehem," should be in black.

" 197, last line. The relative positions of the Wâdy Kelt, the Wâdy Fowar, and the Wâdy Suweinit, as represented on the map, are not in exact conformity with the statement in the text. But, in the uncertainty which attaches to the details of this portion of topography, I venture to leave the inconsistency, in the hope that it may be finally rectified by the forthcoming map of Mr. Van de Velde.

,, 224, (map), correct the positions of the references (2) and (3) by the note to p. 237

,, 401, line 11, *for* "Crysorrhoas," *read* "Chrysorrhoas."

,, 430, (map), transpose the references (2) and (3) in the left hand column.

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Chapter XII., Notes A. and B. I take this opportunity of referring the reader for all that concerns the Traditions of Damascus, to Mr. Porter's "Five Years at Damascus," which has appeared since my own chapter on that subject has been printed. I refer particularly to his remarks on the scene of St. Paul's Conversion, (i. 43), and his discovery of the unquestionable Roman remains of the Straight Street, (i. 48).

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In the references to the *Erdkunde* of Professor C. Ritter throughout this work, the following names have been adopted for the volumes relating to Sinai and Palestine:—Part XIV. (or Vol. I.) is designated Sinai: Part XV. (Vol. II.), Sect. 1. Jordan: Sect. 2. Syria: Part XVI. (Vol. III.) Palestine: Part XVII. (Vol. IV.), Sect 1. Lebanon: Sect. 2. Damascus.

# INDEX.

*** *The following abbreviations are employed in the Index:*—Pal. *Palestine;* M. *Mountain;* R. *River;* L. *Lake;* N. *North;* S. *South;* E. *East;* W. *West;* O. T. *Old Testament;* N. T. *New Testament;* A. V. *Authorised Version of the Bible; Words preceded by* †—*as* †Abel—*are Hebrew topographical terms, which will be found at large in the Appendix: Arabic names are put in Italics.*


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